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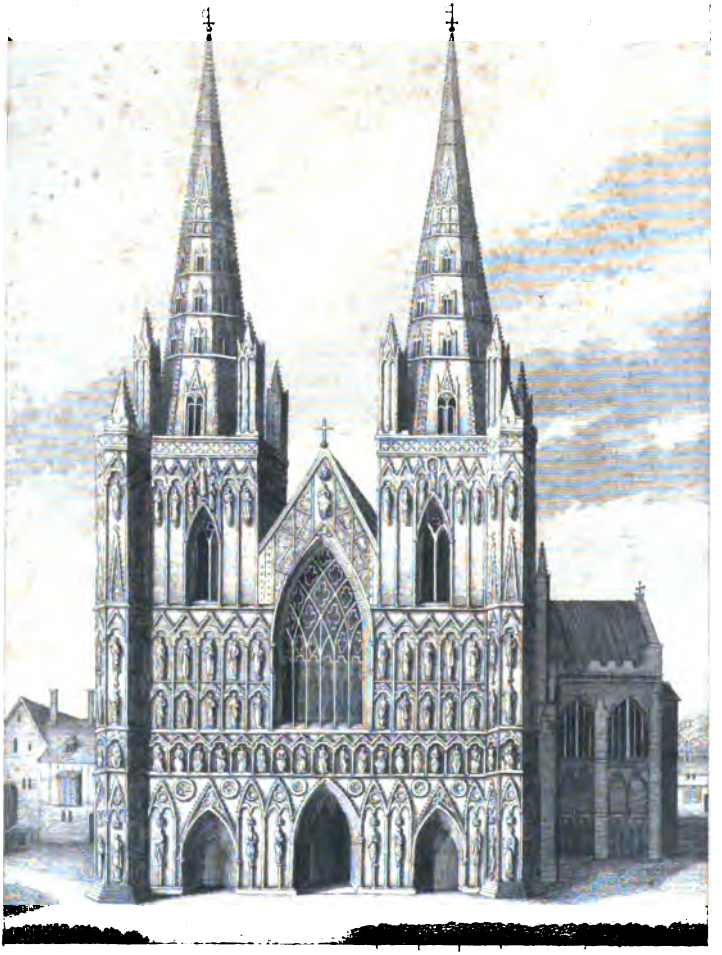

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THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN,

FROM

THE BIRTH OF JESUS CHRIST

UNTIL

THE YEAR MDCXLVIII.

ENDEAVOURED

BY THOMAS FULLER, D.D.,

PREBENDARY OF SARUM, &c. &c.

AUTHOR OF "THE WORTHIES OF ENGLAND," "THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY WAR," "PISGAH-SIGHT OF PALESTINE," "ABEL REDIVIVUS," &c. &c.

THIRD EDITION,

CONTAINING THE LAST CORRECTIONS OF THE AUTHOR.

1st ed. 1655

WITH A PREFACE AND NOTES

BY JAMES NICHOLS,

EDITOR OF FULLER'S "HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE," "HOLY AND PROFANE STATE," &c.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO THE READER.

An ingenious gentleman, some months since, in jest-earnest advised me to make haste with my History of the church of England; "for fear," said he, "lest the church of England be ended before the History thereof."

This History is now, though late, (all church-work is slow,) brought with much difficulty to an end.

And, blessed be God! the church of England is still (and long may it be!) in being, though disturbed, distempered, distracted. God help and heal her most sad condition!

The three first books of this volume were for the main written in the reign of the late king, as appeareth by the passages then proper for the government. The other nine books were made since *monarchy* was turned into a *state*.

May God alone have the glory, and the ingenuous reader the benefit, of my endeavours! which is the hearty desire of

Thy servant in Jesus Christ,
THOMAS FULLER.

From my Chamber in Sion-College.

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THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

In submitting to the public an account of the principles on which the publication of this edition of Fuller's "Church History" has been conducted, I am but performing a duty which for nearly thirty years I have imposed upon myself as a matter of conscience, in all cases in which any literary responsibility has rested on me alone; and the avowal of my extreme reluctance to alter or reconstruct the works of other men, has always been received with courtesy, and obtained general credence and approval.

In the present work I have not altered the construction of a single sentence; though some entire paragraphs, evidently written in haste, were not formed on the best or most exact models. The punctuation, on the whole, was so excellent, that I have seldom seen cause for any substitution. In the many thousand proper names of men, cities, and countries, the spelling of which was usually uncouth, defective, and variable, I have followed, as nearly as possible, modern usage: In the early British, Danish, and Saxon names, I have commonly adopted the orthography of Tindal in his translation of Rapin; while, in the names of churchmen, the accurate Le Neve has been my principal guide. In those instances in which a single letter too much or too little had been employed, and in which the best authorities are somewhat at variance, I have usually suffered the words to remain as they were written by the author. Thus, the Popish biographer Pitts has his name occasionally Latinized as *Pitseus*, and in other places, more in accordance with analogy, *Pitzæus*. On these points, and on others, on which, for my own credit's sake as a printer, I have bestowed much (often ill-appreciated) labour, I claim the indulgent forbearance of those who may discover any stray fault or (previously) undetected error.

I here subjoin a list of such words as I have changed for others, their cognates in meaning and derivation:—

Abbathie into abbacy; *acception*, acceptation; *advoutry*, adultery; *aferde*, afraid; *akes*, aches; *alarumed*, alarmed; *almorie*, almonry; *ambuling*, ambling; *Anglized*, Anglicized; *appale*, appal; *appliable*, applicable; *apprentiship*, apprenticeship; *armado*, armada; *assistance*, (sometimes) assistants; *astonied*, astonished: *attendance*, (sometimes) attendants. *Bailie*, bailiff; *begrutch*, begrudge; *beholding*, beholden; *beshrow*, beshrew; *biskets*, biscuits; *Black-Moor*, Blackamoor; *breve*, brief; *bucksome*, buxom. *Caption*, captiousness; *carvil*, carving; *ceased on*, seized on; *chairie*, chary; *champion*, champaign, *chantery priests*, chanter priests; *chirurgeon*, surgeon; *chode*, chidden; *coarse*, corpse; *clint*, clinch; *commune*, common; *consort*, concert; *cowardness*, cowardliness; *cranie*, cranny; *creeple*, cripple. *Damosell*, damsel; *deceipts*, deceits; *demeans*, domains, demesnes; *despight*, despite; *dirige*, dirge; *diurnal*, journal. *Epigrammist*, epigrammatist: *eremitical*, hermitical; *estempory*, extemporary. *Fained*,

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feigned; *flea*, to flay; *flowen*, flown; *fornace*, furnace; *forthward*, forward. *Gantlop*, gantlet; *gate*, gait; *gauled*, galled; *gentile*, genteel, gentle; *girting*, girding; *granat*, garnet; *grutch*, grudge. *Harraged*, harassed; *heremite*, hermit; *heraults*, heralds; *higheth*, hieth; *hoggard*, hog-herd; *hospital*, hospitable; *hollow*, halloo; *hurted*, did hurt; *huswife*, housewife. *I*, ay;* *iles*, aisles; *impe*, imp; *immergent*, emergent; *impatible*, impassible; *impostourie*, imposture; *influent*, influential; *ingenious*, ingenuous, *et vice versâ*; *intituleth*, entitleth. *Jeat*, jet; *justicer*, a justice, justiciary. *Kembed*, combed; *kephalical*, cephalical; *knowledge*, acknowledge; *known in*, knowing in. *Lagge*, lag; *lanthorn*, lantern; *lay*, lie; *lieger-book*, ledger-book. *Margent*, margin; *marish*, marsh; *metal*, mettle; *mistris*, mistress; *moe*, more; *monethe*, months; *muting*, mutinying. *Neb*, nib; *nother*, neither; *nouzled*, nursed. *Paradoxal*, paradoxical; *paramore*, paramour; *paunage*, pannage; *phansie*, fancy; *pregaged*, pre-engaged; *profusiveness*, profuseness; *prolling*, prowling; *propriety*, property, or proprietorship; *pullein*, poultry; *pursevant*, pursuivant; *pustle*, pustule. *Quire*, choir. *Rampairing*, rampiring; *redown*, redound; *rode*, rood; *Romized*, Romanized; *roomthyer*, roomier; *ruffin*, ruffian; *rythmer*, rhymester. *Salvages*, savages; *satyres*, satyrs; *scalled head*, scald head; *scar*, scare; *scited*, situated; *scrued*, screwed; *sensing*, censing; *servial*, servile; *shewen*, shown; *shiprack*, shipwreck; *shrodely*, shrewdly; *shuffing*, shoving; *sithence*, since; *sir-loyne*, sir-loin; *slenting*, slanting; *slovenness*, slovenliness; *sodain*, sudden: *sodometry*, sodomy; *sometimes*, some time; *southsayers*, soothsayers; *sowne*, swoon; *spate-bone*, spade-bone; *strick*, (the preterite,) struck, stricken; *straightly*, straitly; *strawed*, strewed; *stroke*, *strook*, struck; *succours*, suckers; *sumners*, summoners; *synonymas*, synonymous; *sprongen*, sprung; *sungen*, sung. *Teastie*, testy; *tenents*, tenets; *then*, than; *throughly*, thoroughly; *thorowout*, throughout; *tole*, toll; *tunder*, tinder; *tyring-house*, tiring-house. *Understanden*, *understanded*, understood; *upholster*, upholsterer. *Vastel-bread*, wastel-bread; *van-currier*, avant-courier; *velame*, vellum; *vicaridges*, vicarages; *vindicative*, vindictive. *Wagary*, waggery; *wrack*, to rack (stretch); *wrastle*, wrestle; *wreckt*, wreaked; *to wete*, to wit.

I also subjoin a collection of the principal words, which, for various reasons, I have retained, though they are seldom employed in modern writing.—

Abrood, (brooding,) accomptant, aduced, advoke, aggest, alonely, amatorious, apostated, apprecation, appropriying, three a-clock, arreared, (erected,) attainture, authenticness, avowance. Barretor, battel, (to fatten,) to bemad, besteaded, as the preterite of bestead, brangle. Chequered, cheveril, (flexible,) chops, (exchanges,) co-arctated, compt, complices, convelled, coparceny, corrasive, cor-rivality. Datary, decession, decoring, (adorning,) defalk, detectable, discede, disherison, disorderliness, duncical, to depart with, (to *part with* power,) to delate, dunted. Eftsoons, embarren, enseeling, evangel, exornations, exscribe, extirp. Farced, (stuffed,) fantors, to fend, flew in fitters, (in fritters,) frank-almonage. Gaged,† the gingles, gingling, gremials, gree, gripple. Harry, (harass,) huke. Immanity, inculked, impostresses, (female impostors,) impostrix, indenting, (bargaining,) infamed, innodated, intrado. Joculary. Kin, as an adjective. Lapped, lashing out, licourish, liegeance, lieger, longsomeness, loobily. Maturated, minded, (reminded,) minutary, (momentary,) misoclere, (a hater of the clergy,) mortisation, mumming. Ne, nimiety, nimmed, nustled. Orderable. Palliate, (as an adjective,) perverts, (opposed to converts,) plausiblelize, posthume, postposing, postposed, (placed after,) precedential, predie, privado, proventions, publickness, pursy. Rampires, to rap, to rape, rashed up, rath-ripe, redoub, register, (the person,) relate, (refer,) renderable, renting, (rending,) resent, (to feel,) restauration. Sacring, (consecrating,) to sag aside, (shake, stagger,) sewer, *(dapifer*, a serving-man,) shent, shive, (a slice,) shiver, siftener,

* This occurs but once, vol. iii. p. 53, line 12. † This word occurs only once, vol. ii. p. 114; and its signification cannot easily be determined, though it seems to bear that of *engaged*, as "induced, drawn away," &c.

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skrine, smithery, snibbed, sopiting, spinster, (one who spins,) squeasy, a stale, stayedness, supportation. Tailed, tang, tolled out, (decoyed,) tomring, tottad, trindills. Ungive, un-understood, ure. Volant. Winched.

Nearly one-third portion of the words in both these lists occur in public documents, or in extracts from early authors, who flourished prior to the commencement of the seventeenth century. For the remaining two-thirds Fuller is himself accountable; yet even these he does not uniformly write as they are here exhibited, but he occasionally differs from himself, in better accordance with modern usage. A few of these words may be considered as mere misprints; and of other obsolete words (such as *predie*, *mumming*, *tomring*, *tottad)* it would not be difficult to give the correct interpretation by comparison of similar phraseology in contemporary writings, were not such an occupation rather the office of a professed lexicographer, than of an unassuming editor, who, *currente calamo*, may be allowed occasionally to throw out some of those remarks which naturally suggest themselves in the course of his professional reading.

It is the imperative duty of every one concerned in the republication of any of our standard old authors, to retain as many of the sterling English words, whether of Saxon or Latin extraction, as can be understood without much difficulty by general readers, and to give an honest account of all such slight alterations made in others as seem to be necessary. Among the educated portion of the community a strong and laudable desire exists to investigate the original sources and ancient construction of our language, and to trace the various changes which it has subsequently undergone: to such persons these lists furnish the proper materials for that useful and interesting study.

The passive participle I have commonly found to be accurately formed; *took* is the principal exception, which I have uniformly changed into *taken*. The genitive case of nouns was, in many passages, constructed on the clumsy plan of circumlocution which, soon after the Revolution, became quite obsolete, and which I have in this work always discarded. Thus, for such phraseology as "the end of *king James his reign*," I have substituted "the end of *king James's reign*." The author always employs *funerals* and *corpse*, (applied to one person,) as plural nouns, and I have changed them into the singular.

My reluctance to engage in alterations, how plausible soever they may at first appear, will be seen in my retaining such a curious phrase as, "on the brink of the brink of the precipice," (vol. i. p. 198,) and similar expressions, which in any other writer I should have considered as useless tautology, or an error of the press. But, entertaining a fear lest some recondite wit might be concealed from common observation under such phrases, I have allowed them to hold their wonted station in the text.—In a note, (vol. iii. pp. 458, 459,) the word *semnably* is found, quoted from Fuller's "Appeal of injured Innocence." I have not altered it; for though, at the first glance, it may appear to be a misprint for *semblably*, yet I considered, as one of the newly-coined words, of which our lively author was no slight contributor into the common treasury of that

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age, *semnably* might claim quite as plausible an origin as many others, from the Greek adverb σεμνῶς, "solemnly," "with all gravity."

In certain rare instances of defective composition, I have ventured to add a single explanatory word; but the reader will always find it distinguished from the text by its enclosure within crotchets [thus]. The twenty-eight passages which Fuller specified as *errata*, at the close of his "History," are here corrected; as well as many others, pointed out in his "Appeal" as acknowledged errors. Of the copies of his "Church History" which I have used in this reprint, one proves to be what he calls "an amended copy;" that is, it contains above twenty of his additional emendations, which, on comparing the corresponding pages of the two editions with each other, bear evidence of having been made while the several sheets in which they occur were at press, and before the whole impression was completed. Had I collected from his "Worthies" the many corrections which he wishes to be made in this "History," I should have expended my labour to no good purpose; as those who peruse that posthumous work, exactly as it was published by his children, would thus have been deprived of half of the charm which Fuller imparts, by the witty and original method of varying his notes, even when singing his own *peccavi*.

I have substituted the relative *who* or *that*, for "which" when applied to persons; though the almost indiscriminate use of all the three relatives in such application was the common practice of that age. Another alteration also I have conceived it to be a part of my duty to effect:—to prevent this generally very correct writer from transgressing the rules of grammar, especially in his hasty mode of yoking a verb in the singular number with two or more plural nouns in the nominative. In these two particulars I am borne out by the sanction of the author himself, who, in his "Appeal of injured Innocence," observes:—"All faults committed are not discovered. All faults which are discovered are not confessed. Such as the printer deemeth small he leaveth to be amended by the direction of the sense, and discretion of the reader, according to the common speech that *the reader ought to be better than his book*."

From the days of Thomas Fuller to those of Thomas Hood, I never found a writer naturally witty who did not almost unconsciously luxuriate in pleasant alliterations. The subjoined slight sprinkling of specimens shall now suffice:—

Vol. i.—"But bold beggars are the bane of the best bounty." (P. 161.) "You cross the current of common corruption—skilful in knowing, careful in keeping, courteous in communicating, your curious collections in that kind." (P. 233.) "It is proportionably probable that the posterity of Shamgar gave the goad," &c. (P. 436.) "It hath had the hard hap, not to be honoured." (P. 466.) "Whose faith fought the first duel with fire itself." (P. 474.) "Victorious bays bear only barren berries." (P. 487.)

Vol. ii.—"Down their Diana, if Paul be permitted to preach to the people." (P. 90.) "Finding so fair a flower as first-fruits fallen out of her crown." (P. 95.) "Managing not only multitudes but multiplicity of matters, they must mistake." (P. 101.) "Much bemoaned, a martial man of merit." (P. 214.) "Doubtful before, and bear the burden of his own betraying." (P. 217.) "Pope Paul the fourth, wholly favouring the French faction." (P. 429.)

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Vol. iii.—"Some misliked imposing money-mulcts on men's consciences." (P. 20.) "Whose appearance in any protestant state is as sure a presage, as the playing of porpoises above water, that foul weather is to follow." "Some are of a milder temper, and better metalled, who by moderation may be melted into amendment." (P. 21.) "Prone rather to pity and pardon, than punish, his passion." (P. 66.) "Justly famished for want of food, who formerly had surfeited on improbable lies, by him first forged." (P. 67.) "Purposely they enhanced the price, to put it past the power of poor men's purses to purchase it." (P. 69.) "A mass, a mint, a mine of money." (P. 71.) "His languishing life lasted a year longer, so great his grief." (P. 91.) "Men may make clothes either for mirth or for mourning." (P. 97.) "The other hasteth home to his house, and with fasting and prayer begged pardon of God for his pride and boldness, that having neither promised precept nor precedent for his practice, &c. (P. 116.) *Cum multis aliis; quæ nunc perscribere longum est.*

Of notes, in elucidation or correction of the text, I have been very sparing. Had I subjoined them to every passage which I deemed to be incorrect, the work would have been extended to an inconvenient size, without any corresponding advantage to the reader. Burnet and Strype have pointed out several inaccuracies; the latter especially, who lived in times of greater tranquillity, has collated some of those public documents which first appeared in Fuller, and freed them from the faults which must always attach to a hurried perusal and a hasty transcription;—the circumscribed leisure and flitting opportunities of our author having prevented him from bestowing the care and caution which in such cases are indispensable requisites. To me, indeed, the matter of highest wonder is, that the points are, comparatively, so few on which subsequent historians show him to have been mistaken: and, after all the collateral aids which he received, I give him full credit for a goodly portion of that compass and strength of memory for which he is celebrated in English story, and which in this extensive work must have been severely taxed. One excellence I claim as distinguishing my own thinly-scattered annotations,—that, strongly expressed as my private opinions have formerly been on many affairs connected with Church and State, (which yet I have found little reason to retract or modify,) the world will here discover very few traces of them; but I have left Fuller completely at liberty to give his own version of doctrines, ceremonies, and public occurrences, and to reason on them from his own principles. We are plentifully furnished with other conflicting views and arguments on the same subjects; and every man of ordinary intelligence is philosopher enough to know, that, by an impartial investigation of these contradictory *data*, truth acquires greater power when thus elicited, and arrant falsehood is exposed.

In the preceding Address "to the Reader," the author informs us, that the first *three* books of his Church History were, "for the main, written in the reign of the late king. [Charles I.] The other *nine* we made since MONARCHY was turned into a STATE."—*Twelve* books are here enumerated, while only *eleven* will be found in the present edition; but those who purchase and peruse these three volumes, when taught to reckon "the History of the University of Cambridge" as the *twelfth* book, will be inclined to defer to the judgment which bishop Nicolson thus reluctantly pronounces:

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"Thomas Fuller was pleased to annex his *History of the University of Cambridge* to that of the Churches of Great Britain; *and most people think they ought not to be separated.*"* In composing his "Church History," he adopted the plan of recording in chronological order the founders, benefactors, and celebrated men of the various colleges in Oxford; and repeatedly directs his readers to his "History of the University of Cambridge" for the corresponding information respecting the foundations, benefactions, and eminent persons of the latter University, of which he was himself a member; and to his *alma mater* he proved to be a dutiful son, rendering to her all due honour and respect.

This valuable "History of the University" is now published, and has Fuller's "Appeal of injured Innocence" appended to it as a kind of *thirteenth* book. The entire title of the latter is: "The Appeal of injured Innocence, unto the religious, learned, and ingenuous Reader; in a Controversy betwixt the Animadvertor Dr. Peter Heylin, and the Author Thomas Fuller." It issued from the press in the year prior to the Restoration; and in it the multifarious acquirements and wonderful intellectual resources of Fuller are displayed to better advantage, perhaps, than in any or all of his former productions. Highly as I am reputed to venerate his antagonist, Peter Heylin, that staunch and sturdy royalist, I feel no hesitation in pronouncing Fuller the victor in this contest; not only from the general justness of his cause, but also for that which exalts him as a man and a Christian—his playful wit, ingenuous candour, almost unfailing good-humour, and remarkable moderation. The "Appeal" is known to very few of our ecclesiastical historians; though, as a regular and clever reply to Heylin's severe and discursive *Examen Historicum*, it incidentally affords a multitude of curious historical illustrations, especially in reference to those eventful times in which both of them had been sufferers.

To several parts of bishop Nicolson's satirical exposure of our author, I cannot subscribe; but, in passing, I take particular exceptions against that which represents Fuller eager in his pursuit of drollery,† "without staying to inquire whether a pretty story have any foundation in truth or not." On the contrary, I have uniformly found him to be tenacious in ascertaining the TRUTH of the facts which he narrates, and pouring floods of ridicule upon such as were deficient in that essential qualification.

As to the drollery and witticisms with which the work abounds, such a style of writing ecclesiastical history is at first sight somewhat startling, and repugnant to the ideas which are usually entertained concerning the appropriate gravity of the Historic Muse;

* *English Historical Library*, p. 154. Second Edition. 1714.

† The same levity of expression and indiscriminate dashes of wit were pointed out to him by Heylin as culpable blemishes; who in this respect was himself an offender in kind, though not in degree. But Fuller seems to have been so utterly unconscious of any exuberance of broad humour within his breast, as to repel the charge, and challenge his adversary, in the following style:—"But let him at leisure produce the most light and ludicrous story in all my book, and here I stand ready to parallel it with as light (I will not say in the Animadvertor, but) in as grave authors as ever put pen to paper." — *Appeal of injured Innocence.*

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and yet, whether viewed as natural, or assumed for the occasion, its effect on that age was most admirable. Palled and perverted as the public taste had become, through the bitter and (in many instances) gloomy writings of contending parties in politics and religion during the preceding fifteen years, I doubt whether the people would have endured any narrative of ecclesiastical affairs, especially of those which so nearly concerned that generation, in a strain more stately and dignified than that which is here employed. The honest and witty Tom Fuller may seem to have procured, from "the powers which then were," a roving license or dispensation; and was permitted to give utterance to some strong sentiments, which less-favoured individuals durst scarcely own to have found a lodgment within their breasts. Natural strokes of humour are of perpetual recurrence, the allusions in which occasionally amount to the most stringent sarcasm; and when applied (apparently at hap-hazard) to the crying enormities of those times, inculcated great moral lessons, which, though capable (in our view) of being less exceptionably conveyed, would not then have been so graciously received.

At the close of his long objurgation, however, the good bishop evinces an inclination to soften some of his sweeping censures on the author of this Church History:—"If it were possible to refine it well, *the work would be of good use;* since there are in it some things of moment, hardly to be had elsewhere, which may often illustrate dark passages in more serious writers. These are not to be despised, where his authorities are cited and appear credible."

The subjoined brief and fair description of Fuller's principal works is copied from WINSTANLEY'S *England's Worthies*:—"His writings are very facetious, and (where he is careful) judicious. His *Pisgah Sight* is the exactest; his *Holy War and State*, the wittiest; his *Church History*, the unhappiest,—written in such a time when he could not do the truth right with safety, nor wrong it with honour; and his *Worthies*, not finished at his death, the most imperfect. As for his other works, he that shall but read FULLER'S name unto them will not think them otherwise but *worthy of that praise and respect which* THE WHOLE NATION *afforded unto the author*." This commendation is noble, but well-deserved; and is the more valuable, coming as it does from one who accounted himself a High-Churchman, and Fuller a low one. The remark respecting the difficulty under which he laboured to "do the truth right," is manfully met by Fuller himself in the following passage and others in his *Appeal*:—"I did not attemper my History to the palate of the government, so as to sweeten it with any falsehood; but I made it palatable thus far forth as not to give a wilful disgust to those in present power, and procure danger to myself by using any over-salt, tart, or bitter expression,—better forborne than inserted, without any prejudice to the truth."

What higher praise was ever bestowed on any of our old authors, by one capable of forming a correct judgment, than the following eloquent effusion, warm from the generous heart of the lamented

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SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE? It is a note written with his own hand, at the end of his copy of the Church History, and very appropriately forms a part of his interesting *Literary Remains*.

"Next to SHAKSPEARE, I am not certain whether THOMAS FULLER, beyond all other writers, does not excite in me the sense and emotion of the marvellous;—the degree in which any given faculty or combination of faculties is possessed and manifested, so far surpassing what one would have thought possible in a single mind, as to give one's admiration the flavour and quality of wonder! Wit was the stuff and substance of Fuller's intellect. It was the element, the earthen base, the material which he worked in; and this very circumstance has defrauded him of his due praise for the practical wisdom of the thoughts, for the beauty and variety of the truths, into which he shaped the stuff. Fuller was incomparably the most sensible, the least prejudiced, great man of an age that boasted a galaxy of great men. He is a very voluminous writer; and yet, in all his numerous volumes on so many different subjects, it is scarcely too much to say, that you will hardly find a page in which some one sentence out of every three does not deserve to be quoted for itself as motto or as maxim."

To offer any criticism in abatement of this just encomium would, I feel, be useless verbiage: I leave it, therefore, as the best introduction to the perusal of my author.

JAMES NICHOLS.

46, HOXTON-SQUARE,
October 14*th*, 1837.

TO THE THIRD EDITION.

THE public favour shown to my labours on FULLER, has acted as an encouraging incentive, prompting me to adhere to the editorial principles developed in the preceding Preface, and to employ unceasing care and pains to render this edition at least as deserving of perusal as were its predecessors. It will be found to contain many additional notes, and a vast number of references to that very curious perpetual commentary on "the Church History," FULLER'S "Appeal of injured Innocence," which "embraces almost every topic within the range of human disquisition, from the most sublime mysteries of the Christian religion and the great antiquity of the Hebrew and Welsh languages, down to 'the tale of a tub,' and criticisms on Shakspeare's perversion of sir John Falstaff. But the value of 'the Appeal' cannot be too highly estimated when it is known to contain the discordant views of two eminent churchmen, on most momentous events in which they had themselves been actors, or of which they had been thoughtful spectators, and on principles and motives the temperate discussion of which will always be interesting to the sincere lover of truth, but which must be considered as of paramount inportance to us in these days, when many of the same arguments are re-produced and brought into fresh collision."

J. N.

May 6th, 1842.

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THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK I.

FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE ANCIENT BRITONS TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SAXON HEPTARCHY.

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TO

THE ILLUSTRIOUS ESME STUART,

DUKE OF RICHMOND.

I HAVE sometimes solitarily pleased myself with the perusing and comparing of two places of Scripture:—

Acts xxii. 22.	Hebrews xi. 38.
The wicked Jews said of St. Paul, "Away with such a fellow from the earth: for it is not fit that he should live."	St. Paul said of the godly Jews, "Of whom the world was not worthy."

Here I perceive heaven and hell, mercy and malice, God's Spirit and man's spite, resolved on the question, that it is not fit that good men should live long on earth.

However, though the building be the same, yet the bottom is different; the same conclusion being inferred from opposite, yea, contrary premises. Wicked men think this world too good, God knows it too bad, for his servants to live in. Henceforward I shall not wonder that good men die so soon, but that they live so long; seeing wicked men desire their room here on earth, and God their company in heaven. No wonder, then, if your good father was so soon translated to happiness, and his GRACE advanced into GLORY.

He was pleased to give me a text, some weeks before his death, of the words of our Saviour to the probationer convert: "Thou art not far from the kingdom of heaven;" Mark xii. 34; that is, as the words there import, from the state of salvation. But before my sermon could be, his life was, finished, and he, in the real acceptation thereof, possessed of heaven and happiness.

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Thus was I disappointed (O that this were the greatest loss by the death of so worthy a person!) of a patron, to whom I intended the dedication of this first part of my History.

I after was entered on a resolution to dedicate it to his memory; presuming to defend the innocency and harmlessness of such a dedication by precedents of unquestioned antiquity. But I intended also to surround the pages of the dedication with black,—not improper, as to his relation, so expressive of the present sad condition of our distracted church.

But, seasonably remembering how the altar "Ed" (only erected for commemoration) was misinterpreted by the other tribes for superstition, Joshua xxii. 11; I conceived it best to cut off all occasions of cavil from captious persons, and dedicate it to you his son and heir.

Let not your Grace be offended, that I make you a patron at the second hand: for though I confess you are my refuge, in relation to your deceased father; you are my choice, in reference to the surviving nobility. God sanctify your tender years with true grace, that in time you may be a comfort to your mother, credit to your kindred, and honour to your nation!

Your Grace's most bounden orator,

THOMAS FULLER.

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THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK I.

SECTION I.

THE FIRST CENTURY.

1. *The doleful Case of the Pagan Britons.*

THAT we may the more freely and fully pay the tribute of our thanks to God's goodness for the gospel which we now enjoy, let us recount the sad condition of the Britons, our predecessors, before the Christian faith was preached unto them. "At that time they were without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world." They were foul idolaters, who, from misapplying that undeniable truth of God's being in every thing, made every thing to be their god,—trees, rivers, hills, and mountains. They worshipped devils, whose pictures remained in the days of Gildas,* within and without the decayed walls of their cities, drawn with deformed faces, (no doubt, done to the life, according to their terrible apparitions,) so that such ugly shapes did not woo, but fright, people into adoration of them. Wherefore, if any find in Tully, that the Britons in his time had no pictures, understand him,—they were not artists in that mystery, like the Greeks and Romans; they had not pieces of proportion, being rather daubers than drawers, stainers than painters, though called *Picti*, from their self-discoloration.†

2. *Their principal Idols.*

Three paramount idols they worshipped above all the rest, and ascribed divine honour unto them: (1.) Apollo, by them styled "Belinus the Great;" (2.) Andraste, or Andate, the goddess of victory; ‡ (3.) Diana, goddess of the game. This last was most especially reverenced, Britain being then all a forest, where hunting was not the recreation but the calling, and venison, not the dainties

* *Epist. de Excid. Brit.* † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," appended to our author's "History of the University of Cambridge," 8vo. pp. 352—357.—EDIT.
‡ XIPHIL. *Epi. in Nerone.*

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but the diet, of common people. There is a place near St. Paul's in London, called in old records "Diana's chamber," where, in the days of king Edward I., thousands of the heads of oxen were digged up; whereat the ignorant wondered, whilst the learned well understood them to be the proper sacrifices to Diana, whose great temple was built thereabout.* This rendereth their conceit not altogether unlikely who will have London so called from *Llan-Dian*, which signifieth in British "the temple of Diana." And surely conjectures, if mannerly observing their distance, and not impudently intruding themselves for certainties, deserve, if not to be received, to be considered. Beside these specified, they had other *portenta diabolica, penè numero Ægyptiaca vincentia:* † as indeed they who erroneously conceived one God too little, will find two too many, and yet millions not enough. As for those learned pens, ‡ which report that the Druids did instruct the ancient Britons in the knowledge and worship of one only God, may their mistake herein be as freely forgiven them, as I hope and desire that the charitable reader will with his pardon meet those involuntary errors which in this work by me shall be committed.§

3. *The Office and Employment of the Druids.*

Two sorts of people were most honoured amongst the Britons:—(1.) Druids, who were their philosophers, divines, lawyers; (2.) Bards, who were their prophets, poets, historians. The former were so called from δρῦς, signifying generally "a tree," and properly "an oak," under which they used to perform their rites and ceremonies; an idolatry whereof the Jews themselves had been guilty, for which the prophet threateneth them: "They shall be ashamed of the oaks which they have desired," Isaiah i. 29. But the signal oak which the Druids made choice of, was such a one on which misletoe did grow; by which privy token, they conceived God marked it out, as of sovereign virtue, for his service. || Under this tree, on the sixth day of the moon, (whereon they began their year,) they invocated their idols, and offered two white bulls, filleted in the horns, with many other ceremonies. These Pagan priests never wrote any thing, so to procure the greater veneration to their mysteries; men being bound to believe that it was some great treasure which was locked up in such great secresy.

4. *The powerful Practices of the Bards on the People.*

The bards were next the Druids in regard, and played excellently to their songs on their harps; whereby they had great operation on

* CAMDEN's "Britannia" in Middlesex. † GILDAS, *ut prius.* ‡ *Druides unum esse Deum semper inculcarunt.*—CAMDEN and BISHOP GODWIN. § See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 358, 359.—EDIT. || PLINII *Natur. Hist.* lib. vi. cap. 44.

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the vulgar, surprising them into civility unawares,—they greedily swallowing whatsoever was sweetened with music. These also, to preserve their ancestors from corruption, embalmed their memories in rhyming verses, which looked both backward—in their relations, and forward—in their predictions; so that their confidence, meeting with the credulity of others, advanced their wild conjectures to the reputation of prophecies. The immortality of the soul they did not flatly deny, but falsely believe; disguised under the opinion of trans-animation, conceiving that dying men's souls afterward passed into other bodies, either preferred to better or condemned to worse, according to their former good or ill behaviour. This made them contemn death, and always maintain erected resolutions, counting a valiant death the best of bargains, wherein they did not lose, but lay out, their lives to advantage. Generally they were great magicians; insomuch that Pliny saith, that the very Persians, in some sort, might seem to have learned their magic from the Britons.*

5. *The first Preaching of the Gospel in Britain. A.D. 37.*

So pitiful for the present, and more fearful for the future, was the condition of the Heathen Britons, when it pleased God, "with a strong hand, and stretched-out arm," to reach the gospel unto them, "who were afar off," both in local and theological distance. This was performed in the latter end of the reign of Tiberius, some thirty-seven years after Christ's birth; as Polydore Virgil collecteth out of the testimony of Gildas.†

6. *Causes which hastened the Conversion of Britain, before other Kingdoms which lay nearer to Palestine.*

If it seem incredible to any, that this island, furthest from the sun, should see light with the first, whilst many countries on the continent interposed (nearer in situation to Judea, the fountain of the gospel) sate, as yet, and many years after, "in darkness, and in the shadow of death;" let such consider, First, That Britain, being a by-corner, out of the road of the world, seemed the safest sanctuary from persecution, which might invite preachers to come the sooner into it. Secondly: It facilitated the entrance and propagation ‡ of the gospel hither,—that lately the Roman conquest had in part civilized the south of this island, by transporting of colonies thither, and erecting of cities there; so that, by the intercourse of traffic and

* *Natur. Hist.* lib. xxx. cap. 1. † *Tempore (ut scimus) summo Tiberii Cæsaris.* —*In Epist. de Excid. Brit.* ‡ Fuller says, in his "Appeal of injured Innocence," (8vo. edit. 1840, p. 362,) that, by the addition of the two words "and propagation," this sentence "shall be altered, (God willing,) in the next edition;" which is here corrected according to his expressed intention.—EDIT.

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commerce with other countries, Christianity had the more speedy and convenient waftage over. Whereas, on the other side, this set the conversion of Germany so backward, because the inland parts thereof entertained no trading with others; and, out of defiance to the Romans, hugged their own barbarism, made lovely with liberty, bolting out all civility from themselves, as jealous that it would usher-in subjection. Lastly and chiefly: God in a more peculiar manner did always favour "the islands," as under his immediate protection. For as he daily walls them with his providence, against the scaling of the swelling surges, and constant battery of the tide; so he made a particular promise of his gospel unto them, by the mouth of his prophet: "I will send those that escape of them to the isles afar off, that have not heard my fame," Isaiah lxvi. 19; to show that "neither height nor depth," no, not of the ocean itself, "is able to separate any from the love of God." And for the same purpose, Christ employed fishermen for the first preachers of the gospel, as who, being acquainted with the water, and mysteries of sailing, would with the more delight undertake long sea-voyages into foreign countries.

7. *St. Peter falsely reported to have preached in Britain.*

But now, who it was that first brought over the gospel into Britain, is very uncertain. The conversioner (understand Parsons the Jesuit) mainly stickleth for the apostle Peter to have first preached the gospel here.* Yea, when protestants object against St. Peter's being at Rome, because St. Paul, in his epistle to the Romans, omitteth to name or salute him; the Jesuit handsomely answers, that Peter was then probably from home, employed in preaching in Britain and other places. His arguments to prove it are not so strong but that they easily accept of answers, as followeth:—

ARGUMENT I.—St. Peter preached in Britain, because Gildas, speaking against his dissolute countrymen, taxeth them "for usurping the seat of Peter with their unclean feet." †

ANSWER.—Understand him, that they had abused the profession of the ministry: for it follows, "They have sitten in the pestilent chair of Judas the traitor." Whence it appears, both are meant mystically and metaphorically, parallel to the expressions of the apostle, Jude 11, "They have gone in the way of Cain," &c.

ARGUMENT II.—Simeon Metaphrastes saith so, that he stayed some days in Britain, where having preached the word, established churches, ordained bishops, priests, and deacons, in the twelfth year of Nero he returned to Rome.‡

* PARSONS'S "Three Conversions," part i. chap. 1, p. 19. † *In Epist. de Excid. Brit.* ‡ *Commentario de Petro et Paulo, ad diem 29 Junii.*

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ANSWER.—Metaphrastes is an author of no credit, as Baronius himself doth confess.*

ARGUMENT III.—Innocent I. reporteth that the first churches in Italy, France, Spain, Africa, Sicily, and the interjacent islands, were founded by St. Peter.†

ANSWER.—Make the map an umpire, and the epithet "interjacent" will not reach Britain, intending only the islands in the Mid-land [Mediterranean] Sea.

ARGUMENT IV.—Gulielmus Eysingrenius saith so.

ANSWER.—Though he hath a *long* name, he is but a *late* author, setting forth his book *anno* 1566.‡ Besides, he builds on the authority of Metaphrastes; and so both fall together.

ARGUMENT V.—St. Peter himself in a vision, in the days of king Edward the Confessor, reported that he had preached the word in Britain.

ANSWER.—To this vision pretended of Peter, we oppose the certain words of St. Paul, "Neither give heed to fables," 1 Tim. i. 4.

We have stayed the longer in confuting these arguments, because, from Peter's preaching here, Parsons would infer an obligation of this island to the see of Rome; which how strongly he hath proved, let the reader judge. He that will give a cap and make a leg, in thanks for a favour he never received, deserveth rather to be blamed for want of wit, than to be praised for store of manners. None therefore can justly tax us of ingratitude, if we be loath to confess an engagement to Rome more than is due; the rather because Rome is of so tyrannical a disposition, that, making herself the mother-church, she expects of her daughters not only dutifulness, but servility; and, not content to have them ask her blessing, but also do her drudgery, endeavoureth to make slaves of all her children.§

8. *St. James, St. Paul, St. Simon, and St. Aristobulus, Preachers in Britain. A.D.* 41, 47, 56.

Passing by Peter, proceed we to the rest of the apostles, whom several authors allege the first planters of religion in this island:—

(1.) St. James, son to Zebedee, and brother to John.‖ But if we consult with the scripture, we shall find that the sword of Herod put an end to all his travels before the apostles' general departure from Jerusalem. Indeed, this James is notoriously reported (how truly, let them seek who are concerned) to have been in Spain;

* *In aliis multis ibi ab ipso positis errare eum certum est.—Ecc. Annal. in anno* 44, *num.* 54. † *Epistola* 1, *ad Decentium.* ‡ MASON *de Minist. Ang.* lib. ii. cap. 2, p. 65. § See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 362—364.—EDIT. ‖ ISIDORUS *De Patribus utriusque Testamenti,* cap. 72. *Item* FLAVIUS LUCIUS DEXTER *in Chronico ad annum* 41.

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and it is probable, some, mistaking *Hibernia* for *Iberia*, and then confounding *Hibernia*, a British island, with our *Britain*, (as one error is very procreative of another,) gave the beginning to James's preaching here.

(2.) St. Paul is by others shipped over into our island; amongst whom thus sings Venantius Fortunatus:—*

Transit et oceanum, vel qua facit insula portum,
Quasque Britannus habet terras, quasque ultima Thule.

But less credit is to be given to *Britannus*, because it goeth in company with *ultima Thule;* which, being the noted expression of poets for "the utmost bound of the then-known world," seems to savour more of poetical hyperbole, than historical truth, as a phrase at random, only to express far-foreign countries.

(3.) Simon the Canaanite, surnamed *Zelotes:* and well did he brook his name, the fervency of whose zeal carried him into so far and cold a country to propagate the gospel. Dorotheus makes him to be both martyred and buried in Britain. "But this," saith Baronius, "receiveth no countenance from any ancient writers."† What, then, I pray, was Dorotheus himself, being bishop of Tyre under Diocletian and Constantine the Great? If the cardinal count him *young*, what grave seniors will he call *ancient?*

(4.) Aristobulus, though no apostle, yet an apostle's mate, Rom. xvi. 10, counted one of the seventy disciples, is by Grecian writers made bishop of Britain.‡ Strange, that foreign authors should see more in our island, than our home-bred historians, wholly silent thereof! and it much weakeneth their testimony, because they give evidence of things done at such distance from them. But how easy is it for a writer, with one word of his pen, to send an apostle many miles by land and leagues by sea, into a country wherein otherwise he never set his footing!

The result of all is this: Churches are generally ambitious to entitle themselves to apostles for their founders; conceiving they should otherwise be esteemed but as of the second form and younger house, if they received the faith from any inferior preacher. Wherefore, as the Heathen, in searching after the original of their nations, never leave soaring till they touch the clouds, and fetch their pedigree from some god; so Christians think it nothing worth, except they relate the first planting of religion in their country to some apostle. Whereas, indeed, it matters not, if the doctrine be the same, whether the apostles preached it by themselves, or by their successors. We see little certainty can be extracted, who first brought the gospel hither; it is so long since,

* Lib. iii. *De Vitâ S. Martini.* † *Annal. Eccles. in anno* 44, *num.* 39.
‡ *Menæa Græcorum, die decimo quinto Martii.*

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the British church hath forgotten her own infancy, who were her first godfathers. We see, the light of the word shined here, but see not who kindled it. I will not say, as God, to prevent idolatry, caused the body of Moses to be concealed, Deut. xxxiv. 6; so, to cut off from posterity all occasion of superstition, he suffered the memories of our primitive planters to be buried in obscurity.

9. *Claudia, notwithstanding Parsons's Exceptions, might be a British Christian. A.D. 63.*

Now, amongst the converts of the natives of this island, in this age, to Christianity, Claudia, surnamed Ruffina, is reputed a principal, wife to Pudens, a Roman senator. And because all this is too high a step for our belief to climb at once, the ascent will be more easy thus divided into stairs and half-paces:—

First. That Claudia was a Briton born. Martial affirms it in his Epigram, lib. xi. epig. 54:—

Claudia cæruleis cùm sit Ruffina Britannis
Edita, cur Latiæ pectora plebis habet?

Secondly. That this Claudia was wife to Pudens, the same poet averreth, lib. iv. epig. 13:—

Claudia, Rufe, meo nubit peregrina Pudenti.
Macte esto tædis, O Hymenæe, tuis.

Thirdly. That there was a Pudens and Claudia living at Rome, both Christians, we have it from a more infallible pen, [that] of St. Paul himself: "Eubulus greeteth thee, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren," 2 Tim. iv. 21.

Lastly. That this Claudia mentioned by St. Paul, then living at Rome, was the same Claudia, a Briton born, mentioned by Martial, is the opinion and probable conjecture of many modern writers.

But father Parsons will not admit hereof, because willingly he would not allow any sprinkling of Christianity in this island, but what was rained from Rome when Eleutherius sent to christian king Lucius, that so our engagement to the Romish church might be the more visible and conspicuous. "This of Claudia Ruffina is huddled up," saith he,* "by our late heretical writers;" (though some as catholic as himself, in his own sense, do entertain it;†) "and hereby we see that heretics are but slight provers, and very deceitful in all matters, as well historical as doctrinal."

10. *Parsons's Objections to the contrary answered.*

But be it known to him and others, that our history is founded on the best human books we can get, but our doctrine is grounded

* Parsons's "Three Conversions," part i. p. 18. † Pitzæus, *De Script. Brit.* p. 72, is zealous for it.

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on what is best in itself,—the Divine scriptures. The matter in hand is so slight a controversy that it cannot bear a demonstration on either side; it will suffice, if, by answering his reasons to the contrary, we clear it from all impossibility and improbability that it is not "huddled," but built up by plummet and line, with proportion to time and place.

ARGUMENT I.—There is a general silence of all antiquity in this matter.

ANSWER.—Negative arguments from human writers in such historical differences are of small validity.

ARGUMENT II.—Martial, a Heathen, would hardly so much commend Claudia if she had been a Christian.

ANSWER.—A wanton poet, in his chaste intervals, might praise that goodness in another which he would not practise in himself.

ARGUMENT III.—Claudia, spoken of by St. Paul, was in the time of Nero, and could not be known to Martial, who lived sixty years after, in the reign of Trajan.

ANSWER.—Though Martial died a very old man in Trajan's days, yet he flourished under Nero, very familiar with his friend and fellow-poet, Silius Italicus,* in whose consulship Nero died.

ARGUMENT IV.—That same Claudia (reported also the first hostess who entertained Peter and Paul) must be presumed ancient in Martial's remembrance, and, therefore, unfit to be praised for her beauty.

ANSWER.—Even in the autumn of her age, when she had enriched her husband with three children, her vigorous beauty, preserved by temperance, might entitle her to the commendation of matron-like comeliness.

ARGUMENT V.—The children assigned, in the Roman Calendar, to Claudia the Christian will not well agree to this British Claudia.

ANSWER.—Little certainty can be extracted, and therefore nothing enforced to purpose, from the number and names of her children; such is the difference of several writers concerning them.†

The issue of all is this: Claudia's story, as a British Christian, stands unremoved, for any force of these objections, though one need not be much engaged herein; for, whosoever is more than lukewarm is too hot in a case of so small consequence. Yet we will not willingly leave a hoof of the British honour behind, which may be brought on; the rather to save the longing of such, who delight on rath-ripe fruits: and antiquaries much please themselves to behold the probabilities of such early converts of our island. But, now to return again to the prime planters of religion in Britain: As for all those formerly reckoned up, there is in authors but a

* MARTIAL, lib. vii. ep. 62. † See USHER, *De Brit. Eccl. Prim.* cap. 3.

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tinkling mention of them; and the sound of their preaching, low and little, in comparison of those loud peals which are rung of Joseph of Arimathea's coming hither. Let the reader with patience take the sum thereof, extracted out of several authors.*

11. *The Coming of Joseph of Arimathea into Britain.*

The Jews, bearing an especial spite to Philip, (whether the apostle or deacon, uncertain,) Joseph of Arimathea, Lazarus, Mary Magdalene and Martha his sisters, with Marcella their servant, banished them out of Judea, and put them into a vessel without sails and oars, with intent to drown them. Yet they, being tossed with tempests on the Mid-land [Mediterranean] Sea, at last safely landed at Marseilles in France: a relation as ill-accoutred with tacklings as their ship, and which is unrigged in respect of time and other circumstances; neither hath it the authority of any authentic writer for a pilot to steer it; which, notwithstanding, hath had the happiness to arrive at the hearing of many, and belief of some few. Now, whilst Philip † continued preaching the gospel in France, he sent Joseph of Arimathea over into Britain, with Joseph his son, and ten other associates, to convert the natives of that island to Christianity. These, coming into Britain, found such entertainment from Arviragus the king, that though he would not be dissuaded from his idolatry by their preaching, yet he allowed them twelve hides of ground, (a hide is as much as, being well manured, will maintain a family; or, as others say, as much as one plough can handsomely manage,) in a desolate island, full of fens and brambles, called the *Ynis-Witrin*, since, by translation, "Glastonbury." Here they built a small church, and by direction from Gabriel the archangel,‡ dedicated it to the virgin Mary, encompassing it about with a church-yard; in which church, afterwards, Joseph was buried: and here these twelve lived many years, devoutly serving God, and converting many to the Christian religion.

12. *The History full of Dross when brought to the Touch.*

Now, a little to examine this history, we shall find, First, that no writer of credit can be produced, before the Conquest, who mentioneth Joseph's coming hither; but since that time, to make recompence for former silence, it is resounded from every side. As for Bale's citations out of Melkinus Avalonius, and Gildas Albanus, seeing the originals are not extant, they be as uncertain as what Baronius hath transcribed out of an English manuscript § in the

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 365—368.—EDIT. † Some hold Philip came not in this ship, but was in France before. ‡ MALMESBURY MS. *De Antiq. Glaston. Ecclesiæ.* § Written in our age, as Archbishop Usher observes, *De Brit. Eccl. Prim.* p. 15.

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Vatican. Yet, because the Norman charters of Glastonbury refer to a succession of many ancient charters, bestowed on that church by several Saxon kings, as the Saxon charters relate to British grants in intuition of Joseph's being there; we dare not wholly deny the substance of the story, though the leaven of monkery hath much swollen and puffed up the circumstance thereof. For, the mentioning of an enclosed church-yard overthrows the foundation of the church, seeing churches, in that time, got no such suburbs about them as any church-yards to attend them. The burying his body in the church was contrary to the practice of that age; yea, dead men's corpses were brought no nearer than the porch some hundreds of years after. The dedication of the place to the virgin Mary showeth the story of later date, calculated for the elevation of saint-worship. In a word: As this relation of Joseph is presented unto us, it hath a young man's brow, with an old man's beard; I mean, novel superstitions, disguised with pretended antiquity.

13. *The Platform of the most ancient Church in Christendom. A. D.* 64.

In all this story of Joseph's living at Glastonbury, there is no one passage reported therein [that] beareth better proportion to time and place than the church which he is said to erect; whose dimensions, materials, and making, are thus presented unto us. It had in length sixty feet, and twenty-six in breadth; * made of rods, wattled, or interwoven.† Where, at one view, we may behold the simplicity of primitive devotion, and the native fashion of British buildings in that age, and some hundred years after. For we find that Hoel Dha, king of Wales,‡ made himself a palace of hurdle-work, called *Tyguyn*, or "the white house;" because, for distinction's sake, (to difference it from, and advance it above, other houses,) the rods whereof it was made were unbarked, having the rind stripped off; which was then counted gay and glorious; as white-limed houses exceed those which are only rough cast. In this small oratory, Joseph, with his companions, watched, prayed, fasted, preached, having *high* meditations under a *low* roof, and *large* hearts betwixt *narrow* walls. If credit may be given to these authors, this church, without competition, was senior to all Christian churches in the world. Let not, then, stately modern churches disdain to stoop with their highest steeples, reverently doing homage to this poor structure, as their first platform and precedent. And let their checquered pavements no more disdain this oratory's plain floor, than

* Ancient plate of brass in the custody of sir Henry Spelman,—*De Concilüs Brit.* p. 11. † MALMESBURY, *ut prius.* ‡ He was king of all Wales many years after, viz. 940. See CAMDEN in Carmarthenshire.

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her thatched covering doth envy their leaden roofs. And although now it is meet that church-buildings, as well as private houses, partaking of the peace and prosperity of our age, should be both in their cost and cunning increased, (far be that pride and profaneness from any, to account nothing either too fair for man, or too foul for God!) yet it will not be amiss to desire, that our judgments may be so much the clearer in matters of truth, and our lives so much the purer in conversation, by how much our churches are more light, and our buildings more beautiful, than they were.

14. *Difference about the Place of Joseph's Burial. A. D. 76.*

Some difference there is about the place of burial of Joseph of Arimathea; some assigning his grave in the church of Glastonbury, others in the south corner of the church-yard, and others elsewhere. This we may be assured of,—that he, who resigned his own tomb to our Saviour, Matt. xxvii. 60, wanted not a sepulchre for himself. And here we must not forget, how, more than a thousand years after,* one John Bloone, of London, pretending an injunction from heaven, to seek for the body of Joseph of Arimathea, obtained a licence from king Edward III. to dig at Glastonbury for the same, as by his patent doth appear.† It seems, his commission of inquiry never originally issued out of the court of heaven; for God never sends his servants on a sleeveless errand, but saith, "Ask, and ye shall have; seek, and ye shall find." Whereas this man sought, and did never find, for aught we can hear of his inquisition. And we may well believe, that had he found the corpse of Joseph, though fame might have held her peace, yet superstition would not have been silent; but, long before this time, she had roared it even into the ears of deaf men. And truly he might have digged at Glastonbury to the centre of the earth, and yet not met with what he sought for, if Joseph were buried ten miles off, (as a Jesuit‡ will have it,) at Montacute, or in Hampden Hill. Hereafter there is hope, that the masons, digging in the quarries thereof, may light by chance on his corpse, which (if fond papists might prize it) would prove more beneficial to them, than the best bed of freestone they ever opened. The best is, be Joseph's body where it will, his soul is certainly happy in heaven.

15. *The budding Hawthorn nigh Glastonbury attributed a Miracle to Joseph's Holiness.*

Some ascribe to the sanctity of this Joseph the yearly budding of the hawthorn near Glastonbury, on Christmas-day,—no less than

* *Anno Domini* 1344, the nineteenth of Edward III. † In the Tower of London, nineteenth of Edward III. part. 1. parchment 8. ‡ GULIELMUS GOODUS, cited by Archbishop Usher, *De Brit. Ecc. Prim.* p. 28.

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an annual miracle. This, were it true, were an argument, (as king James did once pleasantly urge it,) to prove our old style before the new; (which prevents our computation by ten days, and is used in the church of Rome;) yea, all prognosticators might well calculate their almanacks from this hawthorn. Others more warily affirm, that it doth not punctually and critically bud on Christmas-day, (such miracles must be tenderly touched, lest, crushed by harsh handling, they vanish into smoke, like the apples of Sodom,) but on the days near or about it. However, it is very strange, that this hawthorn should be the harbinger, and, as it were, ride post to bring the first news of the spring, holding alone, as it may seem, correspondency with the trees of the antipodes, whilst other hawthorns near unto it have nothing but winter upon them.*

16. *Different Opinions of Men concerning it.*

It is true, by pouring every night warm water on the root thereof, a tree may be maturated artificially, to bud out in the midst of winter; but it is not within suspicion, that any such cost is here expended. Some likewise affirm, that if an hawthorn be grafted upon an holly, it is so adopted into the stock that it will bud in winter: but this doth not satisfy the accurateness of the time. Wherefore most men, pursued to render a reason hereof, take refuge at *occulta qualitas*, the most mannerly confession of ignorance. And God sometimes puts forth such questions and riddles in nature, on purpose to pose the pride of men conceited of their skill in such matters. But some are more uncharitable in this point, who, because they cannot find the reason hereof on earth, do fetch it from hell, not sticking to affirm, that the devil, to dandle the infant faith of fond people, works these pretty feats and petty wonders, having farther intents to invite them to superstition, and mould them to saint-worship thereby.

17. *The Subject of the Question taken away.*

However, there is no necessity that this should be imputed to the holiness of Arimathean Joseph. For there is, as it is credibly said, an oak in New Forest, nigh Lyndhurst in Hampshire, which is endued with the same quality, putting forth leaves about the same time, where the firmness of the rind thereof much increaseth the wonder: and yet, to my knowledge, (for aught I could ever learn,) none ever referred it to the miraculous influence of any saint. But I lose precious time, and remember a pleasant story, how two physicians, the one a Galenist, the other a Paracelsian, being at supper, fell into a hot dispute about the manner of digestion; and whilst they began to engage with earnestness in the controversy, a third

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 368.—EDIT.

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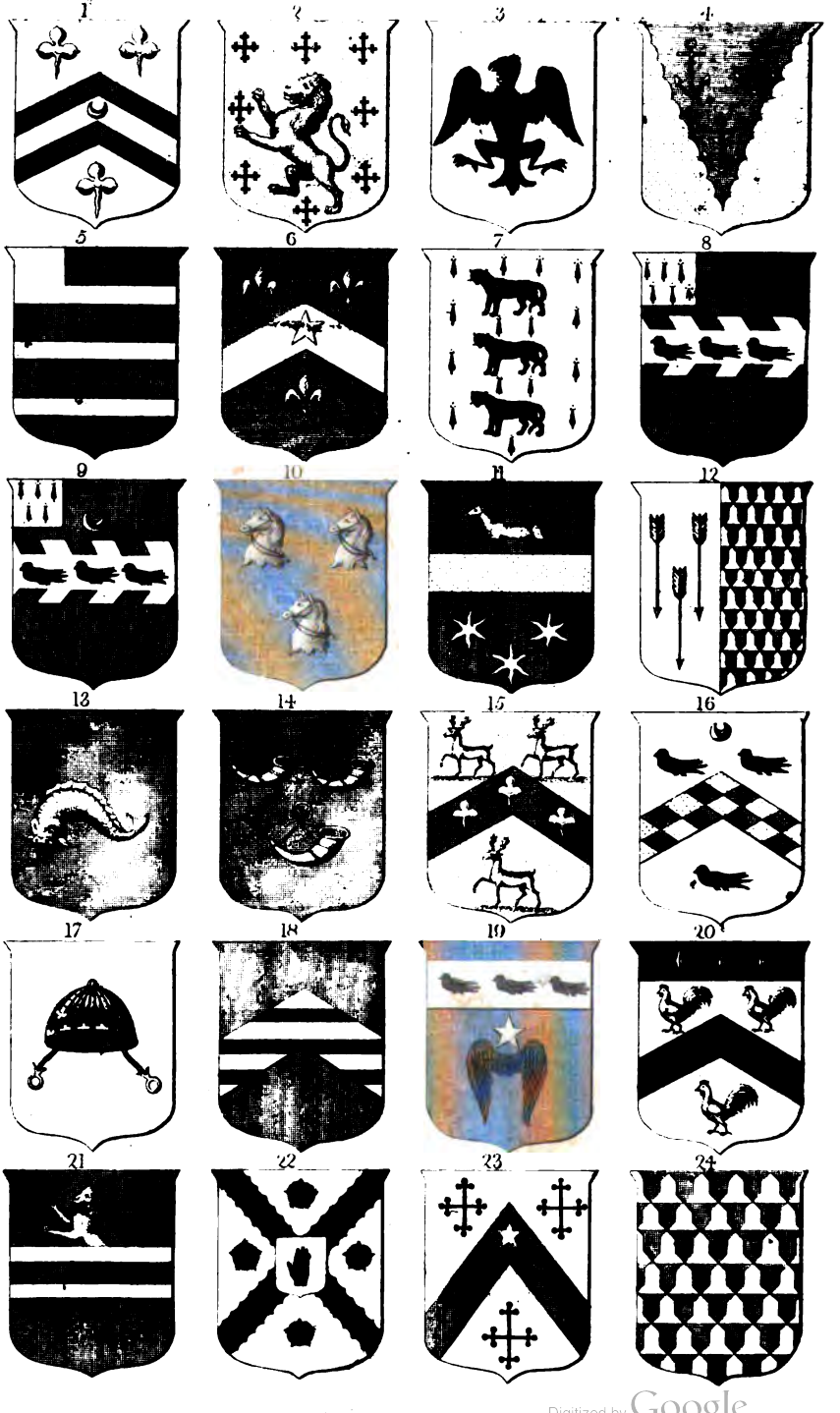

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THE ARMS OF PATRONS.

man, casually coming in, carried away the meat from them both. Thus, whilst opposite parties discuss the cause of this hawthorn's budding on Christmas-day, some soldiers have lately cut the tree down, and Christmas-day itself is forbidden to be observed; and so, I think, the question is determined.

18. *The Conclusion of this Century.*

To conclude this century: By all this it doth not appear, that the first preachers of the gospel in Britain did so much as touch at Rome; much less, that they received any command or commission thence to convert Britain, which should lay an eternal obligation of gratitude on this island to the see of Rome. Insomuch that Parsons himself (as unwilling to confess, as unable to deny, so apparent a truth) flies at last to this slight and slender shift: "That albeit St. Joseph came not immediately from Rome, yet he taught in England" (in Britain, he would say) "the Roman faith, whereof St. Paul hath written to the Romans themselves, 'that your faith is spoken of through the whole world,' Rom. i. 8." * Hereby the Jesuit hopes still to keep on foot the engagement of this island to Rome for her first conversion. But why should he call the Christian religion "the Roman faith," rather than "the faith of Jerusalem," or "the faith of Antioch?" seeing it issued from the former, and was received and first named in the latter city, before any spark of Christianity was kindled at Rome. But, what is the main, he may sooner prove the modern Italian tongue, now spoken in Rome, to be the self-same in propriety and purity with the Latin language in Tully's time, than that the religion professed in that city at this day, with all the errors and superstitions thereof, is the same in soundness of doctrine, and sanctity of life, with that faith which by St. Paul in the Roman church was then so highly commended.

SECTION II.

THE SECOND CENTURY.

TO ROBERT ABDY, OF LONDON, ESQUIRE.

He that hath a hand to take, and no tongue to return thanks, deserveth, for the future, to be lame and dumb: which punishment that it may not light on me, accept this acknowledgment of your favours to your devoted friend and servant, T. F.

* "Three Conversions," part i. chap. 1, num. 26.

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1. *Taurinus no Bishop of York. A. D.* 105.

DESIRE of our country's honour would now make us lay claim to Taurinus, bishop of York, and reported martyr. To strengthen our title unto him, we could produce many writers affirming it, if number made weight in this case.* But being convinced in our judgment, that such as make him a Briton ground their pretence on a leading mistake, reading him *Episcopum* EBORACENSEM, instead of EBROICENSEM, "Eureux" (as I take it) in France; we will not enrich our country by the errors of any, or advantage her honour by the misprisions of others. Thus being conscientiously scrupulous not to take or touch a thread which is none of our own, we may with more boldness hereafter keep what is justly ours, and challenge what is unjustly detained from us.

2. *Difference of Authors concerning the Time of King Lucius's Conversion. A. D.* 108.

But the main matter, which almost engrosseth all the history of this century, and, by scattered dates, is spread from the beginning to the end thereof, is the conversion of Lucius, king of Britain, to Christianity. However, not to dissemble, I do adventure thereon with much averseness, seeming sadly to presage, that I shall neither satisfy others nor myself; such is the variety, yea, contrariety of writers about the time thereof. "If the trumpet," saith the apostle, "giveth an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?"† He will be at a loss to order and dispose this story aright, who listeneth with greatest attention to the trumpet of antiquity, sounding at the same time a march and retreat; appointing Lucius to come into the world by his *birth*, when others design him by *death* to go out of the same. Behold, reader, a view of their differences presented unto thee; and it would puzzle Apollo himself to tune these jarring instruments into a concert.

These make king Lucius converted:—

	A. D.		A. D.
(1.) P. Jovius in Descrip. Brit.	99	(7.) John Capgrave.	156
(2.) Jo. Caius in Hist. Cantab.	103	(8.) Matth. Florilegus.	158
(3.) Annals of Burton.	137	(9.) Florence Vigorniensis.	162
(4.) Ninius, in one copy.	144	(10.) Antiq. of Winchester.	164
(5.) Annals of Krokysden.	150	(11.) Tho. Redburn, jun.	165
(6.) Geoff. of Monmouth.	155	(12.) Will. of Malmesbury.	166
		(13.) Venerable Bede.	167
		(14.) Henry of Erphurt.	169

* GUIL. HARRISON, *Descrip. Brit.* lib. i. cap. 7, *et* WERNERUS LAERIUS *in Fasciculo, anno* 94, *et* HARTMANNUS SCHEDELIUS *in Chronico.* † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 369—374.—EDIT.

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	A. D.		A. D.
(15.) Annals of Lichfield.	175	(22.) Matth. Paris, Westminster.	185
(16.) Marianus Scotus.	177	(23.) Hector Boëthius.	187
(17.) Ralph de Balduc.	178	(24.) Martin Polonus.	188
(18.) John Bale.	179	(25.) Saxon Annals.	189
(19.) Polydore Virgil.	182	(26.) John Harding.	190
(20.) Chron. Brit. Abbrev.	183		
(21.) Roger de Wendover.	184		

Here is more than a grand jury of writers, who neither agree in their verdicts with their foreman, nor one with another; there being betwixt the first and the last, Paulus Jovius and John Harding, ninety years' distance in their accounts. This, with other arguments, is used, not only to shake, but shatter, the whole reputation of the story. And we must endeavour to clear this objection, before we go farther, which is shrewdly pressed by many. For if the two elders, which accused Susanna, were condemned for liars, being found in two tales;—the one laying the scene of her incontinency under a mastick-tree, the other under a holm-tree;*—why may not the relation of Lucius be also condemned for a fiction? seeing the reporters thereof more differ in time, than the forenamed elders in place; seeeing *when* and *where* are two circumstances, both equally important, and concerning, in history, to the truth of any action.

3. *The History of King Lucius not disproved by the Dissension of Authors concerning the Time thereof.*

But we answer, that, however learned men differ in the date, they agree in the deed. They did set themselves so to heed the *matter*, as of most moment, being the soul and substance of history, that they were little curious (not to say, very careless) in accurate noting of the *time;* which, being well observed, doth not only add some lustre, but much strength, to a relation. And, indeed, all computation in the primitive time is very uncertain, there being then (and a good while after) "an anarchy," as I may term it, in authors' reckoning of years, because men were not subject to any one sovereign rule in accounting the year of our Lord; but every one followed his own arithmetic, to the great confusion of history, and prejudice of truth. In which age, though all start from the same place, our Saviour's birth, yet, running in several ways of account, they seldom meet together in their dating of any memorable accident. Worthy therefore was his work, whoever he was, who first calculated the computation we use at this day, and so set Christen-

* Susanna 54, 58.

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dom a copy, whereby to write the date of actions; which, since being generally used, hath reduced chronology to a greater certainty.

4. *Lucius might be a British King under the Roman Monarchy.*

As for their objection, that "Lucius could not be a king in the South of Britain, because it was then reduced to be a province under the Roman monarchy;" it affects not any that understand how it was the Roman custom, both to permit and appoint petty kings in several countries,* (as Antiochus in Asia, Herod in Judea, Dejotarus in Galatia,) † who, under them, were invested with regal power and dignity. And this was conceived to conduce to the state and amplitude of their empire. Yea, the German emperor at this day, successor to the Roman monarchy, is styled *rex regum*, as having many princes, and particularly the king of Bohemia, homagers under him. As for other inconsistents with truth which depend, as retainers, on this relation of king Lucius, they prove not that this whole story should be refused, but refined. Which calleth aloud to the discretion of the reader, to fan the chaff from the corn; and to his industry, to rub the rust from the gold, which almost of necessity will cleave to matters of such antiquity. Thus conceiving that for the main we have asserted king Lucius, we come to relate his history as we find it.

5. *Lucius sendeth to the Bishop of Rome to be instructed in Christianity. A. D.* 167.

He, being much taken with the miracles which he beheld truly done by pious Christians, fell in admiration of, and love with, their religion; and sent Elvanus and Meduinus, men of known piety and learning in the scriptures, to Eleutherius bishop of Rome, with a letter, requesting several things of him, but principally that he might be instructed in the Christian faith. The reason why he wrote to Rome, was, because at this time the church therein was (she can ask no more, we grant no less) the most eminent church in the world, shining the brighter, because set on the highest candlestick—the imperial city. We are so far from grudging Rome the happiness she once had, that we rather bemoan she lost it so soon, degenerating from her primitive purity. The letter which Lucius wrote is not extant at this day; and nothing thereof is to be seen, save only by reflection, as it may be collected by the answer returned by Eleutherius, which (such an one as it is) it will not be amiss here to insert.

* *Vetus et jampridem recepta populi Romani consuetudo, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges.*—TACITUS *in Vitâ Agricolæ.* † Fuller, in his "Appeal of injured Innocence," (p. 370,) says, "I confess memory-mistake of Sicilia for Galatia."—EDIT.

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6. *This Translation of the Letter of Eleutherius is transcribed out of Bishop Godwin, in his Catalogue of Bishops. There is some Variety between this and that of Mr. Fox.*

"Ye require of us the Roman laws and the emperor's to be sent over unto you, which you would practise and put in ure within your realm. The Roman laws and the emperor's we may ever reprove, but the law of God we may not. Ye have received of late, through God's mercy, in the kingdom of Britain, the law and faith of Christ; ye have with you, within the realm, both parts of the scriptures: out of them, by God's grace, with the council of the realm, take ye a law, and by that law, through God's sufferance, rule your kingdom of Britain. For you be God's vicar in your kingdom. 'The Lord's is the earth, and the fulness of the world, and all that dwell in it.' And again, according to the prophet that was a king: 'Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.' And again, according to the same prophet: 'O God, give judgment unto the king, and thy righteousness unto the king's son.' He said not, 'the judgment and righteousness of the emperor,' but, 'thy judgment and righteousness.' The king's sons be the Christian people and folk of the realm, which be under your government, and live and continue in peace within your kingdom. As the gospel saith, 'Like as the hen gathereth her chickens under her wings,' so doth the king his people. The people and the folk of the realm of Britain be yours; whom, if they be divided, ye ought to gather in concord and peace, to call them to the faith and law of Christ, to cherish and maintain * them, to rule and govern them, so as you may reign everlastingly with Him whose vicar you are; which with the Father, and the Son," &c.

7. *A Preparative for the examining the Truth of this Letter.*

Now we have done our threshing, we must begin our winnowing, —to examine the epistle. For, the trade of counterfeiting the letters of eminent men began very early in the church. Some were tampering with it in the apostles' time, which occasioned St. Paul's caution, "That ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us," 2 Thess. ii. 2. Since, men, then but apprentices, are now grown masters in this mystery; wherefore, it will be worth our examining, whether this epistle be genuine or not. Say not, "This doth betray a peevish, if not malicious, disposition, and argues a vexatious spirit in him who will now call the title of this letter in question, which,

* In the Latin it is, *Manu tenere.*

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time out of mind, hath been in the peaceable possession of an authentic reputation, especially seeing it soundeth *in honorem ecclesiæ Britannicæ;* and, grant it a tale, yet it is smoothly told to the credit of the British church." But let such know, that our church is sensible of no honour but what resulteth from truth; and if this letter be false, the longer it hath been received, the more need there is of a speedy and present confutation, before it be so firmly rooted in men's belief, past power to remove it. See, therefore, the arguments which shake the credit thereof:—

(1.) The date of this letter differs in several copies; and yet none of them light right on the time of Eleutherius, according to the computation of the best-esteemed authors.

(2.) It relates to a former letter of king Lucius, wherein he seemeth to request of Eleutherius, both what he himself had before, and what the good bishop was unable to grant. For, what need Lucius send for the Roman laws, to which Britain was already subjected, and ruled by them? At this very time, wherein this letter is pretended to be written, the Roman laws were here in force; and, therefore, to send for them hither was even *actum agere*, and to as much purpose as to fetch water from Tiber to Thames. Besides, Eleutherius of all men was most improper to have such a suit preferred to him. Holy man! he little meddled with secular matters, or was acquainted with the emperor's laws; only he knew how to suffer martyrdom in passive obedience to his cruel edicts.

(3.) How high a throne doth this letter mount Lucius on, making him a monarch! who, though *rex Britannicus*, was not *rex Britanniæ*, except by a large synecdoche; neither sole nor supreme king here, but partial and subordinate to the Romans.

(4.) The scripture quoted is out of St. Jerome's translation, which came more than an hundred years after. And the age of Eleutherius could not understand the language of *manu tenere*, for "to maintain," except it did antedate some of our modern lawyers to be their interpreter.

In a word: We know that the Gibeonites' mouldy bread was baked in an oven very near the Israelites, Joshua ix. 12; and this letter had its original of a later date,* which, not appearing any where in the world till a thousand years after the death of Eleutherius, probably crept out of some monk's cell, some four hundred years since, the true answer of Eleutherius being not extant for many years before.†

* See sir HENRY SPELMAN in "Councils," p. 34, &c., where there is another copy of this letter, with some alterations and additions. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 370—372.—EDIT.

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8. *King Lucius baptized.*

But, to proceed: Eleutherius, at the request of king Lucius, sent unto him Faganus and Derwianus,* or Dunianus, two holy men and grave divines, to instruct him in the Christian religion; by whom the said king Lucius, called by the Britons *Lever-Maur*, or "the great light," was baptized, with many of his subjects. For if when private persons were converted, Cornelius, Lydia, &c., their households also were baptized with them, Acts xvi. 15, 33; it is easily credible, that the example of a king embracing the faith drew many followers of court and country; sovereigns seldom wandering alone without their retinue to attend them. But whereas some report that most, yea, all, of the natives of this island then turned Christians,† it is very improbable; and the weary traveller may sooner climb the steepest mountains in Wales, than the judicious reader believe all the hyperbolical reports in the British chronicles hereof.

9. *G. Monmouth's Fiction of Flamens and Arch-Flamens.*

For Geoffry of Monmouth tells us, that at this time there were in England twenty-eight cities, each of them having a *flamen*, or pagan priest; and three of them, namely, London, York, and Caerleon in Wales, had *arch-flamens*,‡ to which the rest were subjected: and Lucius placed bishops in the room of the *flamens*, and archbishops, metropolitans, in the places of *arch-flamens:* "All which," saith he, "solemnly received their confirmation from the pope." But herein our author seems not well acquainted with the propriety of the word *flamen*, their use and office amongst the Romans; who were not set severally, but many together in the same city. Nor were they subordinate one to another, but all to the priests' college, and therein to the *Pontifex Maximus*. Besides, the British manuscript,§ which Monmouth is conceived to have translated, makes no mention of these *flamens*. Lastly. These words, "archbishop" and "metropolitan," are so far from being current in the days of king Lucius, that they were not coined till after-ages. So that, in plain English, his *flamens* and *arch-flamens* seem flams and arch-flams, even notorious falsehoods! ||

10. *A gross Mistake.*

Great, also, is the mistake of another British historian¶ affirming, how, in the days of king Lucius, this island was divided into five

* *Alibi, Phagamus et Duvianus.* † *Ita ut, in brevi, nullus infidelis remaneret.*—MATT. PARIS, WESTM. ‡ MONMOUTH *De Gestis Britannor.* lib. ii. cap. 1, fol. 33. § JA. ARMACH. *De Brit. Eccl. Prim.* p. 7. || See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 375—377.—EDIT. ¶ GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS *De Sedis Menevensis Dignitate, apud D. Joh. Priseum*, p. 75.

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Roman provinces; namely, Britain the first, Britain the second, Flavia, Maximia, and Valentia; and that each of these was then divided into twelve bishoprics, sixty in the whole: a goodly company, and more by half than ever this land did behold. Whereas these provinces were so named from Valens, Maximus, and Flavius Theodosius, Roman emperors, many years after the death of Lucius. Thus, as the damsel convinced St. Peter to be a Galilean, "for," said she, "thy speech agreeth thereunto," Mark xiv. 70; so this five-fold division of Britain, by the very novelty of the names, is concluded to be of far later date than what that author pretendeth.

11. *Pagan Temples in Britain converted to Christian Churches.*

But it is generally agreed, that, about this time, many Pagan temples in Britain had their property altered, and the self-same were converted into Christian churches; particularly, that dedicated to Diana in London, and another near it, formerly consecrated to Apollo, in the city now called Westminster. This was done, not out of covetousness, to save charges in founding new fabrics, but out of Christian thrift; conceiving this imitation an invitation to make Heathens come over more cheerfully to the Christian faith, when beholding their temples, (whereof they had a high and holy opinion,) not sacrilegiously demolished, but solemnly continued to a pious end, and rectified to the service of the true God. But human policy seldom proves prosperous, when tampering with Divine worship, especially when without or against direction from God's word. This new wine, put into old vessels, did in after-ages taste of the cask; and, in process of time, Christianity, keeping a correspondency and some proportion with Paganism,* got a smack of Heathen ceremonies. Surely, they had better have built new nests for the holy dove, and not have lodged it where screech-owls and unclean birds had formerly been harboured.† If the high-priest amongst the Jews was forbidden to "marry a widow, or divorced woman, but that he should take a virgin of his own people to wife," Lev. xxi. 14; how unseemly was it, that God himself should have the reversion of profaneness assigned to his service, and his worship wedded to the *relict*, yea, (what was worse,) *whorish* shrines, formerly abused with idolatry!

12. *The Bounty of King Lucius to Cambridge. A.D.* 178.

Some report, that at this time three thousand philosophers of the University of Cambridge were converted and baptized; that king Lucius came thither, and bestowed many privileges and immuni-

* Thus, the *Pantheon*, or "shrine of all gods" in Rome, was turned into the church of All Saints. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 378, 379.—EDIT.

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ties on the place;* with much other improbable matter. For, surely, they do a real wrong, under a pretended courtesy, to that famous academy, to force a peruke of false gray hair upon it, whose reverend wrinkles already command respect of themselves. Yet Cambridge makes this use of these over-grown charters of pope Eleutherius, king Lucius, king Arthur, and the like, to send them out in the front, as the forlorn-hope, when she is to encounter with Oxford in point of antiquity; and if the credit of such old monuments be cut off, (as what else can be expected?) yet she still keeps her main battle firm and entire, consisting of stronger authorities, which follow after. Nor doth Cambridge care much to cast away such doubtful charters, provided her sister likewise quit all title to fabulous antiquity, (setting dross against dross,) and waving tales, try both the truth of their age by the register of unquestioned authors, if this difference betwixt them be conceived to deserve the deciding.

13. *Several Churches founded by King Lucius. A. D.* 179.

Besides the churches afore-mentioned, many others there were, whose building is ascribed to king Lucius: as, namely:—

(1.) St. Peter's in Cornhill, in London, A. D. 179; to which Ciran, a great courtier, lent his helping hand. It is said, for many years after, to have been the seat of an archbishopric:† one Thean first enjoyed that dignity.

(2.) *Ecclesia primæ sedis*, or the chief cathedral church in Gloucester.

(3.) A church at Winchester, consecrated by Faganus and Duvianus, A. D. 180, whereof one Devotus was made abbot.

(4.) A church, and college of Christian philosophers, at Bangor.‡

(5.) The church dedicated to St. Mary in Glastonbury, repaired and raised out of the ruins by Faganus and Duvianus, where they lived with twelve associates, A. D. 187.

(6.) A chapel in honour of Christ in Dover-castle.§

(7.) The church of St. Martin in Canterbury: understand it thus, —that church which in after-ages was new named, and converted to the honour of that saint.

Of all these, that at Winchester was king Lucius's darling, which he endowed with large revenues, giving it all the land twelve miles on every side of the city, fencing the church about with a churchyard, on which he bestowed privileges of a sanctuary, and building a dormitory and refectory, for the monks there; if the little His-

* Caius *De Antiq. Cantab.* p. 51, *et Hist. Cantab.* p. 22. † *Tabula pensilis quæ adhuc in illâ ecclesiâ cernitur.* ‡ Pitzæus *De Brit. Scriptor.* num. 21. § John Leland, *Assert. Arthuri.* fol. 7.

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tory of Winchester be to be believed,* whose credit is very suspicious, because of the modern language used therein. For as country-painters, when they are to draw some of the ancient Scripture-patriarchs, use to make them with bands, cuffs, hats, and caps, alamode to the times wherein they themselves do live; so, it seemeth, the author of this History last-cited, lacking learning to acquaint him with the garb and character of the age of king Lucius, doth portray and describe the bounty and church-buildings of that king, according to the phrase and fashion of that model of monkery in his own age.

14. *Two Luciuses confounded into one.*

Some Dutch writers report, that king Lucius in his old age left his kingdom, and went over into France, thence into Germany, as far as the Alps; where he converted all Rhetia,† and the city of Augsburg in Suabia, by his preaching, with the assistance of Emerita his sister; it being no news, in God's harvest, to see women with their sickles a-reaping. It is confessed, that converting of souls is a work worthy a king; David's and Solomon's preaching hath silenced all objections to the contrary. It is also acknowledged, that kings used to renounce the world, and betake themselves to such pious employment; though this custom, frequent in after-ages, was not so early a riser as to be up so near the primitive times. It is therefore well observed by a learned man,‡ that Lucius the German preacher was a different person from the British king, who never departed our island, but died therein. I have read, how a woman in the Lower Palatinate, being big with twins, had the fruit of her womb so strangely altered by a violent contusion casually befalling her, that she was delivered of one monster with two heads, which nature had intended for two perfect children.§ Thus the history of this age, being pregnant with a double Lucius at the same time, is, by the carelessness of unadvised authors, so jumbled and confounded together, that those which ought to have been parted, as distinct persons, make up one monstrous one, without due proportion to truth, yea, with the manifest prejudice thereof.

* *Manuscript. in Bibliotheed Cottoniand.* † VELSER. *Rerum August. Vindelic.* lib. vi. *ad annum* 179. ‡ ACHILLES GASSARUS *in Augustanæ urbis Descriptione.* § MONSTER *De Germaniâ*, in the description of the Lower Palatinate.

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SECTION III.

THE THIRD CENTURY.

TO MR. SIMEON BONNELL, MERCHANT.

IT is proportionable to present a century, *short in story*, to one *low in stature*, though deservedly *high* in the esteem of your friend, T. F.

1. *The Death, Burial, and Epitaph of King Lucius. A. D.* 201.

OF all centuries this begins most sadly; at the entrance whereof we are accosted with the funeral of king Lucius, (the brightest sun must set!) buried, as they say, in Gloucester. Different dates of his death are assigned; but herein we have followed the most judicious.* Long after, the monks of that convent bestowed an epitaph upon him, having in it nothing worthy of translating:

Lucius in tenebris prius idola qui coluisti,
Es meritò celebris ex quo baptisma subisti.†

It seems the puddle-poet did hope, that the jingling of his rhyme would drown the sound of his false quantity. Except any will say, that he affected to make the middle syllable in *idōla* short, because in the days of king Lucius idolatry was curbed and contracted, whilst Christianity did dilate and extend itself.

2. *The Christian Faith, from the first Preaching thereof, ever continued in Britain.*

But Christianity in Britain was not buried in the grave of Lucius, but survived after his death. Witness Gildas, whose words deserve to be made much of, as the clearest evidence of the constant continuing of religion in this island. "Christ's precepts," saith he, "though they were received but lukewarmly of the inhabitants, yet they remained entirely with some, less sincerely with others, even until the nine years of persecution under Diocletian."‡ Whose expression concerning the entertaining of Christianity here, though spoken indefinitely of the British inhabitants, yet we are so far from understanding it universally of all this island, or generally of the

* Annals of Sarum, M. Paris, Westm., with London Tables, and Hist. of Rochester.
† JOHN BEVER in his "Abbrev. of the British Chron."
‡ *Quæ præcepta, (in Britanniâ,) licet ab incolis tepidè suscepta sunt, apud quosdam tamen integrè, et alios minus, usque ad persecutionem Diocletiani novennem permansêre.*—GILDAS *in Epist. de Excidio Brit.*

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most, or eminently of the principal parts thereof, that, if any list to contend that the main of Britain was still Pagan, we will not oppose: a thing neither to be doubted of, nor wondered at, if the modern complaints of many be true,—that, even in this age, there are dark corners in this kingdom where profaneness lives quietly with invincible ignorance. Yea, that the first professors in Christianity were but lukewarm in religion, will, without oath made for the truth thereof, be easily believed by such who have felt the temper of the English Laodiceans now-a-days. However, it appears there were some honest hearts, that still kept Christianity on foot in the kingdom. So that since religion first dwelt here, it never departed hence; like the candle of the virtuous wife, "it went not out by night," Prov. xxxi. 18; by the night neither of ignorance, nor of security, nor of persecution. The island generally never was an apostate, nor, by God's blessing, ever shall be.

3. *Two Fathers to be believed before two Children.*

To the authority of Gildas, we will twist the testimony of two Fathers, both flourishing in this century,—Tertullian and Origen; plainly proving Christianity in Britain in this age; both of them being undoubtedly orthodox (without mixture of Montanist or Millenary) in historical matters. Hear the former: "There are places of the Britons, which were unaccessible to the Romans, but yet subdued to Christ."* Origen, in like manner: "The power of God our Saviour is even with them which in Britain are divided from our world."† These ought to prevail in any rational belief, rather than the detracting reports of two modern men, Paradine and Dempster, who affirm, that, after Lucius's death, the British nation returned to their Heathen rites, and remained infidels for full five hundred years after. Which words,‡ if casually falling from them, may be passed by with pardon; if ignorantly uttered, from such pretenders to learning, will be heard with wonder; if wilfully vented, must be taxed for a shameless and impudent falsehood. Had Dempster (the more positive of the two in this point) read as many authors as he quoteth, and marked as much as he read, he must have confuted himself; yea, though he had obstinately shut his eyes, so clear a truth would have shined through his eyelids. It will be no wild justice, or furious revenge, but equity, to make themselves satisfaction, if the Britons declare Dempster devoid of the faith of an historian, who endeavoured to deprive their ancestors

* *Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita.*—TERTUL. *Advers. Judæos*, cap. 7. † *Virtus Domini Salvatoris et cum his est, qui ab orbe nostro in Britanniâ dividuntur.*—ORIG. *in Lucæ*, c. 1, Homil. 6. ‡ PARADINE, *Ang. Descrip.* cap. 22. DEMPSTER *in Apparat. Hist. Scot.* cap. 6.

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of the Christian faith for many years together; his pen, to befriend the North, doing many bad offices to the South part of this island.

4. *The Judgment of the Magdeburgenses in this Point.*

The Magdeburgenses, compilers of the general Ecclesiastical History, not having less learning, but more ingenuity, speaking of the churches through Europe in this age, thus express themselves: "Then follow the isles of the ocean, where we first meet with Britain;" *mansisse et hac ætate ejus insulæ ecclesias, affirmare non dubitamus;* "We doubt not to affirm, that the churches of that island did also remain in this age." But as for the names of the places, and persons professing it, we crave to be excused from bringing in the bill of our particulars.*

5. *Want of Work no Fault of the Workman.*

By the Levitical law, if an ox, sheep, or beast, were delivered to a man to keep, and it were stolen away from him, the keeper should make restitution to the owner thereof; but if it was torn in pieces, and he could bring the fragments thereof for witness, he was not bound to make it good, Exod. xxii. 12, 13. Had former historians delivered the entire memory of the passages of this century to our custody, and charged us with them, the reader might justly have blamed our negligence, if, for want of our industry or carefulness, they had miscarried; but seeing they were devoured by age, in evidence whereof we produce these torn reversions hardly rescued from the teeth of time, we presume no more can justly be exacted of us.

6. *Reason why so little left of this Age.*

Gildas very modestly renders the reason why so little is extant of the British History. *Scripta patriæ, scriptorumve monumenta, si quæ fuerint, aut ignibus hostium exusta, aut civium exulum classe longius deportata, non comparent.* "The monuments," saith he, "of our country, or writers, if there were any, appear not, as either burnt by the fire of enemies, or transported far off by our banished countrymen."

7. *Conclusion of this Century.*

This is all I have to say of this century; and must now confess myself as unable to go on, so ashamed to break off; scarce having had, of a full hundred years, so many words of solid history. But, as I find little, so I will feign nothing; time being better spent in silence, than in lying. Nor do I doubt but clean stomachs will be

* *Centuria tertia*, cap. 2. colum. 6.

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better satisfied with one drop of the milk of truth, than foul feeders, who must have their bellies full, with a trough of wash, mingled with the water of fabulous inventions. If any hereafter shall light on more history of these times, let them not condemn my negligence, whilst I shall admire their happiness.

SECTION IV.

THE FOURTH CENTURY.

TO THEOPHILUS BIDULPH, OF LONDON, ESQUIRE.

Of all shires in England, Staffordshire was (if not the soonest) the largest sown with "the seed of the church," I mean, "the blood of primitive martyrs;" as by this century doth appear. I could not, therefore, dedicate the same to a fitter person than yourself, whose family hath flourished so long in that county, and whose favours have been so great unto your thankful friend, T. F.

1. *First Persecution in Britain under Diocletian. A.D.* 303.

Dark and tempestuous was the morning of this century, which afterward cleared up to be a fair day. It began with great affliction to God's saints. The Spirit saith to the church of Smyrna, "Ye shall have tribulation ten days," Rev. ii. 10. This is commonly understood of the ten general persecutions over all the Christian world. But herein Divine mercy magnified itself towards this island, that the last œcumenical, was the first provincial, persecution in Britain. God, though he made our church his darling, would not make it a wanton; she must taste of the rod with the rest of her sisters. "The fiery trial," spoken of by the apostle, 1 Peter iv. 12, now found out even those which by water were divided from the rest of the world. This tenth persecution, as it was the last, so it was the greatest of all, because satan, the shorter his reign, the sharper his rage; so that what his fury lacks in the length it labours to gain in the thickness thereof.

2. *Alban, the British St. Stephen, how a Citizen of Rome.*

In this persecution, the first Briton which to heaven led the van of the noble army of martyrs, was Alban, a wealthy inhabitant of

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Verolam-cestre, and a citizen of Rome; for so Alexander Neccham* reports him:—

Hic est, martyrii roseo decoratus honore,
Albanus, cives, inclita Roma, tuus.

"Here Alban, Rome, thy citizen renown'd,
With rosy grace of martyrdom was crown'd."

None need stop, much less stumble, at this seeming contradiction, easily reconciled by him that hath read St. Paul, in one place proclaiming himself "a Hebrew of the Hebrews," Philip. iii. 5, and elsewhere, Acts xxii. 25, pleading himself to be a Roman, because born in Tarsus, a city of Cilicia, and Roman colony; as Verolam-cestre was at this time enfranchised with many immunities. Thus Alban was a Briton by parentage, a Roman by privilege; naturally a Briton, naturalized a Roman; and, which was his greatest honour, he was also citizen of that spiritual Jerusalem which is from above.

3. *The Manner of Alban's Conversion.*

His conversion happened on this manner: Amphibalus, a Christian preacher of Caer-leon in Wales, was fain to fly from persecution into the Eastern parts of this island, and was entertained by Alban, in his house in Verulam. Soon did the sparks of this guest's zeal catch hold on his host, and inflamed him with love to the Christian religion. Herein our Saviour made good his promise: "He that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man, shall receive a righteous man's reward," Matt. x. 41. And the shot of Amphibalus's entertainment was plentifully discharged in Alban's sudden and sincere conversion. Not long after, a search being made for Amphibalus, Alban secretly and safely conveyed him away, and, exchanging clothes with him,† offered himself for his guest to the Pagan officers, who, at that instant, were a-sacrificing to their devil-gods; where not only Alban, being required, refused to sacrifice, but also he reproved others for so doing, and thereupon was condemned to most cruel torments. But he conquered their cruelty with his patience; and though they tortured their brains to invent tortures for him, he endured all with cheerfulness; till rather their weariness than pity made them desist. And here we must bewail, that we want the true story of this man's martyrdom, which impudent monks have mixed with so many improbable tales, that it is a torture to a discreet ear to hear them. However, we will set them down as we find them; the rather, because we count it a thrifty way, first to glut the reader's belief with popish miracles,

* In his poem on Verulam. † Beda, lib. i. cap. 7.

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that so he may loathe to look or listen after them in the sequel of the History.

4. *The miraculous Martyrdom of Alban.*

Alban being sentenced to be beheaded, much people flocked to the place of his execution, which was on a hill called Holm-hurst;* to which they were to go over a river, where the narrow passage admitted of very few abreast. Alban, being to follow after all the multitude, and perceiving it would be very late before he could come to act his part, and counting every delay half a denial, (who will blame one for longing to have a crown?) by his prayer, obtained, that the river, parting asunder, afforded free passage for many together. The corrupted copy of Gildas calls this river the Thames.† But if the miracle were as far from truth as Thames from Verulam, (being sixteen miles distant,) it would be very hard to bring them both together. The sight hereof so wrought with him who was appointed to be his executioner, that he utterly refused the employment, desiring rather to die with him, or for him, than to offer him any violence. Yet soon was another substituted in his place; for some cruel Doeg will quickly be found to do that office which more merciful men decline.

5. *A new Spring of Water, at Alban's Summons, appears in the Top of a Hill.*

Alban at the last, being come to the top of the hill, was very dry, and desirous to drink. Wonder not that he, being presently to taste of "joys for evermore," should wish for fading water. Sure, he thirsted most for God's glory, and did it only to catch hold of the handle of an occasion to work a miracle for the good of the beholders. For, presently by his prayer, he summoned up a spring to come forth on the top of the hill, to the amazement of all that saw it. Yet it moistened not his executioner's heart with any pity, who, notwithstanding, struck off the head of this worthy saint,‡ and instantly his own eyes fell out of his head, so that he could not see the villany which he had done. Presently after, the former convert-executioner, who refused to put Alban to death, was put to death himself,—baptized no doubt, though not with water, in his own blood. The body of Alban was afterwards plainly buried: that age knowing no other use of saints' dust, than to commit it to the dust, "earth to earth;" not acquainted with adoration and circumgestation of relics; as ignorant of the manner *how*, as the reason *why*, to do it. But some hundred years after, king Offa disturbed the sleeping

* Understand it so called afterwards in the time of the Saxons. † Thames is wanting in the manuscript Gildas, in Cambridge library. ‡ May 23, *aliter* June 22.

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corpse of this saint, removing them to a more stately though less quiet bed, enshrining them, as (God willing) shall be related hereafter.

6. *Amphibalus. Difference about his Name.*

Immediately followed the martyrdom of Amphibalus, Alban's guest, and ghostly father;* though the story of his death be encumbered with much obscurity. For, first, there is a query in his very name: why called Amphibalus? and how came this compounded Greek word to wander into Wales? except any will say, that this man's British name was, by authors in after-ages, so translated into Greek. Besides, the name speaks rather the vestment than the wearer, signifying "a cloak wrapped or cast about;"† (Samuel was marked by such a mantle;) and, it may be, he got his name hence; as Robert Curt-hose, son to William the Conqueror, had his surname from going in such a garment. And it is worth our observing, that this good man passeth nameless in all authors till about four hundred years since; when Geoffry of Monmouth was his god-father, and first calls him Amphibalus,‡ for reasons concealed from us, and best known to himself.

7. *The cruel Manner of his Martyrdom.*

But it matters not for words, if the matter were true, being thus reported. A thousand inhabitants of Verulam went into Wales to be further informed in the faith, by the preaching of Amphibalus; who were pursued by a Pagan army of their fellow-citizens, by whom they were overtaken, overcome, and murdered; save that one man only, like Job's messenger, who escaped of them, to report the loss of the rest. And although every thing unlikely is not untrue, it was a huge drag-net, and cunningly cast, that killed all the fish in the river. Now these Pagan Verolamians brought Amphibalus back again; and being within ken of their city, in the village called Redburn, three miles from Verulam, they cruelly put him to death. For, making an incision in his belly, they took out his guts, and, tying them to a stake, whipped him round about it. All which he endured, as free from impatience as his persecutors from compassion. Thus died Amphibalus; and a writer,§ born and named from that place, reporteth, that in his days the two knives which

* September 16th. † The following is the judgment of Dr. William Howel, in his "Institution of General History," who is deservedly considered a great authority on matters of this kind:—"Gildas wrote, that Constantine slew two boys of royal blood, *sub sancti abbatis amphibalo*, that is, 'under the gown-coat or vestment of the holy abbot:' for, that *amphibalum* was a sort of outward vest or garment worn by clerks and monks, is very certain, hairy on both sides, so that it was doubtful which was the outward or inward side of it, whence it had its name."—EDIT. ‡ USHER *De Brit. Eccl. Primord.* p. 159. § THOMAS REDBURN, who wrote, 1480.

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stabbed him were kept in the church of Redburn. The heat and resplendent lustre of this saint's suffering wrought as the sun-beams, according to the capacity of the matter it met with, in the beholders, melting the waxen minds of some into Christianity, and obdurating the hard hearts of others with more madness against religion.

8. *Vain Fancies concerning the Stake of Amphibalus.*

Tradition reports, that the stake he was tied to afterwards turned to a tree, extant at this very day,* and admired of many, as a great piece of wonder; though, as most things of this nature, more in report than reality. That it hath green leaves in winter, mine eyes can witness false: and as for its standing at a stay, time out of mind, neither impaired, nor improved in bigness, (which some count so strange,) be it reported to woodmen and foresters, whether it be not ordinary. I think the wood of the tree is as miraculous, as the water of the well adjoining is medicinal; which fond people fetch so far, and yet a credulous drinker may make a cordial drink thereof.

9. *The Martyrdom of another thousand Britons variously reported.*

At the time of Amphibalus's martyrdom, another thousand of the Verulam citizens, being converted to Christ, were by command of the judges all killed in the same place.† A strange execution, if true; seeing John Ross of Warwick‡ lays the scene of this tragedy far off, and at another time, with many other circumstances inconsistent with this relation; telling us how, at Lichfield in Staffordshire, this great multitude of people were long before slain by the Pagans, as they attended to the preaching of Amphibalus. This relation is favoured by the name of Lichfield, which in the British tongue signifies a "Golgotha," or place bestrewed with skulls;§ in allusion whereto that city's arms are a field surcharged with dead bodies. He needs almost a miraculous faith,—to be able to remove mountains, yea, to make the sun stand still, and sometimes to go back,—who will undertake to accord the contradictions in time and place, between the several relaters of this history.

10. *Several Places pretend to, and contend for, the same Martyrdom.*

The records of Winchester make mention of a great massacre, whereby, at this time, all their monks were slain in their church; whilst "the Chronicle of Westminster" challengeth the same to be done in their convent; and "the History of Cambridge" ascribeth

* I mean *anno* 1643. † USHER *De Brit. Eccl. Primord.* p. 160. ‡ In his Book of the Bishops of Worcester. § See "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 379. —EDIT.

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it to the Christian students of that university, killed by their British persecutors. Whether this happened in any or all of these places, I will not determine: for he tells a lie, though he tells a truth, that peremptorily affirms that which he knows is but uncertain. Meantime we see, that it is hard for men to suffer martyrdom, and easy for their posterity to brag of their ancestors' sufferings; yea, who would not entitle themselves to the honour, when it is parted from the pain? When persecution is a-coming, every man posteth it off, as the Philistines did the ark infected with the plague, 1 Sam. v.; and no place will give it entertainment. But when the storm is once over, then, as seven cities contended for Homer's birth in them, many places will put in to claim a share in the credit thereof.

11. *The imperfect History of these Times.*

Beside Amphibalus, suffered Aaron and Julius, two substantial citizens of Caer-leon; and then Socrates and Stephanus, forgotten by our British writers, but remembered by foreign authors; and Augulius, bishop of London, then called Augusta. Beside these, we may easily believe, many more went the same way; for such commanders-in-chief do not fall without common soldiers about them. It was superstition in the Athenians to build an altar "to the unknown God," Acts xvii. 23; but it would be piety in us here to erect a monument in memorial of these unknown martyrs, whose names are lost. The best is, God's calendar is more complete than man's best martyrologies; and their names are written in the book of life, who on earth are wholly forgotten.

12. *The Cause of the great Silence of the primitive Times.*

One may justly wonder, that the first four hundred years of the primitive church in Britain, being so much observable, should be so little observed; the pens of historians, writing thereof, seeming starved for matter in an age so fruitful of memorable actions. But this was the main reason thereof,—that, living in persecution, (that age affording no Christians idle spectators, which were not actors on that sad theatre,) they were not at leisure to do, for suffering. And as commonly those can give the least account of a battle who were most engaged in it; (their eyes the while being turned into arms, their seeing into fighting;) so the primitive confessors were so taken up with what they endured, they had no vacation largely to relate their own or others' sufferings. Of such monuments as were transmitted to posterity, it is probable most were martyred by the tyranny of the Pagans: nor was it to be expected, that those who were cruel to kill the authors, would be kind to preserve their books.

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13. *Constantius Chlorus gives the Christians Peace. A.D.* 304, 305.

Afterwards it pleased God to put a period to his servants' sufferings, and the fury of their enemies. For when Diocletian and Maximian had laid down the ensigns of command, Constantius Chlorus * was chosen emperor in these western provinces of France, Spain, and Britain; whose carriage towards Christians, Eusebius thus describeth: Τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν θεοσεβεῖς ἀβλαβεῖς φυλάξας, "that he preserved such religious people as were under his command, without any hurt or harm." So that under him the church in these parts had a breathing-time from persecution. But I am afraid that that learned pen† goes a little too far, who makes him founder of a bishopric at York, and styleth him "an emperor surpassing in all virtue and Christian piety;" seeing the latter will hardly be proved, that Constantius was a thorough-paced Christian, except by our Saviour's argument, "He that is not against us is on our part," Mark v. 40. And Constantius did this good to Christianity,—that he did it no harm; and not only so, a privative benefactor to piety, but positive thus far, that he permitted and preserved those who would rebuild the decayed Christian churches.‡ But the greatest benefaction which he bestowed on Christians was, that he was father to Constantine. Thus, as physicians count all sudden and violent alterations in men's bodies dangerous, especially when changing from extremes to extremes; so God, in like manner, adjudged it unsafe for his servants presently to be posted out of persecution into prosperity; and therefore he prepared them by degrees, that they might be better able to manage their future happiness, by sending this Constantius, a prince of a middle disposition betwixt Pagan and Christian, to rule some few years over them.

14. *He dieth at York, as is witnessed by Hieronymus, in Chronico, and Eutropius, Hist.* lib. 18.

At York this Constantius Chlorus did die, and was buried. And, therefore, *Florilegus*, or "the flower-gatherer," as he calleth himself, (understand Matthew of Westminster,) did crop a weed instead of a flower, when he reports that in the year 1283 the body of this Constantius was found at Caer-custenith§ in Wales, and honourably bestowed in the church of Caer-narvon by the command of king Edward I. Constantius dying bequeathed the empire to Constantine, his eldest son by Helen his former wife; "and the soldiers at York cast the purple robe upon him, whilst he

* Eusebius *De Vitâ Constantini*, lib. i. cap. 12, *et* Orosius, lib. vii. cap. 25.
† Camden, "Britannia" in description of York. ‡ See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 381.—Edit. § Compare Mr. Camden's "Britannia" in Caernarvonshire, with him in the description of York.

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wept, and put spurs to horse to avoid the importunity of the army, attempting and requiring so instantly to make him emperor. But the happiness of the state overcame his modesty." * And whereas formerly Christians, for the peace they possessed, were only tenants-at-will to the present emperor's goodness; this Constantine passed this peaceable estate to the Christians and their heirs, or rather to the immortal corporation of God's church, making their happiness hereditary, by those good laws which he enacted. Now, because this assertion—that Constantine was a Briton by birth—meets with opposition, we will take some pains in clearing the truth thereof.

15. *Worth the Scrutiny to clear Constantine a Briton by Birth.*

Let none say, "The kernel will not be worth the cracking; and, so that Constantine were born, it matters not where he was born." For we may observe God's Spirit to be very punctual in registering the birth-places of famous men: "The Lord shall count, when he writeth up the people, that this man was born there," Psalm lxxxvii. 6. And as David cursed mount Gilboa, where godly Jonathan got his death; 2 Sam. i. 21; so, by the same proportion, (though inverted,) it follows, those places are blessed and happy where saints take their first good handsel of breath in this world. Besides, Constantine was not only "one of a thousand," but of myriads, yea, of millions; who first turned the tide in the whole world, and not only quenched the fire, but even overturned the furnace, of persecution, and enfranchised Christianity through the Roman empire; and, therefore, no wonder if Britain be ambitious in having, and zealous in holding, such a worthy to be born in her.

16. *The main Argument to prove the Point.*

An unanswerable evidence to prove the point in controversy, that Constantine the Great was a Briton, is fetched from the panegyrist, (otherwise called Eumenius Rhetor,) in his oration made to Constantine himself; but making therein an apostrophe to Britain: *O fortunata, et nunc omnibus beatior terris Britannia, quæ Constantinum Cæsarem prima vidisti!* † "O happy Britain, and blessed above all other lands, which didst first behold Constantine Cæsar!" Twist this testimony with another thread, spun of the same hand: *Liberavit pater Constantius Britannias servitute; tu etiam nobiles, illic oriendo, fecisti:* ‡ "Your father Constantius did free the British provinces from slavery; and you have ennobled them by taking thence your original." The same is affirmed by the writer of the Life of St. Helen, mother to Constantine, written about the year of our Lord 940, in the English-Saxon tongue; as also

* A. D. 307, Feb. 27th. † *Panegyr.* 9. ‡ *Ibid.* 5

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by William of Malmesbury, Henry Huntingdon, John of Salisbury, and all other English writers. And, lest any should object, that these, writing the history of their own country, are too light-fingered to catch any thing, right or wrong, sounding to the honour thereof; many most learned foreign historians, Pomponius Lætus, Polydore Virgil, Beatus Rhenanus, Franciscus Balduinus, Onuphrius Panvinius, Cæsar Baronius, Anthony Possevine, and others, concur with them, acknowledging Helen, Constantine's mother, a Briton, and him born in Britain.

17. *Answers to the Objections of the contrary Party.*

But whilst the aforesaid authors in prose softly rock the infancy of (yet little) Constantine the Great in Britain, and whilst others in verse (especially Joseph of Exeter * and Alexander Neccham †) sweetly sing lullabies unto him, some learned men are so rough and uncivil as to overturn his cradle, yea, wholly deprive Britain of the honour of his nativity; whose arguments follow, with our answers unto them.

Objection I.—The panegyrist, speaking how Britain first saw Constantine Cæsar, refers not to his ordinary life, but imperial lustre.‡ Britain beheld him not first a child, but first saw him Cæsar; not fetching thence his natural being, but honourable birth, first saluted Cæsar in Britain.

Answer.—Even Lipsius § (Britain's greatest enemy in this point) confesseth, that though Constantine was first elected emperor in Britain, yet he was first pronounced Cæsar in France, in the life and health of his father; (Cæsar was a title given to the heir-apparent to the empire;) and therefore the words in the panegyrist, in their native construction, relate to his natural birth.

Objection II.—Constantine Porphyrogenetes, the Grecian emperor, about seven hundred years since, in his book of government which he wrote to his son, confesseth Constantine the Great to have been a Frank by his birth; whence learned Meursius collecteth him a Frenchman by his extraction.

Answer.—It is notoriously known to all learned men, that the Greeks in that middle age (as the Turks at this very day) called all Western Europeans, Franks. Wherefore as he that calleth such a fruit of the earth "grain" (a general name) denieth not but it may be wheat, a proper kind thereof; so the terming Constantine "a Frank," doth not exclude him from being a Briton; yea, strongly implieth the same, seeing no [other] western country in Europe ever pretended unto his birth.

* *In Antiocheide sud.* † See his *Tetrastichon* in Bishop Usher *De Brit. Eccles. Primord.* p. 76. ‡ Joannes Livineius, *Not. in Panegyr.* 5. § *Not. in Admiranda*, lib. iv. cap. 11.

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OBJECTION III.—Bede, a grave and faithful author, makes no mention of Constantine born in Britain, who (as Lipsius marketh) * would not have omitted a matter so much to the honour of his own nation.

ANSWER.—By the leave of Lipsius, Constantine and Bede, though of the same country, were of several nations. Bede, being a Saxon, was little zealous to advance the British honour: the history of which church he rather toucheth than handleth, using it only as a porch to pass through it to the Saxon history. And Saxons in general had little skill to seek, and less will to find out, any worthy thing in British antiquities, because of the known antipathy betwixt them.

OBJECTION IV.—Procopius † maketh Drepanum, a haven in Bithynia, (so called because there the sea runs crooked in form of a sickle,) to be the place where Constantine had his τροφεῖα, or "first nursing," very near to his birth; and Nicephorus Gregoras makes him born in the same country.

ANSWER.—The former speaks not positively, but saith, Φασί, "Men say so," reporting a popular error. The latter is a late writer, living under Andronicus junior, *anno* 1340, and therefore not to be believed before others more ancient.

OBJECTION V.—But Julius Firmicus, contemporary with Constantine himself, an author above exception, maketh this Constantine to be born at Naissus, (in printed books Tharsus,) a city of Dacia.

ANSWER.—An excellent critic ‡ hath proved the printed copies of Firmicus to be corrupted; and justifieth it out of approved manuscripts, that, not Constantine the Great the father, but Constantine the younger his son, was intended by Firmicus born in that place.

Thus, we hope, we have cleared the point with ingenuous readers, in such measure as is consistent with the brevity of our History. So that of this Constantine (a kind of outward saviour in the world, to deliver people from persecution) we may say, with some allusion to the words of the prophet, Micah v. 2, (but with a humble reservation of the infinite distance betwixt the persons,) "And thou, BRITAIN, art not the meanest amongst the kingdoms of Europe; for out of thee did come a governor, which did rule the Israel of God, giving deliverance and peace to the saints."

18. *Mr. Fox defended against the Cavils of Verstegan.*

Now see what a pinch Verstegan, § whose teeth are sharpened by the difference of religion, gives Mr. Fox: "What is it other than

* In his Epistle to Mr. Camden. *Non Beda ille antiquus et fidus? an gloriæ gentis suæ non favet?* † *In* lib. v. *De Ædificiis Justiniani.* ‡ Camden in his Letter to Lipsius, printed in USHER *De Prim. Eccl. Brit.* p. 188. § In his Epistle to this nation.

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an absurdity, for an English author to begin his epistle to a huge volume * with 'Constantine, the great and mighty emperor, the son of Helen, an Englishwoman?' &c. Whereas," saith he, "in truth, St. Helen, the mother of Constantine, was no English but a British woman." And yet Fox's words are capable of a candid construction, if by "Englishwoman" we understand, by a favourable prolepsis, one born in that part of Britain which since hath been inhabited by the English. Sure, in the same dialect St. Alban hath often been called "the first martyr of the English," by many writers of good esteem. Yea, the breviary of Sarum,† allowed and confirmed no doubt by the infallible church of Rome, greets St. Alban with this salute:—

Ave, proto-martyr Anglorum,
Miles Regis angelorum,
O Albane, flos martyrum.

Sure, Helen was as properly an Englishwoman as Alban an Englishman, being both British in the rigid letter of history; and yet may be interpreted English in the equity thereof. Thus it is vain for any to write books, if their words be not taken in a courteous latitude; and if the reader meets not his author with a pardon of course for venial mistakes, especially when his pen slides in so slippery a passage.

19. *Three Cities contend for Constantine born in them.*

And now, having asserted Constantine a Briton, we are engaged afresh in a new controversy betwixt three cities, with equal zeal and probability, challenging Constantine to be theirs by birth: London,‡ York,§ and Colchester.‖ We dare define nothing; not so much out of fear to displease; (though he that shall gain one of these cities his friend, shall make the other two his foes by his verdict;) but chiefly because little certainty can be pronounced in a matter so long since and little evident. Let me refresh myself and the reader with relating and applying a pleasant story. Once at the burial of St. Teliau, second bishop of Landaff, three places did strive to have the interring of his body:—Pen-allum, where his ancestors were buried, Lanfolio-vaur, where he died, and Landaff, his episcopal see. Now after prayer to God to appease this contention, in the place where they had left him there appeared suddenly three hearses, with three bodies so like, as no man could discern the right; and so, every one taking one, they were all well pleased.¶ If by the like miracle, as there three corpses of Teliau encoffined, so here three

* He meaneth his books of "Acts and Monuments." † *In Officio Sancti Albani.* ‡ WILLIAM FITZSTEPHENS in "the Description of London." § *Oratores Regis Angliæ in Concil. Constant.* ‖ CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Essex. ¶ GODWIN in the Bishops of Landaff.

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child-Constantines encradled might be represented, the controversy betwixt these three cities were easily arbitrated, and all parties fully satisfied. But, seriously to the matter: That which gave occasion to the varieties of their claims to Constantine's birth may probably be this,—that he was born in one place, nursed in another, and perchance, being young, bred in a third. Thus we see our Saviour, though born in Bethlehem, yet was accounted a Nazarite, of the city of Nazareth, where he was brought up; and this general error took so deep impression in the people, it could not be removed out of the minds and mouths of the vulgar.

20. *Peace and Prosperity restored to the Church by Constantine. A. D.* 312.

Constantine being now peaceably settled in the imperial throne, there followed a sudden and general alteration in the world; persecutors turning patrons of religion. O the efficacy of a godly emperor's example, which did draw many to a conscientious love of Christianity, and did drive more to a civil conformity thereunto! The gospel, formerly a forester, now became a citizen; and leaving the woods wherein it wandered, hills and holes where it hid itself before, dwelt quietly in populous places. The stumps of ruined churches, lately destroyed by Diocletian, grew up into beautiful buildings; oratories were furnished with pious ministers, and they provided of plentiful maintenance, through the liberality of Constantine. And if it be true, what one relates, that, about this time, when the church began to be enriched with means, there came a voice from heaven, (I dare boldly say, he that first wrote it never heard it, being a modern author,)* saying, "Now is poison poured down into the church;" yet is there no danger of death thereby, seeing lately so strong an antidote hath been given against it. Nor do we meet with any particular bounty conferred by Constantine, or Helen his mother, on Britain, their native country, otherwise than as it shared now in the general happiness of all Christendom. The reason might be this,—that her devotion most moved eastward towards Jerusalem, and he was principally employed far off at Constantinople, whither he had removed the seat of the empire, for the more conveniency in the midst of his dominions: an empire herein unhappy, that as it was too vast for one to manage it entirely, so it was too little for two to govern it jointly, as in after-ages did appear.

21. *The Appearance of the British in foreign Councils. A. D.* 314.

And now, just ten years after the death of St. Alban, a stately church was erected there, and dedicated to his memory; as also the

* John Naucleros, president of Tubing university, *anno* 1500.

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"History of Winchester" reporteth, that then their church, first founded by king Lucius, and since destroyed, was built anew, and monks, as they say, placed in it. But the most avouchable evidence of Christianity flourishing in this island in this age is produced from the bishops representing Britain in the council of

(1.) Arles, in France, called to take cognizance of the cause of the Donatists; where appeared for the British, (i.) Eborius,* bishop of York. (ii.) Restitutus, bishop of London. (iii.) Adelfius, bishop of the city called the Colony of London, which some count Colchester, and others Maldon in Essex. (iv.) Sacerdos, a priest, both by his proper name and office; (v.) Arminius, a deacon; both of the last place. A.D. 314.

(2.) Nice, in Bithynia, summoned to suppress Arianism, and establishing an uniformity of the observation of Easter; to which agreed those of the church κατὰ τὰς Βριτανίας.† A.D. 325.

(3.) Sardis in Thracia, called by Constantius and Constans, sons to Constantine the Great; where the bishops of Britain ‡ concurred with the rest to condemn the Arians and acquit Athanasius. A.D. 347.

(4.) Ariminum, on the Adriatic Sea in Italy, a synod convocated by Constantius the emperor. A.D. 359.

In this last council it is remarkable that, whereas the emperor ordered that provisions (and those very plentiful) of diet should be bestowed on the bishops there assembled, yet those of Aquitaine, France, and Britain, § preferred rather to live on their proper cost, than to be a burden to the public treasury. Only three British bishops, necessitated for want of maintenance, received the emperor's allowance; the refusal of the former (having enough of their own) being an act full of praise, as the latter's accepting a salary to relieve their want, a deed free from censure. Collect we hence, (1.) That there were many British bishops in this council, though their names and number are not particularly recorded. (2.) That the generality of British bishops had in this age plentiful maintenance, who could subsist of themselves so far off in a foreign country; whereas lately, in the council of Trent, many Italian bishops, though in a manner still at home, could not live without public contribution. But there was good reason why the British were loath to accept the emperor's allowance, (though otherwise it had been neither manners nor discretion for prelates to refuse a prince's proffer,) because as Daniel and the children of the captivity preferred their pulse before the fare of king Nebuchadnezzar, for fear

* See the several subscriptions at the end of this council in BINNIUS. † EUSEBIUS *De Vitâ Constant.* lib. iii. c. 18. ‡ ATHANASIUS, in the beginning of his Second Apology against the Arians. § SULPITIUS SEVERUS, *Historiæ Sacræ*, lib. ii.

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they should be defiled with his (though princely, yet) Pagan diet, Dan. i. 8; so these bishops did justly suspect, that Constantius the emperor, being an Arian, had a design to bribe their judgments by their palates, and by his bounty to buy their suffrages to favour his opinions. In very deed this synod is justly taxed, not that it did bend, but was bowed, to Arianism; and, being overborne by the emperor, did countenance his poisonous positions.*

22. *Britain beginneth to be tainted with Arianism. A. D.* 360.

Hitherto the church in Britain continued sound and orthodox, in no degree tainted with Arianism; which gave the occasion to St. Hilary, in his epistle to his brethren and fellow-bishops of Germany, and Britain, &c.† though he himself was in Phrygia in banishment, to solace his soul with the consideration of the purity and soundness of religion in their countries. But now, alas! the gangrene of that heresy began to spread itself into this island; so that what the Jews of Thessalonica said unjustly of St. Paul and his followers, the Britons might too truly affirm of Arius and his adherents: "These that have turned the world upside-down are come hither also," Acts xvii. 6. Hear how sadly Gildas complaineth: *Mansit namque hæc Christi capitis membrorum consonantia suavis, donec Ariana perfidia atrox, ceu anguis transmarina nobis evomens venena, fratres in unum habitantes exitiabiliter faceret sejungi, &c.* So that the words of Athanasius, *Totus mundus Arianizat*, were true also of this peculiar or divided world of Britain. Naturalists dispute how wolves had their first being in Britain; it being improbable that merchants would bring any such noxious vermin over in their ships, and impossible that of themselves they should swim over the sea; which hath prevailed so far with some, as to conceive this, now an island, originally annexed to the continent:‡ but here the query may be propounded, how these heretics (mystical "wolves, not sparing the flock," Acts xx. 29) first entered into this island. And, indeed, we meet neither with their names nor manner of transportation hither, but only with the cursed fruit of their labours. And it is observable, that, immediately after that this kingdom was infected with Arianism, the Pagan Picts and Scots out of the North made a general and desperate invasion of it; § it being just with God, when his vineyard beginneth to bring forth wild grapes, then to let loose the wild boar, to take his full and free repast upon it.

* *Episcopi in Arianum dogma fuerunt subacti, opprimente Constantio.*—FACUNDUS, lib. v. cap. 30. † Dedicating unto them his book *De Synodis*. ‡ See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 382.—EDIT. § AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, in the beginning of his twentieth book, maketh this irruption to happen *anno* 360, which continued many years after.

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23. *Maximus, usurping the Empire, expelleth the Scots out of Britain. A. D.* 379.

In this woful condition, vain were the complaints of the oppressed Britons for assistance unto Gratian and Valentinian, the Roman emperors, who, other ways employed, neglected to send them succour. This gave occasion to Maximus, a Spaniard * by birth, (though accounted born in this island by our home-bred authors,†) to be chosen emperor of the West of Europe, by a predominant faction in his army; who, for a time, valiantly resisted the Scots and Picts, who cruelly invaded and infested the South of Britain. For these nations were invincible whilst, like two arms of the same body, they assisted each other. But when the Picts, (the right arm,) being most strong and active, suffered themselves to be quietly bound up by the peace concluded, the Scots, as their own authors ‡ confess, were quickly conquered and dispersed. But Maximus, whose main design was not to defend Britain from enemies, but confirm himself in the empire, sailed over with the flower of the British nation into France; where, having conquered the natives in Armorica, he bestowed the whole country upon his soldiers, from them named at this day Little Britain.

24. *Britain in France when conquered, and why so called. A.D.* 383.

But Ireland will no ways allow that name unto it, pleading itself to be anciently called the Lesser Britain in authentic authors; § and, therefore, this French Britain must be contented to bear that name, with the difference of the third brother; except any will more properly say, that the French Britain is the daughter of our Britain; which infant, when she asks her mother's blessing, doth not jabber so strangely, but that she is perfectly understood by her parent. Although one will hardly believe what is generally reported, namely, that these French Britons were so ambitious to preserve their native language, that, marrying French women, they cut out their wives' tongues, || for fear they should infect their children's speech with a mixture of French words. Here the Britons lived; and though they had pawned their former wives and children at home, they had neither the honesty nor affection to return thither to redeem the pledges left behind them. Strange that they should so soon forget their native soil! But as the loadstone, when it is rubbed over with the juice of onions, forgetteth its property to draw iron any

* Zosim. *Histor.* lib. iv. † Gildas, H. Hunting. *Histor.* lib. i., Galfrid. Monmouth, and before the three latter, Ethelwardus, *Chronic.* lib. i. ‡ John Fordon, *Scoto-Chronic.* lib. ii. cap. 45. § Ptolemy calls it Μικρὰ Βρεττανία, lib. ii. cap. 6, p. 31. *Ed. Græc.* || Heylin's Geogr. in the Description of France.

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longer; so, though we allow an attractive virtue in one's own country, yet it loseth that alluring quality when the said place of one's birth is steeped in a sad and sorrowful condition, as the state of Britain stood at this present. And, therefore, these travellers, having found a new habitation nearer the sun, and further from suffering, there quietly set up their rest.

25. *Maximus slain in his March towards Italy.* *A.D.* 388.

But not long after, Maximus, marching towards Italy, was overcome and killed at Aquileia: a prince not unworthy of his "great" name, had he been lifted up to the throne by a regular election, and not tossed up to the same in a tumultuous manner. This makes St. Ambrose,* Gildas, and other authors violently to inveigh against his memory, notwithstanding his many most honourable achievements.† This difference we may observe betwixt bastards and usurpers; the former, if proving eminent, are much bemoaned, because merely passive in the blemish of their birth; whilst usurpers, though behaving themselves never so gallantly, never gain general good-will, because actually evil in their original; as it fared with Maximus, who, by good using, could never make reparation for his bad getting of the empire. Surely, Britain had cause to curse him, for draining it of her men and munition, so leaving it a trunk of a commonwealth, without head or hands, wisdom or valour, effectually to advise or execute any thing in its own defence; all whose strength consisted in multitudes of people, where number was not so great a benefit as disorder was a burden; which encouraged the Picts (the truce expired) to harass all the land with fire and sword. The larger prosecution whereof we leave to the chronicles of the state, only touching it here by way of excuse for the briefness and barrenness of our ecclesiastical history; the sadness of the commonwealth being a just plea for the silence of the church.

26. *Frequent Pilgrimages of the Britons to Jerusalem, whilst St. Keby lived quietly in Anglesey.* *A.D.* 390.

We conclude this century when we have told the reader, that about this time the Fathers‡ tell us, how pilgrimages of the Britons began to be frequent as far as Jerusalem, there not only to visit Christ's sepulchre, but also to behold Simon Stilita a pious man, and Melania a devout woman, both residing in Syria, and at this time eminent for sanctity. Perchance, discontentment mingled with devotion moved the Britons to so long a journey, conceiving them-

* *In Oratione Funebri de Exitu Theodosii.* † SULPITIUS SEVERUS, *Dialogo Secundo*, cap. 7. ‡ HIERONYMUS, tom. i. ep. 17, *et* PALLADIUS GALATA, *Hist. Lausiac.* cap. 119.

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selves, because of their present troubles at home, more safe any where else than in their own country. As for those Britons who, in this age, were zealous assertors of the purity of religion against the poison of Arianism, amongst them we find St. Keby a principal champion, son to Salomon duke of Cornwall, scholar to St. Hilary bishop of Poictiers in France, with whom he lived fifty years, and by whom being made bishop, he returned first to St. David's, afterwards into Ireland, and at last fixed himself in the Isle of Anglesey: so pious a man that he might seem to have communicated sanctity to the place, being a promontory into the sea called from him Holyhead, but in Welsh *Caer-guiby;* as in the same island the memory of his master is preserved in Hilary-point; where both shall be remembered as long as there be either waves to assault the shore, or rocks to resist them.

SECTION V.

THE FIFTH CENTURY.

TO THOMAS BIDE, OF LONDON, ESQUIRE.

AMONGST your many good qualities, I have particularly observed your judicious delight in the mathematics. Seeing, therefore, this century hath so much of THE SURVEYOR therein, being employed in the exact dividing of the English shires betwixt the seven Saxon kingdoms, the proportions herein are by me submitted to your censure and approbation.

1. *Pelagius, a Briton by Birth. A.D.* 401.

Now the Arian heresy, by God's providence and good men's diligence, was in some measure suppressed, when the unwearied malice of satan (who never leaveth off, though often changeth his ways, to seduce souls) brought in a worse (because more plausible) heresy of Pelagianism. For every man is born a Pelagian, naturally proud of his power, and needeth little art to teach him to think well of himself. This Pelagius was a Briton by birth; (as we take no delight to confess it, so we will tell no lie to deny it;) as some say called Morgan,* that is, in Welsh, "near the sea;" (and well had it been for the Christian world if he had been nearer the sea, and served therein as the Egyptians served the Hebrew

* JACOBUS USSERIUS *De Brit. Eccl. Prim.* p. 207, *et Dominus* HEN. SPELMAN *in Conciliis*, p. 46.

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males;) being to the same sense called in Latin PELAGIUS. Let no foreigner insult on the infelicity of our land in bearing this monster; but consider, First, if his excellent natural parts and eminent acquired learning might be separated from his dangerous doctrine, no nation need be ashamed to acknowledge him. Secondly. Britain did but breed Pelagius; Pelagius himself bred his heresy; and, in foreign parts where he travelled, France, Syria, Egypt, Rome itself, if not first invented, much improved his pestilent opinions. Lastly. As our island is to be pitied for breeding the person, so she is to be praised for opposing the errors, of Pelagius. Thus the best father cannot forbid the worst son from being his child, but may debar him from being his heir, affording no favour to countenance his badness.

2. *Pelagius no Doctor of Cambridge, but a Monk of Bangor.*

It is memorable what one relates,* that the same day whereon Pelagius was born in Britain, St. Augustine was also born in Africa; Divine Providence so disposing it, that the poison and the antidote should be twins in a manner, in respect of the same time. To pass from the birth to the breeding of Pelagius: John Caius,† who observes eight solemn destructions of Cambridge before the Conquest, imputeth that which was the third in order to Pelagius; who, being a student there, and having his doctrine opposed by the orthodox divines, cruelly caused the overthrow and desolation of all the university. But we hope it will be accounted no point of Pelagianism for us thus far to improve our free-will, as to refuse to give credit hereunto till better authority be produced. And yet this sounds much to the commendation of Cambridge, that, like a pure crystal glass, it would prefer rather to fly a-pieces, and be dissolved, than to endure poison put into it; according to the character which John Lidgate‡ (a wit of those times) gave of this university:—

"Cambrege of heresy ne'er bore the blame."

More true it is that Pelagius was bred in the monastery of Bangor, (in that part of Flintshire which, at this day, is a separatist from the rest,) where he lived with two thousand monks, industrious in their callings, whose hands were the only benefactors for their bellies; abbey-*labourers*, not abbey-*lubbers* like their successors in after-ages, who, living in laziness, abused the bounty of their patrons to riot and excess.

3. *The principal Errors of Pelagius.*

Infinite are the deductions and derived consequences of Pelagius's errors. These are the main: (1.) That a man might be saved

* DEMPSTER *Hist. Scot.* lib. xv. num. 1012. † *Hist. Cantab. Academ.* lib. i. p. 28. ‡ In his Poem of Cambridge.

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without God's grace, by his own merits and free-will. (2.) That infants were born without original sin, and were as innocent as Adam before his fall. (3.) That they were baptized, not to be freed from sin, but thereby to be adopted into the kingdom of God. (4.) That Adam died, not by reason of his sin, but by the condition of nature; and that he should have died albeit he had not sinned.

Here to recount the learned works of Fathers written, their pious sermons preached, passionate epistles sent, private conferences entertained, public disputations held, provincial synods summoned, general councils called, wholesome canons made, to confute and condemn these opinions under the name of Pelagius, or his scholar Cælestius, would amount to a volume fitter for a porter's back to bear, than a scholar's brains to peruse. I decline the employment, both as over-painful, and nothing proper to our business in hand; (fearing to cut my fingers if I put my sickle into other men's corn;) these things being transacted beyond the seas, and not belonging to the British History; the rather, because it cannot be proved that Pelagius in person ever dispersed his poison in this island, but, ranging abroad, (perchance, because this false prophet counted himself "without honour in his own country,") had his emissaries here, and principally Agricola,* the son of Severian a bishop.

4. *French Bishops sent for to suppress Pelagianism in Britain. A.D.* 420.

It is incredible how speedily and generally the infection spread by his preaching, advantaged, no doubt, by the ignorance and laziness of the British bishops,—in those days none of the deepest divines, or most learned clerks, as having little care and less comfort to study, living in a distracted state: and those that feel practical discords will have little joy to busy themselves with controversial divinity. However, herein their discretion is to be commended, that, finding their own forces too feeble to encounter so great a foe, they craved the assistance of foreigners out of France, and sent for Germane, bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, bishop of Troyes; not being of their envious and proud disposition who had rather suffer a good cause to fall, than to borrow supporters to hold it up, lest thereby they disgrace themselves, confessing their own insufficiency, and preferring the ability of others. The two bishops cheerfully embraced the employment, and undertook the journey, no whit discouraged with the length of the way, danger of the sea, and badness of the winter; seeing all weather is fair to a willing mind, and opportunity to do good is the greatest preferment which a humble

* Beda, lib. i. cap. 17.

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heart doth desire. This Lupus was brother to Vincentius Lirinensis,* husband to Pimeniola, the sister of Hilary, archbishop of Arles;† one of such learning and sanctity, that a grave author of those times styleth him "a father of fathers, and bishop of bishops; yea, another James of that age."‡ And yet in this employment he was but a second to Germane the principal; and both of them, like Paul and Barnabas, jointly advanced the design.

5, 6. *Germanus and Lupus come over and preach in Britain. A.D. 429. Their Disputation with the Pelagian Doctors.*

Coming into Britain, with their constant labours they confirmed the orthodox, and reclaimed the erroneous, preaching openly in fields and highways.§ As the king's presence makes a court, so theirs did a church, of any place; their congregation being bounded with no other walls than the preacher's voice, and extending as far as he could intelligibly be heard. As for their formal disputation with the Pelagian doctors, take it from the pen of Bede, and mouth of Stapleton translating him:—

"The authours and head-professours of hereticall errour lay lurking all this while, and, like the wicked sprites, much spighted to see the people daily to fall from them. At length, after long advisement used, they taketh upon them to try the matter by open disputation; which, being agreed upon, they came forth richly appointed, gorgeously apparelled, accompanied with a number of flattering favours, having leifer¶ to commit their cause to open disputing then to seem to the people, whom they had subverted, to have nothing to say in the defence thereof. Thether resorted a great multitude of people, with their wives and children. The people was present, both to see and judge the matter: the parties there were farre unleke of condition. In the one side was the faith, on the other was presumption; on the one side meeknesse, on the other pride; on the one side Pelagius, on the other Christ. First of all, the blessed priest Germanus and Lupus gave their adversaries leave to speak, which vainly occupied both the time and eares of the people with naked words. But after the reverend bishops poored out their flowing words, confirmed with scriptures out of the gospels and apostles, they joyned with their own words the words of God; and after they had said their own mind, they read other men's minds upon the same. Thus the vanite of hereticks is convicted, and falsehed is confuted, so that at every objection they were forced

* EUCHERIUS, *in libelo De Laude Eremi ad Hilarium.* † USHER *De Brit. Eccl. Primord.* p. 325. ‡ SIDONIUS, lib. vi. epist. 1. § *Per trivia, per rura, per devia.* ¶ Not presuming to alter any of Stapleton's words, take it with all the printer's faults, done probably by an outlandish press.

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in effect to confesse their errour, not being able to answere them. The people had much to do to keep their hands from them, yet showed their judgment by their clamours."

7, 8. *Many Remarkables in this Disputation. St. Alban's the Place of the Conference.*

A conference every way admirable: First. In the opponents, who came forth gallantly, as antedating the conquest, and bringing the spoils of their victory with them. But gay clothes are no armour for a combat. Secondly. In the defendants of the truth, appealing to no unwritten traditions, but to the scriptures of the gospels and apostles; because the point of grace controverted appeared most plainly in the New Testament. Thirdly. In the auditors, or, as they are called, the judges,—men, women, and children. Wonder not at this feminine auditory, seeing they were as capable of the antidote as of the poison; and, no doubt, the Pelagians had formerly, as other heretics, "crept into houses to seduce silly women," 2 Tim. iii. 6; and, therefore, now the plaster must be as broad as the sore. As for children, we know who it was that said, "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not," &c. Matt. xix. 14. But here, though called "children"* in relation to their parents, they might be in good age and capacity of understanding; or, if they were little ones indeed, flocking, out of fashion in a general concourse, to see these men speak Divine mysteries, they could not hereafter, when grown old, date their remembrance from a more remarkable epoch. See we here that, in these times, the laity were so well acquainted with God's word, that they could competently judge what was or was not spoken in proportion thereunto. Lastly and chiefly. In the success of this conference. For though generally such public disputations do make more noise than take effect, (because the obstinate maintainers of error come with their tongues tipt with clamorousness, as their proselyte auditors do with ears stopped with prejudice,) yet this meeting, by God's blessing, was marvellously powerful to establish and convert the people. But here a main difficulty is by authors left wholly untouched, namely, in what language this conference was entertained and managed, that Germanus and Lupus, two French bishops, and foreigners, could both speak with fluentness, and be understood with facility. Perchance the ancient Gauls in France, whence these bishops came, spake still (as they did anciently) one and the self-same tongue with the Britons, differing rather in dialect than language: or, which is more probable, both France and Britain, remaining as

* In Latin, not *pueri*, but *liberi*.

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yet Roman provinces, spake a coarse, vulgar Latin, though invaded with a mixture of many base words, as Britain especially, now or near this time, was infested with foreign barbarous nations.

This conference was held at St. Alban's, even where at this day a small chapel is extant to the honour of St. Germane; though Hector Boëthius* assigns London the place; adding, moreover, that such obstinate Pelagians as would not be reclaimed were, for their contumacy, burned by the king's officers. But it will be hard to find any spark of fire in Britain, or elsewhere, employed on heretics in this age. We may observe, that the aforesaid Hector Boëthius, and Polydore Virgil, (writing the chronicles, the one of Scotland, the other of England, at the same time,) as they bear the poetical names of two sons of Priamus, so they take to themselves much liberty of fancy and fiction in their several histories.

9, 10. *Germanus marcheth against the Pagan Picts and Saxons. A Victory gotten, not by shooting, but shouting.*

Not long after, the aid of Germanus and Lupus was implored, and employed an hundred miles off in another service,—against the Pagan Picts and Saxons. Here we meet with the first mention of Saxons, being some straggling volunteers of that nation, coming over to pillage here of their own accord, not many years before they were solemnly invited hither under Horsus and Hengistus, their generals. Germanus, after the Lent well spent, in the fasting of their bodies, and feasting of their souls, (for the people had daily sermons,†) and the solemnity of Easter-festival duly celebrated, wherein he christened multitudes of Pagan converts, in the river Alen, marched with an army of them, whilst their baptismal water was scarce wiped from their bodies, against the aforesaid enemies, whom he found in the north-east of Wales. Here the pious bishop, turning politic engineer, chose a place of advantage, being a hollow dale, surrounded with hills, near the village, called at this day by the English *Mold*, by the British *Guidcrue*, in Flintshire, where the field at this day retains the name of *Maes Garmon*,‡ or Germans' Field; the more remarkable, because it hath escaped (as few of this note and nature) the exact observation of Master Camden.

Here Germanus placed his men in ambush, with instructions that, at a signal given, they should all shout "hallelujah" three times with all their might, which was done accordingly. The Pagans were surprised with the suddenness and loudness of such a sound, much multiplied by the advantage of the echo, whereby their fear brought in a false list of their enemies' number; and, rather trusting

* *Scot. Hist.* lib. viii. † Bede, book i. cap. 20. ‡ Usher *De Brit. Eccl. Primord.* p. 333.

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their ears than their eyes, they reckoned their foes by the increase of the noise rebounded unto them; and then, allowing two hands for every mouth, how vast was their army! But, besides the *concavity* of the valleys improving the sound, God sent a *hollowness* into the hearts of the Pagans; so that their apprehensions added to their ears, and cowardice often resounded the same shout in their breasts, till, beaten with the reverberation thereof, without striking a stroke, they confusedly ran away; and many were drowned for speed, in the river Alen, lately the Christians' font, now the Pagan's grave. Thus a bloodless victory was gotten, without sword drawn, consisting of no fight, but a fright and a flight; and that hallelujah, the song of the saints after conquest achieved, Rev. xix. 1, was here the forerunner and procurer of victory: so good a grace, it is to be said both before and after a battle. Gregory the Great, (a grave author,) in his comment upon Job xxxvi. 29, 30, makes mention of this victory, occasioned on those words, "Can any understand the noise of his tabernacle?"

11. *St. Alban's in Hertfordshire, Cologne, Ely, and Osell, pretend to the whole Body of St. Alban. A.D.* 430.

Germanus, now twice a conqueror, of Pelagians and Pagans, prepares for his return; after, first, he had caused the tomb of St. Alban to be opened, and therein deposited the relics of many saints, which he brought over with him; conceiving it fit, as he said, that their corpses should sleep in the same grave, whose souls rested in the same heaven. In lieu of what he left behind him, (exchange is no robbery,) he carried along with him some of St. Alban's dust, wherein spots of the martyr's blood were as fair and fresh, as if shed but yesterday. But what most concerns St. Alban's monks to stickle in, some report German to have carried the body of Alban to Rome: whence, some hundred years after, the empress to Otho II. brought it to Cologne,* where, at this day, they maintain his uncorrupted body to be enshrined; the monks of Ely in Cambridgeshire pretending to the same, as also do those of Ottonium, or Osell, in Denmark. Thus, as Metius Suffetius the Roman was drawn alive by horses four ways; like violence is offered to the dead body of Alban, plucked to four several places by importunate competitors; only with this difference,—that the former was mangled into quarters, whereas here each place pretends to have him whole and entire, not abating one hair of his beard.† Nor know I how to reconcile them, except any of them dare say, though without show of probability, that, as the

* Surius, tom. iii. *Vitâ Sanct. Junii* 22. † *Caput enim cum barbâ.*—Idem ut prius.

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river in Paradise went out of Eden, "from whence it was parted, and became into four heads," Gen. ii. 10, Alban in like manner, when dead, had the same quality of one to be multiplied into four bodies.

12. *After the Departure of Germanus, Pelagianism recruits in Britain.*

Now, after Germanus and Lupus were returned home into their native country, Pelagianism began to sprout again in Britain: an accident not so strange to him that considers how quickly an error much of kin thereunto grew up amongst the Galatians, presently on Paul's departure. "I marvel," said he, "that you are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ, unto another gospel," Gal. i. 6. St. Paul's marvelling may make us marvel the less, seeing that wonder which hath a precedent is not so great a wonder. Here we may sadly behold the great proneness of men to go astray, whose hearts, by nature cold in goodness, will burn no longer than they are blown. To suppress this heresy, Germanus is solicited to make a second voyage into Britain: which he did accordingly, accompanied with his partner Severus, because Lupus, his former companion, was otherwise employed, A. D. 449. Hereupon a prime poet of his age,* makes this apostrophe unto St. German:—

Tuque, O, cui toto discretos orbe Britannos
Bis penetrare datum, bis intima cernere magni
Monstra maris:

"O thou that twice pierced Britain, cut asunder
From the whole world, twice didst survey the wonder
Of monstrous seas."

The same success still followed;† and this conqueror, who formerly had broken and scattered the main body of the Pelagians, now routed the remnant, which began to rally and make head again.

13. *Pelagianism, and King Vortigern's incestuous Marriage, condemned in a Synod.*

He also called a synod,‡ wherein those damnable doctrines were condemned; as also the incestuous marriage of Vortigern king of Britain,§ (a wicked prince in whom all the dregs of his vicious ancestors were settled,) who had taken his own daughter to wife. And yet of this unlawful copulation, a pious son, St. Faustus, was born, to show that no cross-bar of bastardy, though doubled with incest, can bolt grace out of that heart wherein God will have it to

* Erricus Antissiodorensis *in Vitâ S. Germani.* † Bede, lib. i. cap. 21.
‡ Matt. West. *in anno* 449. § Nennius, cap. xxxvii.

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enter. Germanus, having settled Britain in good order, went back to his own country; where, presently upon his return, he died; as God useth to send his servants to bed, when they have done all their work; and by God's blessing on his endeavours, that heresy was so cut down in Britain, that it never generally grew up again.

14. *In vain the Britons petition to the Roman Emperor for Help against the Picts.*

Meantime the south of this island was in a woful condition, caused by the daily incursions of the Picts. As for the Picts' wall, built to restrain them, it, being a better limit than fortification, served rather to define than defend the Roman empire; and useless is the strongest wall of stone, when it hath stocks only upon it: such was the sottish laziness of the Britons to man it; a nation at this time given over to all manner of sin, insomuch as Gildas their countryman calls them *ætatis atramentum*, "the ink of the age."* And though God did daily correct them with inroads of Pagans, yet, like restive horses, they went the worse for beating. And now the land, being exhausted of the flower of her chivalry, (transported and disposed in Roman garrisons, as far as Judea and Egypt itself,)† could not make good her ground against the Picts; and was fain to request, first, Theodosius the younger, then Valentinian the third Roman emperor, (whose homagers the British kings were until this time,) for their assistance. They dispatch petition after petition, embassy on embassy, representing their woful estate. Now, the barbarians beat them to the sea, the sea repelled them to the barbarians; and thus bandied betwixt death and death, they must either be killed or drowned. They enforced their request for aid with much earnestness and importunity; all in vain, (seeing whisperings and hallooings are like to a deaf ear,) and no answer was returned. Had they been as careful in bemoaning their sins to God, as clamorous to declare their sufferings to the Roman emperor, their requests in heaven had been as graciously received, as their petitions on earth were carelessly rejected.

15. *True Reasons why the Romans neglected to send Aid to the Britons.*

What might be the cause of this neglect? Had the imperial crown so many flowers, that it might afford to scatter some of them? Was Britain grown inconsiderable, formerly worth the conquering, now not worth the keeping? Or was it because they conceived the Britons' need not so much as was pretended? and aid is an alms ill-bestowed on those beggars who are lame of laziness,

* *In Prologo libri de Excid. Brit.* † See *Notitia Provinciarum.*

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and will not work for their living. Or was the service accounted desperate? and no wise physician will willingly undertake a disease which he conceives incurable. The plain truth is, the Roman empire, now grown ruinous, could not repair its out-rooms, and was fain to let them fall down, to maintain the rest; and, like fencers, receiving a blow on their leg to save their head, exposed the remote countries of Spain, France, and Britain, to the spoil of Pagans, to secure the Eastern countries, near Constantinople, the seat of the empire.

16. *The sad Success of the Pagan Saxons, invited by King Vortigern into Britain.*

Here Vortigern, forsaken of God and man, and left to himself, (malice could not wish him a worse adviser,) resolves on a desperate project,—to call in the Pagan Saxons out of Germany for his assistance, under Horsus and Hengistus, their captains. Over they come, at first but in three great ships; (a small earnest will serve to bind a great bargain;) first possessing the island of Thanet in Kent; but following afterwards in such swarms, that quickly they grew formidable to him that invited them over, of guests turning sojourners, then inmates, and lastly landlords; till they had dispossessed the Britons of the best of the island: the entertaining of mercenary soldiers being like the administering of quicksilver to one in *iliaca passio*,—a receipt not so properly prescribed by the physician to the patient, as by necessity to the physician. If hired aid do on a sudden the work they are sent for, and so have a present passage to be discharged, sovereign use may be made of them: otherwise, if long tarrying, they will eat the entrails, and corrode the bowels, of that state which entertains them; as here it came to pass.

17. *The respective Bounds of the Saxon Heptarchy.*

For, soon after, the Saxons erected seven kingdoms in Britain; and because their several limits conduce much to the clear understanding of the following History, and we for the present are well at leisure, we will present the reader with the description of their several principalities. The partition was made by mutual consent, thus far forth,—that every king caught what he could, and kept what he caught; and there being amongst them a parity of high-spirited princes, (who more prized an absolute sovereignty over a little, than a proprietorship with subjection in never-so-much,) they erected seven several kingdoms, in little more than but the third part of this island:—a thing which will seem no wonder to him who hath read how the little land of Canaan found room at the same time for one-and-thirty kings, Josh. xii. 24:—but let us reckon them up.

(1.) The first was the kingdom of Kent: which began *anno* 457,

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under king Hengist. It contained the county of Kent, as it is at this day bounded, without any notable difference. And though this kingdom was the least of all, (as consisting but of one entire county, without any other addition,) yet was it much befriended in the situation for traffic with France and Germany. Besides, it being secured on three sides with Thames and the sea, and fenced on the fourth with woods, this made their kings, naturally defended at home, more considerable in their impressions on their neighbours.

(2.) Of the South Saxons: comprising Sussex and Surrey; both which, till very lately, were under one sheriff. And this kingdom began *anno* 491, under king Ella; and was the weakest of all the seven, affording few kings, and fewer actions of moment.

(3.) Of the East Saxons: comprehending Essex, Middlesex, and so much of Hertfordshire as is under the bishop of London's jurisdiction, whose diocese is adequate to this kingdom:—a small ring, if we survey the little circuit of ground; but it had a fair diamond in it, the city of London, (though then but a stripling in growth,) well thriving in wealth and greatness. This kingdom began in Erchenwin, about the year 527.

(4.) Of the East Angles: containing Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, with the isle of Ely, and, as it seems, (saith a reverend writer,)* part of Bedfordshire. It began *anno* 575, under king Uffa, and lay most exposed to the cruelty of the Danish incursions.

(5.) Of Mercia: so called because it lay in the midst of the island, being the *merches*, or limits, on which all the residue of the kingdoms did bound and border.† It began *anno* 582, under king Cridda, and contained the whole counties of Lincoln, Northampton, (with Rutland, then and long since part thereof,) Huntingdon, Buckingham, Oxford, Worcester, Warwick, Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, Stafford, and Chester, beside part of Hereford and Salop, (the remnant whereof was possessed by the Welsh,) Gloucester, Bedford, and Lancaster.‡ In view, it was the greatest of all the seven: but it abated the puissance thereof, because on the West it affronted the Britons, being deadly enemies; and, bordering on so many kingdoms, the Mercians had work enough at home to shut their own doors.

(6.) Of Northumberland: cor-rival with Mercia in greatness, though far inferior in populousness; as to which belonged whatsoever lieth betwixt Humber and Edinburgh Frith. It was subdivided sometimes into two kingdoms,—of Bernicia and Deïra. The latter consisted of the remainder of Lancashire, with the entire counties of York, Durham, Westmoreland, and Cumberland.

* Usher *De Brit. Ecc. Primord.* p. 394. † Lambert's "Description of Kent."
‡ *Idem, ibid.*

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Bernicia contained Northumberland, with the south of Scotland to Edinburgh. But this division lasted not long, before both were united together. It began *anno* 547, under king Ida.

(7.) Of the West Saxons: who possessed Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset, and Devonshire, part of Cornwall, and Gloucestershire. Yea, some assign a moiety of Surrey unto them. This kingdom began *anno* 519, under king Cerdicus, and excelled for plenty of ports on the South and Severn Sea, store of boroughs, stoutness of active men, (some impute this to the natural cause of their being hatched under the warm wings of the south-west wind,) which, being excellent wrestlers, gave at last a fall to all the other Saxon kingdoms. So that as the seven streams of Nilus lose themselves in the Mid-Land [Mediterranean] Sea, this heptarchy was at last devoured in the West Saxons' monarchy.

The reason that there is some difference in writers in bounding of these several kingdoms is, because England, being then the constant cock-pit of war, the limits of these kingdoms were in daily motion; sometimes marching forward, sometimes retreating backward, according to variety of success. We may see what great difference there is betwixt the bounds of the sea at high-water and at low-water mark; and so the same kingdom was much disproportioned to itself, when extended with the happy chance of war, and when contracted at a low ebb of ill success. And here we must not forget that, amongst these seven kings, during the heptarchy, commonly one was most puissant, over-ruling the rest, who styled himself "king of the English nation."*

18. *Irish St. Patrick said to live and die at Glastonbury.*

But, to return to the British church, and the year of our Lord 449: wherein St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, is notoriously reported to have come to Glastonbury; where, finding twelve old monks, (successors to those who were first founded there by Joseph of Arimathea,) he, though unwilling, was chosen their abbot, and lived with them thirty-nine years, observing the rule of St. Mark and his Egyptian monks; the Order of Benedictines being as yet unborn in the world. Give we here a list of these twelve monks; withal forewarning the reader that, for all their harsh sound, they are so many saints, lest otherwise he should suspect them, by the ill noise of their names, to be worse creatures:—(1.) Brumbam, (2.) Hyregaan, (3.) Brenwall, (4.) Wencreth, (5.) Bantommeweng, (6.) Adel-wolred, (7.) Lowar, (8.) Wellias, (9.) Breden, (10.) Swelves, (11.) Hinloemius, (12.) Hiñ.

But know that some of these names, as the third, sixth, and

* CAMDEN'S "Britannia," p. 139.

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ninth, are pure, plain Saxon words;* which renders the rest suspected. So that whosoever it was that first gave these British monks such Saxon names made more haste than good speed, preventing [preceding] the true language of that age.

19. *He is made Co-partner in the Church with the Virgin Mary.*

So great was the credit of St. Patrick at Glastonbury that, after his death and burial there, that church, which formerly was dedicated to the virgin Mary alone, was in after-ages jointly consecrated to her and St. Patrick: a great presumption: for if it be true, what is reported, that at the first, by direction of the angel Gabriel,† that church was solely devoted to the virgin Mary; surely either the same, or some other angel of equal power, ought to have ordered the admission of St. Patrick to the same, to be matched and empaled with the blessed virgin in the honour thereof. In reference to St. Patrick's being at Glastonbury, several Saxon kings granted large charters, with great profits and privileges, to this place.

20. *Yet the Credit of Patrick's being at Glastonbury shrewdly shaken.*

But now the spite is, that an unparalleled critic in antiquity‡ leaves this Patrick at this time sweating in the Irish harvest, having newly converted Leinster to the faith, and now gone into the province of Munster on the same occasion. Yea, he denies, and proveth the same, that this Patrick ever lived or was buried at Glastonbury. But be it known to whom it may concern, that the British are not so over fond of St. Patrick as to ravish him into their country against his will, and the consent of time. Yea, St. Patrick missed as much honour in not being at Glastonbury, as Glastonbury hath lost credit if he were never there; seeing the British justly set as high a rate on that place, as the Irish do on his person. See but the glorious titles (which, with small alteration, might serve for Jerusalem itself) given to Glastonbury; and seeing now the place is for the most part buried in its own dust, let none envy these epithets for the epitaph thereof:—

"Here lies the city§ which once was the fountain and original of all religion,‖ built by Christ's disciples, consecrated by Christ himself;¶ and this place is the mother of saints."**

We are sorry, therefore, for St. Patrick's sake, if he was never there. To salve all, some have found out another Patrick, called

* First observed by Mr. Camden, and since by the archbishop of Armagh. † See cent. i. paragraph 11. p. 13. ‡ JAMES USHER *De Brit. Ecc. Primord.* pp. 875, 883, 894, 895. § Or borough. ‖ In the charta of king Ina, and also in king Edgar's. ¶ MALMESBURY *MS. De Antiq. Eccles. Glaston.* ** So called in the charter of king Kenwin.

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Senior, or Sen Patrick, (a nice difference,) equal with the Irish apostle in time, and not much inferior in holiness, who certainly lived at Glastonbury. The plain truth is, that, as in the comedian,* when there were two Amphitruoes, and two Sosias, they made much fallacious intricacy and pleasant delusion in the eyes of the spectators; so, there being in this age two Patricks, (others say three,)† two Merlins,‡ two Gildases,§ and (that the homonymy may be as well in place as in persons) three Bangors,‖ three Glastonburies;¶ (as haste or ignorance in writers mistake them;) these, jumbled together, have made a marvellous confusion in writers, to the great prejudice of history, where they are not exactly observed.

21. *The fabulous History of St. Ursula confuted. A.D.* 450.

But, leaving St. Patrick, let us try whether we can have better success with St. Ursula, daughter of Dinoth, or Deo-notus, duke of Cornwall; who in this year is said with eleven thousand virgins to have sailed over into Little Britain in France, there to be married to the Britons their countrymen, who refused to wed Frenchwomen for their wives. But by foul weather these virgins were cast on the French shore amongst Pagans, by whom they were cruelly murdered, for refusing to forsake their religion, or betray their chastity. Others tell the story quite contrary: how the aforesaid Ursula, with her virgin army, went to Rome, where she conversed with pope Cyriacus,** her countryman, and with him returning back into Britain, was murdered, by the command of Attila king of the Huns, at Cologne, with all the rest of the virgins, and the aforesaid pope Cyriacus; whose name is omitted in the papal catalogue, because before his death he surrendered his place to Anterus his successor: in which relation we much commend the even tenor thereof, consisting of so level lies, that no one swelling improbability is above the rest; but for matter of time, place, and persons, all passages unlikely alike. We dare not defame Britain, as to suspect but that eleven thousand Christian virgins, all at once, able to travail, might be found therein; though at this time Paganism prospered in this land, and religion was in a low condition. But what made these Christian Amazons, with Ursula their Penthesilea, to go (not to say "to gad") to Rome? Surely they were no daughters of Sarah, which did abide in her tent, Gen. xviii. 9, but rather sisters of Dinah, Gen. xxxiv. 1, which would go abroad to see foreign fashions; and therefore their hard usage is the less to be pitied. Was it modest for so many maids to wander by them-

* PLAUTUS's *Amphitruo.* † See USHER, p. 895. ‡ Ambrosius, Caledonius. § Albanius, Badonicus. ‖ In Flintshire, in Carnarvonshire, in Down in Ireland. ¶ Glasgow in Scotland. Dunglass in Ireland. ** *Vision. Elizabeth.* lib. iv. cap. 2. *Edit. Paris. anno* 1513, *et Colon.* 1628.

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selves, without a masculine guard to protect them? Did ever such a wood of weak ivy grow alone, without any other trees to support it? But the city of Cologne will not abate us one of the eleven thousand, where their relics and sepulchral inscriptions are at this day to be seen. And we may as safely believe that these virgin-martyrs lie there entombed, as that the bodies of the three wise men of the east, commonly called "the three kings of Cologne," which came to visit our infant Saviour at Bethlehem, are interred in the same city; which the monks of Cologne brag of, and show to travellers. Beside all this, there is a town in Berkshire called Maidenhead,* which, as many other churches in Christendom, was dedicated in memory of their virginity: which if it be not an argument strong enough to convert the reader to the belief of this story, we must leave him to his infidelity; that as tales of bugbears are made to fright crying children, so this story of Ursula was contrived to befool credulous men.

22. *Why so little Church-Story in this Age.* *A.D.* 453.

Nor hath the judicious reader cause to wonder, that no better account is given of the British church in this age, considering the general persecution by Pagan Saxons. Religion now-a-days played least in sight, hiding itself in holes; and the face of the church was so blubbered with tears, that she may seem almost to have wept her eyes out, having lost her seers and principal pastors. Only two prime preachers appear:—Vodine, the learned and pious bishop of London; who, taking the confidence to reprove Vortigern the British king, for putting away his lawful wife, and wedding Rowena, the Heathen daughter of Hengist, was by him most barbarously murdered:†—the second, Gildas Albanius, (much ancienter than his name-sake surnamed "the wise,") born in Scotland, bred in France; whence returning into the South of Britain, he applied himself to the preaching of divinity, and reading liberal sciences to many auditors and scholars at Pepidiauc,‡ a promontory in Pembrokeshire.

23. *Gildas, at a strange Sight, suddenly silenced.* *A.D.* 462.

It happened on a day, as Gildas was in his sermon, (reader, whether smiling or frowning, forgive the digression,) a nun big with child came into the congregation; whereat the preacher presently was struck dumb, (would not a maid's child amaze any man?) and could proceed no further.§ Afterward he gave this reason of his silence,—because that virgin bare in her body an infant of such

* CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Berkshire. † HECTOR BOETHIUS, *Scot. Hist.* lib. viii.
‡ J. ARMACH. *De Brit. Ecc. Primord.* p. 442. § GIRALD. CAMBRENS. in the "Life of St. David."

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signal sanctity as far transcended him. Thus as lesser loadstones are reported to lose their virtue in the presence of those that are bigger; so Gildas was silenced at the approach of the Welsh St. David, (being then but *hans in kelder*,*) though afterward, like Zachary, he recovered his speech again. Thus fabulous authors † make this St. David a mock John Baptist, forcing a fond parallel betwixt them; where, to make the proportion current, Gildas must be allowed father to St. David. But, enough: I like this scent so *ill*, I will follow it no further.

24. *The Partiality of Saxon Writers.*

Meantime, fierce and frequent fighting betwixt the British and Saxons, about defending and enlarging their dominions. And although Gildas (and out of him Bede) confess often alternation of success, yet other Saxon writers mention not the least overthrow of their own side, but constant conquering: as if their generals had always buckled on victory with their armour. It is almost incredible, that ingenuous men should be so injurious to the truth and their own credits, by partiality, were it not that the factions of modern pens invite us to the belief thereof; not describing battles with a full face, (presenting both sides,) but with a half face, advancing their own, and depressing the achievements of the opposite party. Most true it is, the British got many victories, especially under hopeful prince Vortimer, whose valour was the best bank against the Saxon deluge, until, broken down by untimely death, the Pagans generally prevailed, much by their courage, more by their treachery.

25. *The British treacherously murdered.*

For they invited the British to a parley and banquet on Salisbury Plain; where suddenly drawing out their seaxes, concealed under their long coats,—being crooked swords, the emblem of their indirect proceedings,—they made their innocent guests, with their blood, pay the shots of their entertainment. Here Aurelius Ambrosius is reported to have erected that monument of Stonehenge to their memory.

26. *The Description of Stonehenge.* *A.D.* 463.

It is contrived in form of a crown, consisting of three circles of stones set up gate-wise; some called "corse-stones," of twelve tons',‡ others called "cronets," of seven tons' weight; (those haply for greater, and these for inferior officers;) and one stone at distance seems to stand sentinel for the rest. It seems equally impossible,

* "Jack in the cellar," a German and Dutch phrase, employed in reference to pregnant ladies.—EDIT. † J. ARMACH. *De Brit. Ecc. Primord.* p. 443.
‡ CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Wiltshire.

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that they were bred here, or brought hither; seeing (no navigable water near) such voluminous bulks are unmanageable in cart or waggon. As for the tale of Merlin's conjuring them by magic out of Ireland, and bringing them aloft in the skies; (what, in Charles's Wain?) it is too ridiculous to be confuted. This hath put learned men on necessity to conceive them artificial stones, consolidated of sand. Stand they there, in defiance of wind and weather, (which hath discomposed the method of them,) which, if made of any precious matter, (a bait to tempt avarice,) no doubt long since had been indicted of superstition; whereas, now they are protected by their own weight and worthlessness.

27. Vortigern, burning in Lust, burned to Ashes. A.D. 466.

Vortigern, the British king, fled into Wales, to his castle Genereu, impregnable for situation, which he manned and womaned; (conveying a multitude of his whores into it;) and their lived surfeiting in lust, while his land lay sweltering in blood. Here Aurelius Ambrosius, setting fire on his castle, burned him and his to ashes. This gave occasion to the report so constantly affirmed by many authors, (and men are prone to believe prodigious deaths, of such as led licentious lives,) that Vortigern's palace, like another Sodom, was burned by fire from heaven. Indeed, in a secondary sense it was true; as all exemplary punishments more visibly proceed from Divine vengeance. But, otherwise, the first raisers of this fable did apparent wrong to the attribute of God's *truth*, in pretending to do extraordinary right unto his *justice*.

28. Aurelius causelessly slandered by an Italian.

This Aurelius Ambrosius is said to be extracted of the Roman race, who, having done this execution on Vortigern the tyrant, was a singular champion of the British against their enemies; one composed of valour and religion, wholly employing himself, in time of peace, to raise new churches, repair old, and endow both; unworthy therefore the libel of an Italian author,* who, on no other evidence than his own bare assertion, traduceth this Ambrosius to have been a favourer of Judaism, Arianism, Manicheism, and a persecutor of the professors of true religion. Thus the greatest virtue is sanctuary too small to secure any from the pursuit of slanderous pens; and thus some humorous authors, leaving the road of true reports, because common, go a way by themselves of different relation, so to entitle themselves to more immediate and peculiar intelligence; as if others (being only of truth's council) had not received such private instructions as themselves, being cabinet-historians.

* Gotefrid. Viterbiensis, *Chronic.* part xviii.

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29. *The Academy of learned Men under Dubritius. A.D.* 469.

Leave we this Ambrosius bickering with the Saxons, with interchange of success, much commended for his constancy in all conditions. For, sometimes his valour was the hammer upon, sometimes his patience was the anvil beneath, his enemies; but always he bravely bore up his spirits; and as the sun looks biggest on the earth when he is nearest to set, so he carried it out with the boldest appearance, in the lowest declination of his fortune. If we behold the church in his time, the most visible estate thereof presents itself to us in the academy which Dubritius kept, near the river Wye in Monmouthshire. His father, say some,* was unknown; others make him to be son to Pepiau,† a petty king in this age: it being observable, that, in this and the next century, all men eminent for learning and religion are either made without known fathers, or sons to kings; (no mean betwixt these extremes, as by many instances may appear;) so that such as consider the narrowness of the Principality, will admire at the number of British princes. This Dubritius taught many scholars, for seven years together, in human and divine learning; (being himself, in his life, a book of piety of the best edition for his pupils to peruse;) amongst whom the chiefest, Theliau, Sampson, Ubelin, Merchiguin, Elguored, &c.; for the reader had better believe than read the names of the rest, remarkable only for length and hardness, without any other information.‡ Afterward Dubritius removed to Warwick, (haply mistaken for Werwick, a village some two miles from Cardigan,)§ and from thence, it seems, returned to *Moch-Rhos*, that is, "the place of a hog;" because he was admonished, in a vision in his sleep, there to build a chapel or oratory, where he should find a white sow lodging with the hogs:‖ a clean conceit, and as full of wit as devotion. It seems, the friar, father of this fable, had read as far as the eighth book of Virgil's Æneids, where the river Tiber, in a dream, advised Æneas to erect an altar, and sacrifice to Juno, in the place where he should find the sow lying with the pigs; and, from this Pagan hint, was advantaged for a popish legend.

30. *Forged Lies obtruded on Posterity, in Lieu of lost Truths.*

Here we cannot but renew our former complaint;—and it is some mitigation to our misery, (as perchance some ease to the reader,) if we can but vent our old grievances in new expressions;—how, instead of true history, devoured by time, prodigious tales of impudent, brasen-faced monks are obtruded upon us. Thus when

* JOHAN. TINMUTHENSIS *in ejus Vitâ.*
† *Chronic. Colleg. Warwicensis.*
‡ *Vide* ARMACH. *De Brit. Ecc. Primord.* p. 445.
§ *Vide* SPEED's map of that county.
‖ *Vide* ARMACH. *ut prius.*

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the golden shields of king Solomon were taken away, Rehoboam substituted shields of brass in their room, 1 Kings xiv. 27; though not so good, perchance more gaudy, especially to ignorant eyes viewing them at distance, and wanting either the skill or opportunity to bring them to the touch. Amongst which the tale of Cungarus the eremite, otherwise called Doccwyn, (but, first, let the one man be allowed, before his two names be admitted,) may challenge a principal place; being reported son of a Constantinopolitan emperor, and Luciria his empress:* a name unowned by any Grecian historians. The best is, that unconscionable liars, though they most hurt themselves, do the least harm others, whose loud ones are both the poison and the antidote, seeing no wise man will believe them. Small grit and gravel may choke a man; but that stone can never stop his throat which cannot enter into his mouth.

31. *The Massacre of the Monks at Winchester. A.D.* 495.

In very deed, very little at this time was ever reported of church matters. For a drought of Christian writers (in the heat of persecution) caused a dearth of all history. Now it was that Cerdicus, first king of the West Saxons, having overcome the Britons at Winchester, killed all the monks belonging to the church of St. Amphibalus,† and turned the same into a temple of idolatry. Also Theon, archbishop of London, seeing the Pagan Saxons to prevail, left his see, and, about this time,‡ may be presumed to have fled into Wales. I say, "about this time." For, what liberty is allowed to prognosticators of weather, to use all favourable correctives and qualifications,—"like to be rain, inclined to rain, somewhat rainy," &c.—the same latitude we must request, in relating actions past in point of chronology: *his ferè temporibus, per hæc tempora, circa, circiter, plus minus, &c.* And what we take upon trust in this kind, let the reader be pleased to charge, not on the score of our ignorance, but on the uncertainty of that age's computation. As for St. Petrock, son to the king of Cumberland, we remit him to the next age, because, though budding in this, full blown in the next century.

32. *Merlin left in a Twilight; whether that Magician was an Impostor, or his whole Story an Imposture put upon credulous Posterity.*

This age is assigned by authors for that famous Ambrose Merlin, differing from Sylvester Merlin the Scot; though it be doubtful whether ever such a man *in rerum naturâ;* it being suspicious,

* Joh. Capgrave *in Vitâ S. Cungari.* † Wintoniensis *Ecc. Hist.* cap. ix.
‡ But Matth. Florilegus designeth the year 586.

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First. Because he is reported born at Caer-marthen, and that city so denominated from him. Whereas it is called *Maridunum* by Ptolemy many years before. Thus it is ominous to begin with a lie.

Secondly. Because it was said, his mother was a nun, got with child by a devil in the form of an *incubus:* perchance such a one as Chaucer describes.

It seems, that as vestal virgins, when they had stolen a great belly, used to entitle some deity to the getting of their child, (so did the mother of Romulus and Remus,) whereby they both saved themselves from shame, and gained reputation; so nuns in this age, when with child, unable to persuade people, (as the poets feign of the Spanish mares,) that they were impregnated by the wind alone, made the world believe that some spirit had consorted with them. This makes the whole story of Merlin very doubtful; and as for all his miracles and prophecies, they sink with the subject. For, sure, the same hand which made the puppet gave it all its motions, and suited his person with properties accordingly. May the reader be pleased to take notice of three ancient British writers:—1. Aquila Septonius, or "the eagle of Shaftesbury," whether he or she. 2. Perdix Præsagus, or Partridge the prophesier. 3. Merlin Ambrose. All three birds of a feather, and perchance hatched in the same nest of ignorant credulity: nor can I meet with a fourth to make up the mess, except it be the Arabian Phœnix. But, because it is a task too great for a giant to encounter a received tradition, let Merlin be left in a twilight as we found him. And, surely, no judicious man will censure the mention of Merlin (whose magical pranks and conjurations are so frequent in our stories) to be a deviation from the history of the church, who hath read both of Simon Magus and Elymas the sorcerer, in the Acts of the Apostles.

SECTION VI.

THE SIXTH CENTURY.

TO DOUSE FULLER, OF HAMPSHIRE, ESQUIRE.

I CANNOT say certainly of you, as Naomi did of Boaz, "He is near of kin unto us," Ruth iii. 20; having no assurance, though great probability, of alliance unto you. However, sir, if you shall be pleased in courtesy

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to account me your kinsman, I will endeavour that (as it will be an honour to me) it may be to you no disgrace.

1. *The most miserable Estate of the British Commonwealth. A.D.* 501.

QUESTIONLESS we shall not be accounted trespassers, though only ecclesiastical business be our right road, to go a little in the by-way of state-matters, because leading the shortest passage for the present to our church-story. Most miserable at this time was the British commonwealth, crowded up into barren corners, whilst their enemies, the Pagan Saxons, possessed the East and South; if not the greatest, the best part of the island. Much ado had Uter Pen-dragon, the British king, with all the sinews of his care and courage, to keep his disjointed kingdom together; whose only desire was to prolong the life (it being above his hopes to procure the health) of that languishing state. And though sometimes the Britons got the better, yet one may say, their victories were spent before they were gained; being so far behind-hand before, that their conquest made no show, swallowed up in the discharging of old arrearages. Needs, then, must religion now in Britain be in a doleful condition; for he who expects a flourishing church in a fading commonwealth, let him try whether one side of his face can smile, when the other is pinched.

2. *King Arthur's Actions much discredited by Monkish Fictions. A.D.* 508.

Pen-dragon, dying, left the British kingdom to Arthur his son, so famous in history that he is counted one of the nine worthies; and it is more than comes to the proportion of Britain, that, amongst but nine in the whole world, two should prove natives of this island,—Constantine and Arthur.* This latter was the British Hector, who could not defend that Troy which was designed to destruction; and it soundeth much to his honour, that, perceiving his country condemned by God's justice to ruin, he could procure a reprieve, though not prevail for the pardon thereof. More unhappy was he after his death; hyperbolical monks so advancing his victories above all reach of belief, that the twelve pitched battles of Arthur, wherein he conquered the Pagan Saxons, find no more credit than the twelve labours of Hercules. Belike, the monks hoped to pass their lies for current, because countenanced with the mixture of some truths; whereas the contrary came to pass; and the very truths which they have written of him are discredited,

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 383.—EDIT.

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because found in company with so many lies. Insomuch that learned Leland is put to it to make a book for the asserting of Arthur. Many are unsettled about him, because Gildas, his countryman, living much about his age, makes no mention of him: though such may be something satisfied, if, considering the principal intent of that querulous author is, not to praise, but to reprove, not greatly to grace, but justly to shame, his country; his book being a bare black bill of the sins and sufferings, monsters and tyrants, of Britain, keeping no catalogue of the worthies of this island; so that neither Lucius, Constantine, nor Arthur are once named by him. But the best evidence that once Arthur lived in Britain is, because it is certain he died in Britain; as appeared undeniably by his corpse, coffin, and epitaph, taken up out of his monument in Glastonbury, in the reign of king Henry II., whereof many persons of quality were eye-witnesses.*

3. *Caer-leon a principal Staple of Learning and Religion. A.D. 516.*

The entire body of the British church at this time was in Wales, where Bangor on the North, and Caer-leon (on Usk, in Monmouthshire) on the South, were the two eyes thereof, for learning and religion. The latter had in it the court of king Arthur, the see of an archbishop, a college of two hundred philosophers,† who therein studied astronomy; and was a populous place of great extent. But cities, as well as their builders, are mortal: it is reduced at this day to a small village. But as aged parents content and comfort themselves in beholding their children, wherein their memories will be continued after their death; so Caer-leon is not a little delighted to see herself still survive in her daughter Newport,‡ a neighbouring town raised out of the ruins of her mother. Whilst the other stood in prime, there was scarce an eminent man who did not touch here for his education, whom we will reckon in order, the rather, because all the church-history of this age seems confined to some principal persons. Dubritius aforementioned was the father and founder of them all, late bishop of Landaff, now archbishop of Caer-leon; a great champion of the truth against Pelagius; and he had the honour here to crown two kings, Uter and Arthur. Being very old, he resigned his archbishopric to David, his scholar; and, that he might be more able and active to wrestle with death, he stripped himself out of all worldly employment, and became an anchoret in the island of Bardsey.§ Six hundred years after, (namely, May

* Giraldus Cambrensis, an eye-witness.—CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Somersetshire.
† THOMAS JAMES, out of Alexander Elsebiensis. ‡ CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Monmouthshire. § FRA. GODWIN *in Episc. Menevensibus*, p. 600.

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20th, 1120,) his bones were translated to Landaff, and by Urban, bishop thereof, buried in the church towards the north side thereof.

4, 5. *St. David an Advancer of Monastic Life. One paramount Miracle of St. David. A.D.* 519.

David, the next archbishop, of royal extraction, was uncle to king Arthur. He privately studied the scriptures ten years, before he would presume to preach, and always carried the gospels about him. He kept a synod against the Pelagian error, (a second edition whereof was set forth in his time,) and confirmed many wavering souls in the faith. By leave obtained from king Arthur, he removed the archi-episcopal seat from Caer-leon to Menevea, now called St. David's, in Pembrokeshire: in which exchange his devotion is rather to be admired than his discretion to be commended; leaving a fruitful soil for a bleak, barren place;* though the worse it was, the better for his purpose, being a great promoter of a monastical life. And though the place was much exposed to the rapine of pirates, yet this holy man laid up his heavenly treasure where "thieves do not break through, nor steal."†

Yet I am sensible that I have spent, to my shame, so much precious time in reading the legend of his Life, that I will not wilfully double my guiltiness in writing the same, and tempt the reader to offend in like nature. This miracle I cannot omit:‡ David one day was preaching in an open field to the multitude, and could not be well seen because of the concourse; (though they make him four cubits high,§ a man-and-half in stature;) when, behold, the earth, whereon he stood, officiously heaving itself up, mounted him to a competent visibility above all his audience. Whereas our Saviour himself, when he taught the people, was pleased to choose a mountain, Matt. v. 1; making use of the advantage of nature, without improving his miraculous power. He died aged one hundred and forty-six years, on the 1st of March, still celebrated by the Welsh with wearing of a leek;|| perchance, to perpetuate the memory of his abstinence, whose contented mind made many a savoury meal on such roots of the earth.

6. *Reasons why Men in this Age lived so long.*

A wonder it is to see how many Methuselahs (extreme aged men) these times did produce. St. Patrick died aged one hundred and twenty-two; Samson, aged one hundred and twenty; David, one hundred and forty-six; Gildas Badonicus, ninety,¶ &c. Some

* Giraldus Cambrensis. † Camden's "Britannia" in Pembrokeshire.
‡ "Flowers of the English Saints," p. 222. § Balæus, *cent. primâ*, nu. 55.
|| Several reasons hereof assigned by authors. ¶ See Balæus in their general Lives.

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reason whereof may be alleged: Because, living retired in a contemplative way, they did not bruise their bodies with embroiling them in worldly affairs; or it may be ascribed to their temperate diet, whilst many of our age spill their radical moisture through the leaks of their own luxury. Nor is it absurd to say, that God made these great tapers of a more firm and compacted wax than ordinary, that so they might last the longer in burning to give light to his church, and bestowed on them an especial strong natural constitution.

7. *The discreet Devotion of Cadocus.*

About the same time, (accurateness in computing years is not to be expected: for never were more doublings and re-doublings made by a hunted hare, than there are intricacies in the chronology of this age, going backward and forward,) flourished Cadocus, abbot of Llancarvan in Glamorganshire, son of the prince and toparch of that country. This godly and learned man so renounced the world, that he retained part of his paternal principality in his possession, whereby he daily fed three hundred of clergymen, widows, and poor people, beside guests and visitants daily resorting to him.* He is equally commended for his policy, in keeping the root (the right of his estate) in his own hands; and for his piety, in bestowing the fruit (the profits thereof) in the relieving of others. It seems, in that age wilful poverty was not by vow entailed on monastical life. Nor did this Cadocus (as Regulars in after-times) with open hands scatter away his whole means, so foolishly to grasp his fist full of popular applause. He is said afterwards to have died at Beneventum in Italy.

8. *Iltutus abused with Monkish Forgeries.*

Iltutus comes next into play, a zealous man, and deep scholar; who, not far from Cadocus, at Llan-lwit in Glamorganshire, (contractedly for Llan-iltut,) preached God's word, and set up a college of scholars, being himself a great observer of a single life. It is reported of him, that when his wife repaired to him for "due benevolence," or some ghostly counsel, he put out her eyes, out of anger, for interrupting him in his constant course of chastity.† But, surely, some blind monk, having one of his eyes put out with ignorance, and the other with superstition, was the first founder of this fable. Thus godly saints in that age were made martyrs after their death; persecuted (though in their commendation) with impudent and improbable lies. It is reported also of the same Iltutus, that he turned men into stones.‡ Had it been stones into men,

* JOHAN. TINMUTHENSIS *in ejus Vitâ.* † BALÆUS *De Script. Britan. centur. prima.* ‡ *Idem, ut prius.*

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(converting stupid souls into Christians, by his preaching,) it had been capable of an allegorical construction; whereas, as now told, it is a lie in the literal, and nonsense in the mystical, meaning thereof.

9. *Samson, Archbishop of Dole.* *A.D.* 521.

Samson succeeds, scholar to Iltutus, made by Dubritius bishop at large, *sine titulo.** It seems, in that age all bishops were not fixed to the chair of a peculiar church, but some might sit down in any vacant place for their cathedral, and there exercise their episcopal authority; provided it were without prejudice to other bishops. Afterwards, this Samson was made archbishop of Dole in French Britain; and in those days, such was the correspondency betwixt this Greater and that Lesser Britain, that they seemed to possess learned men in common betwixt them. Scarce am I reconciled to this Samson, for carrying away with him the monuments of British antiquity.† Had he put them out to the bank, by procuring several copies to be transcribed, learning thereby had been a gainer; and a saver, had he only secured the originals: whereas, now her loss is irrecoverable; principal and interest, authentics and transcripts, are all embezzled. Nor is the matter much, whether they had miscarried at home by foes' violence, or abroad by such friends' negligence.

10. *Paternus a Pattern for all Bishops.* *A.D.* 540.

It were a sin to omit St. Patern, for three-and-twenty years a constant preacher at Llan-Patern in Cardiganshire. His father-like care over his flock passeth with peculiar commendation,—"that he governed his people by feeding them, and fed his people by governing them."‡ Some years after, the place continued an episcopal see, and was extinguished upon occasion of the people's barbarously murdering of their bishop.

11. *Petrock, the Captain of Cornish Saints.* *A.D.* 548.

St. Petrock comes in for his share; (from whom Petrock-stow, contracted Padstow, in Cornwall, is denominated;) one of great piety and painfulness in that age. Afterward he is said to have gone to the East Indies; (all far countries are East Indies to ignorant people;) and at his return to be buried at Bodmin in Cornwall. That county is the *cornucopia* of saints, (most of Irish extraction,) and the names of their towns and villages, the best

* ARMACH. *De Brit. Eccl. Prim.* p. 1130. † BALÆUS *De Script. Britan.* in Samson. ‡ CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Cardiganshire.

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nomenclator of the devout men of this age. If the people of that province have as much holiness in their hearts, as the parishes therein carry sanctity in their names, Cornwall may pass for another Holy Land in public reputation.

12. *The Piety of St. Teliau. A.D.* 550.

Next St. Petrock comes St. Teliau; for it is pity to part two such intimate friends. He was called, by allusion to his name, *Helios*,* which in Greek signifieth "the sun," because of the lustre of his life and learning. But the vulgar sort, who count it no fault to miscall their betters if they have hard names, called him *Eliud*; (one of that name was one of our Saviour's ancestors, Matt. i. 14;) turning the Greek into a Hebrew word, and understanding both alike. He was scholar to Dubritius, and succeeded him in the bishopric of Landaff: a pious man, constant preacher, and zealous reprover of the reigning sins of that time.† This is all the certain truth extant of him; which some monks counting too little have, with their fabulous breath, blown up the story of his life to such a bigness, that the credit thereof breaks with its own improbability.‡ Witness his journey to Jerusalem, full of strange miracles, where he had a cymbal given him, excelling the sound of an organ, and ringing every hour of its own accord: no doubt a loud one. "Loaden with merits," saith the author, (I had thought nothing but sin could burden a saint,) "he departed this life, having his memory continued in many churches of South Wales, dedicated to him, and is remembered in the Roman Calendar on the 9th of February."§

13. *Several other Worthies of the same Age. A.D.* 580.

I had almost forgotten Congel, abbot of Bangor, who much altered the discipline of that monastery; Kentigern, the famous bishop of Ellwye in North Wales; St. Asaph, his successor in the same place; in whose mouth this sentence was frequent,—"Such who are against the preaching of God's word, envy the salvation of mankind."‖ As for Gildas, surnamed the Wise, their contemporary, we reserve his character for our "Library of British Historians."¶ Many other worthy men flourished at the same time; and, a national church being a large room, it is hard to count all the candles God lighted therein.

* Harpsfield's *Ecc. Ang.* p. 41. c. 27. † Balæus, *centuria prim.* num. 58. ‡ In the book of his Life, extant in the church of Landaff. § "Flowers of the Saints," p. 151. ‖ Godwin in his Catal. of bishops of St. Asaph. ¶ *Vide* our Library of British Historians, num. 1.

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14. *Pastors in this Age, why in constant Motion.*

Most of these men seem born under a *travelling* planet; seldom having their education in the place of their nativity; oft-times composed of Irish infancy, British breeding, and French preferment; taking a cowl in one country, a crosier in another, and a grave in a third; neither bred where born, nor beneficed where bred, nor buried where beneficed; but wandering in several kingdoms. Nor is this to be imputed to any humour of inconstancy, (the running gout of the soul,) or any affected unsettledness in them; but proceeding from other weighty considerations. First. To procure their safety: for, in time of persecution, the surest place to shift in is constant shifting of places; nor staying any where so long as to give men's malice a steady aim to level at them. Secondly. To gain experience in those things which grew not all in the same soil. Lastly. That the gospel thereby might be further and faster propagated. When there be many guests and little meat, the same dish must go clean through the board; and Divine Providence ordered it, that, in the scarcity of preachers, one eminent man, travelling far, should successively feed many countries.

15. *Books falsely fathered on British Writers.*

To most of these authors many written volumes are assigned, the titles and beginnings whereof you may find in our countrymen, Bale and Pits; who will persuade you, that they have seen and perused some of them. This they do partly to enhance the merit of their industry in finding out so many rarities; and partly to commend to the world the latitude of their own reading. I shall as soon believe that they have seen all Solomon's volumes, which he wrote, "from the cedar of Libanus, to the hyssop that groweth on the wall." But this humour possesseth many men, that brag of many books coming under their discovery; as if not only with the mice they had crept through the crannies of all libraries, but also with the moths had got betwixt the leaves of all treatises therein. In plain truth, as it is probable that those British prelates wrote many books of consequence; so it is certain that long since, by time, they have been abolished. As for those spurious tracts, which monks in after-ages set out under these worthy men's names, they are no more to be accounted the true offspring of these learned saints, than that common manna, ordinarily sold in apothecaries' shops, is the self-same with that angels' food which fell down from heaven, and feasted the Israelites.

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THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK II.

FROM THE CONVERSION OF THE SAXONS TO CHRISTIANITY, UNTIL THE (COMMONLY-CALLED) CONQUEST OF THE NORMANS.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY,

LORD MARQUIS OF DORCHESTER,

EARL OF KINGSTON, VISCOUNT NEWARK, LORD PIERREPOINT, &c.

How low learning ran in our land amongst the native nobility some two hundred years since, in the reign of king Henry VI., too plainly appeareth by the motto in the sword of the martial earl of Shrewsbury, (where at the same time one may smile at the simplicity and sigh at the barbarism thereof,) SUM TALBOTI, PRO OCCIDERE INIMICOS MEOS: the best Latin that lord (and perchance his chaplains, too, in that age) could afford.

But in the next generation we may observe the rise of learning in noble families. I behold John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, (bred in Balliol college,) as the first English person of honour that graced learning with the study thereof, in the days of king Edward IV., both at home and in foreign universities. He made so eloquent an oration in the Vatican, in the presence of pope Pius II., (one of the least bad, and most learned of any of his order,) that his Holiness was divided betwixt weeping and wondering thereat.*

This earl may be said to have left John Bourchier, baron of Berners and governor of Calais, the heir to his learning; as who wrote many treatises, and made excursions into variety of studies in the days of king Henry VII.†

* J. BALE *De Script. Angl.* † *Idem, et* PITZÆUS *De Script. Anglic.*

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This learned baron had several successors, under king Henry VIII., at the same time to his parts and liberal studies:—1. Henry lord Stafford, son to the last duke of Buckingham of that name. 2. William lord Mountjoy, a great patron to Erasmus, and well skilled in chymistry and mathematics. 3. Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, (though last in time, not least in merit,) the first reviver of English poetry; so that he may seem in some sort to wave his coronet, to wear the laurel. Since whose time to our days, learning hath ever had a visible succession in our nobility; amongst whom your Honour, as captain of the highest form, is most illustrious.

Indeed, your lordship is a real refutation of that scandalous position which some maintain, that "such who are generally seen in all arts, cannot be eminently skilful in any one:" a position no better than a libel on learning, invented and vented,—either by the idle, who would not themselves study,—or by the envious, who desire to discourage the endeavours of others: whereas there is such a sympathy betwixt several sciences, as also betwixt the learned languages, that, as in a regular fortification one piece strengtheneth another, a resultive firmness ariseth from their complication, reflecting life and lustre one on another. Arts may be said to be arched together; and all learned faculties have such a mutual reciprocation. Thus one is the better canonist, for being a good civilian; and a better common-lawyer, for being both of them. And hereof your Honour is an experimental proof, whose knowledge is spread so broad, yet lieth so thick in all liberal sciences.

What remaineth, but that I crave leave humbly to mind your lordship of that allusive motto to your name, *Piè repone te;* that your Honour, "reposing yourself piously in this life," may in a good old age be gloriously translated into another? the desire of

Your lordship's most bounden orator,

THOMAS FULLER.

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THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK II.

SECTION I.

THE SIXTH CENTURY.

1. ***The first Occasion of the Saxons' Conversion to Christianity. A.D. 585.***

IT is wonderful to see how the fruits of great events are virtually comprised in the small seed of their causes, and how a contemptible accident may give the occasion of most considerable effects; as may appear by the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity. For it happened, that certain Saxon children were to be sold for slaves, at the market-place at Rome; when Divine Providence, the great clock-keeper of time, (ordering not only hours, but even instants, Luke ii. 38, to his own honour,) so disposed it, that Gregory, afterwards first bishop of Rome of that name, was present to behold them. It grieved the good man to see the disproportion betwixt the faces and fortunes, the complexions and conditions, of those children, condemned to a servile estate, though carrying liberal looks, so legible was ingenuity in their faces. It added more to his sorrow, when he conceived that those youths were twice vassals, bought by their masters, and "sold under sin," Rom. vii. 14; servants in their bodies, and slaves in their souls to satan; which occasioned the good man to enter into further inquiry with the merchants (who set them to sale) what they were, and whence they came,* according to this ensuing dialogue:—

GREGORY.—Whence come these captives?

MERCHANTS.—From the isle of Britain.

* BEDE, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* lib. ii. cap. 1.

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GREGORY.—Are those islanders Christians?

MERCHANTS.—O no: they are Pagans.

GREGORY.—It is sad that the author of darkness should possess men with so bright faces. But what is the name of their particular nation?

MERCHANTS.—They are called *Angli*.

GREGORY.—And well may, for their "angel-like faces;" it becometh such to be coheirs with *the angels* in heaven. In what province of England did they live?

MERCHANTS.—In Deïra.*

GREGORY.—They are to be freed *de Dei irâ*, "from the anger of God." How call ye the king of that country?

MERCHANTS.—Ella.

GREGORY.—Surely *hallelujah* ought to be sung in his kingdom to the praise of that God who created all things.

Thus Gregory's gracious heart set the sound of every word to the tune of spiritual goodness. Nor can his words be justly censured for levity, if we consider how, in that age, the elegancy of poetry consisted in rhythm, and the eloquence of prose in allusions. And, which was the main, where his pleasant conceits did end, there his pious endeavours began; which did not terminate in a verbal jest, but produce real effects, which ensued hereupon.

2. *Gregory would convert England in his Person, but doth it by his Proxy. A.D.* 586.

For, repairing to Pelagius, bishop of Rome, he imparted his discoveries unto him, desiring that some might be sent to endeavour the conversion of the English nation, tendering his personal service thereunto. But Pelagius was unwilling to expose Gregory to so dangerous a design; and the people of Rome, accounting him a precious jewel, to be choicely kept for his own wearing, would "not cast this pearl before swine," by hazarding him to the insolency of the Pagans. Now Pelagius, not long after being called into another world, Gregory succeeded in his place; who, rising to new greatness, did not fall from his old goodness, but, prosecuting his project with more earnestness, sent Augustine the monk, with Mellitus, and forty more, to preach the gospel in Britain. He himself, tarrying behind in body, went with them in his spirit, 1 Cor. v. 3, accompanying them with his effectual prayers: and none will deny, but that Moses in the mount contributed as much to the conquering of Amalek, as Joshua in the valley, Exod. xvii. 11.

* Which at this day is the bishopric of Deirham, or Durham.

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3. *Augustine and his Fellows shrink for Fear.*

These men had not gone far, when they were surprised with a qualm of fear, and, sending Augustine back again to Gregory, requested to be excused from going to so barbarous a nation, not as yet converted to civility, whose language they did not understand. Here some will be ready to deride them for cowards; who, more seriously considering with how many excuses Moses, being sent by God himself, declined the going to Pharaoh, Exod. iii. iv., and how loath Jeremy was to preach to his countrymen, the stiff-necked Jews, Jer. i. 6, will presently change their censuring into commiserating the frailty of flesh, and common condition of mankind. But those make short miles who, looking through a window, travel a day's journey in an instant; whilst wayfaring men must honestly pay for every step, and dearly earn it with their industry. It is facile for men, in their pleasing speculations, to project the conversion of a kingdom, and with themselves to discourse a Heathen nation into Christianity, whilst those must encounter many difficulties who really go about to perform it. Gregory, perceiving them to tire in their undertakings, spurred them on with his exhortatory letter; the copy whereof is here inserted, to acquaint us with the style of the bishops of Rome in that age:—

"Gregory, the servant of the servants of God, &c. For-so-much as better it were never to begin a good work, than after it is once begun to go from it again; you must needs, my dear sons, now fulfil the good work which, by the help of God, you have taken in hand. Let, therefore, neither the travel of the journey, neither the talk of evil-tongued men, dismay you. But with all force and fervour make up that you have by the motion of God begun; assuring yourselves, that, after your great labour, eternal reward shall follow. Be you in all points obedient unto Augustine, whom I have sent back unto you, and appointed him to be your abbot; knowing *that* shall much profit your souls, *which* you shall do upon obedience to his commandment. Our almighty Lord defend you with his grace, and grant me to see the fruit of your labours in his kingdom of heaven! And though I cannot labour myself with you, yet I may enjoy part of your reward, for that I have a will to labour. God keep you healthy, my dearly beloved children.

"Dated the 23rd of July, our lord Mauritius Tiberius reigning, our most virtuous emperor, in the fourteenth year of his empire, the thirteenth year after his consulship, *indictione* 14."*

As yet we see the chaplain had not lorded it over his patron; as

* Bede's "History of the Church of England," book i. chap. 23, translated by Stapleton.

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yet the pope's crown was not built three stories high, but observed a distance of submission towards the emperor, as appears by his respectful expressions. Yea, this bishop measured the time by the years of the emperor's reign; whose successors have learned a new arithmetic, in their modern dates of charters, only reckoning by the years of their own consecration, without relating to any imperial account. Gregory, by the way, was the first which, in humility, used the style of *servus servorum Dei*. But as, in the method of nature, a low valley is immediately seconded with an ambitious hill; so after this humble Gregory, (a submissive soul,) within two years followed Boniface III., in whom was the pitch of pride, and height of aspiring haughtiness, to be termed "the universal bishop of the world."

4. *Augustine troubled with mocking Michals in his Passage through France.*

Beside the aforesaid letter, Gregory wrote many others,—one to Theodorick and Theodebert, kings of France,* and several epistles to sundry French bishops,—to accommodate and assist Augustine and his companions in so pious a design. And, which must not be forgotten, with them he sent over Candidus, a priest,† into France, to receive the profits and long-detained arrears of the pope's *patrimoniolum*,‡ as he terms it, (the diminutive is well increased at this time!) and with the money to buy clothes for the poor, and also to buy English Pagan-captive youths in France of seventeen or eighteen years old, that they might be brought up in Christianity in monasteries; so at once bestowing both liberty, religion, and learning upon them: a transcendent degree of charity; an alms worthy Gregory's hands to give it. And now Augustine with his partners, well encouraged, effectually prosecute their project, passing quietly through France, save only at the village of Saye in Anjou, where some giggling housewives (light leaves will be wagged with little wind!) causelessly fell a-flouting at them. But, in after-ages, the people of the same place, to repair this wrong, erected a masculine church (women being interdicted the entrance thereof) to the memory of St. Augustine: and how soundly one woman smarted for her presumption herein, take it on the trust of my author: §—

Plebs parat ecclesiam mulieribus haud reserandam:
Introïtum tentat una, sed illa perit.

"They build a church where women may not enter:
One tried, but lost her life for her adventure."

Yet Augustine himself found courteous usage from the weaker sex:

* Gregor. lib. v. epist. 58. † *Idem*, lib. v. epist. 10. ‡ *Idem*, lib. v. epist. 57.
§ Alexander Elsebiensis in his "Annals of Saints," and John Capgrave.

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witness the kind carriage of Brunichilda, the queen of France, unto him, (for which Gregory, in an epistle, returned her solemn thanks,)* and Bertha the king of France's daughter, wife of Ethelbert king of Kent.

5. *Augustine, for all his Power of working Miracles, needs Interpreters to preach to the English. A. D. 596.*

Augustine, safely wafted over the sea, lands with the rest at Thanet in Kent; taking, as it seems, deep footing, if it be true what one writes,† that the print of his steps where he first landed left as perfect a mark in a main rock, as if it had been in wax; and the Romanists will cry shame on our hard hearts, if our obdurate belief, more stubborn than the stone, will not as pliably receive the impression of this miracle. But it is worthy our consideration, that though Augustine all his way might be tracked by the wonders he left behind him; (when thirsty, miraculously fetching a fountain; when cold, a fire; restoring the blind and lame to their eyes and limbs;) ‡ yet, for all this, he was fain to bring interpreters out of France with him, by whose help he might understand the English, and be understood by them: whereas in holy writ, when the apostles (and papists commonly call Augustine "the English apostle," how properly we shall see hereafter) went to a foreign nation, God gave them the language thereof, lest otherwise their preaching should have the vigour thereof abated, taken at the second-hand, or rather at the second mouth, as Augustine's was; who used an interpreter, not as Joseph to his brethren, Gen. xlii. 23, out of state and policy, but out of mere necessity. This, I say, well thought on, will make our belief to demur to the truth of his so frequent miracles, being so redundant in working them on trivial occasions, and so defective in a matter of most moment. But leaving him and his for a time safely landed and lodged, that our gratitude to God may be the greater, for freeing the Saxons our ancestors from the bondage of idolatry, let us behold with horror the huge fetters of error and ignorance wherewith the devil kept them in durance, before the gospel was preached unto them.

6. *The Rabble of Saxon Idols.*

The Saxons, like the rest of the Germans, whilst pure-impure Pagans, worshipped many idols, barbarous in name, some monstrous, all antic for shape, and abominable in the rites and ceremonies of their adoration. Some aver, that, as the Germans, affecting an autarchy or sole-sufficiency amongst themselves, disdained

* Lib. vii. ep. 5. † *Flores Sanctorum, Maii* 26, in the Life of St. Augustine, p. 499.
‡ *Idem*, p. 498.

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commerce in customs or civil government with the Romans; so they communicated not with them in their religion. Yet others affirm, that, in after-ages, the Dutch did enter common with the Romish superstition; at least-wise some modern authors have reduced the Saxon idols (symbolizing with the Romans in power and properties) to some conformity with the Roman deities. Now although, according to God's command to the Jews, "their names shall not be heard out of our mouth," Exod. xxiii. 13, by way of praising them, praying to them, or swearing by them; yet an historical mention of them, here ensuing, is as free from offence, as useful for information. Beside the Sun and Moon, the Saxons sacrificed to

NAME.	SHAPE.	OFFICE.	Correspondent with.
THOR or THUR, abbreviated of THUNRE, which we now write THUNDER: *Thursday*, named from him.*	A corpulent statue, reposed on a covered bed, wearing a crown of gold, about which twelve stars; a kingly sceptre in his right hand.	He governed the wind and clouds, causing lightning, thunder, tempest, fair or foul weather.	The Roman Jupiter.
WODEN, that is, "wood, fierce, or furious," giving the denomination to *Wednesday*, or *Wodensday*.	Armed *cap-a-pié*, with a military coronet on his head.	He was the god of battle, by whose aid and furtherance they hoped to obtain victory.	Mars.†
FRIGA or FREA, remembered on *Friday*.	A hermaphrodite; perchance because the reputed patroness of generation, wherein both sexes are joined.	The giver of peace and plenty; the causer of love, amity, and increase.	Venus.
SEATER, still remaining on *Saturday*.	Of a lean visage, long hair, bare head, holding in one hand a wheel, in the other a pail of flowers.	Conceived to have a great influence on the kindly fruits of the earth.	Saturn.
TUYSC, whence *Tuesday* took its name.	Covered with a skin, arms and feet naked, with an ancient aspect, and a sceptre in his hand.	The peculiar tutelar god of the Duytsh, whence they had their name.	
ERMENSEWL, that is, "the pillar or stay of the poor."	Pictured with a banner in one hand with a red rose, in the other a pair of balances, on his head a cock, breast a bear, before him an escutcheon, &c.	The pretended bestower of wit and cunning in bargains and contracts.	Mercury.
HEILE.	His stately statue stood at Cern in Dorsetshire.	The preventer of diseases, preserver and restorer of health.	Æsculapius.

Thus we see the whole week bescattered with Saxon idols, whose Pagan gods were the godfathers of the days, and gave them their names. This, some zealot may behold as the object of a necessary reformation, desiring to have the days of the week new-

† VERSTEGAN'S "Restitution of Decayed Intelligence," chap. iii. p. 74. † So VERSTEGAN, p. 72; but CAMDEN, "Britannia," p. 135, makes him to be Mercury.

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dipped, and called after other names; though, indeed, this supposed scandal will not offend the wise, as beneath their notice, and cannot offend the ignorant, as above their knowledge.* Wherefore, none need so hastily to hurry to the top of the mainmast, thence to pluck down the badge of Castor and Pollux, Acts xxviii. 11; but rather let them be careful steadily to steer their ship to the heaven for which it is bound; and let us redeem the time, for the days are evil; not because in their name they bear the cognizance of the Pagan gods; but because swarming with the sins of profane men, which all should labour to reprove in others, and amend in themselves.

7. *A Recruit of their Idols.*

But it was not a week or a month, yea, scarce a year of days, which could severally contain the numerous Saxon idols. Beside the forenamed, they had Neptune,† to whom, in their abominable decimations, they sacrificed every tenth captive whom they had taken in war; so making that sea-god to swim in man's blood; *per hujusmodi non tam sacrificia purgati, quàm sacrilegia polluti*, saith an ancient Christian author.‡ Secondly. *Eoster* or *Goster*, a goddess, which they worshipped in the spring-time, wherein the feast of Easter afterwards was celebrated, and so thence named, as Bede observeth. Thirdly. *Flynt*, so termed because set on a great flint-stone, which, I dare boldly say, had more sparks of Divine nature than that idol which thereon was erected. Lastly. Tacitus observeth, that the Saxons worshipped the peculiar god *Herthus*, the self-same which in English we call "the earth," adoring that whereon they did daily trample.

8. *All these antiquated by Christianity.*

Beside these, they had other lesser gods, of a lower form and younger house; as *Helmsteed*, *Prono*, *Fridegast*, and *Siwe:* all which at this day (to use the prophet's expression) are "cast to the moles and the bats," Isaiah ii. 20; fit company for them which "have eyes and see not," blind to the blind, like all those which put confidence in them. And as the true and real serpent of Aaron did swallow up and devour the seeming serpents, which Jannes and Jambres the Egyptian enchanters did make, Exodus vii. 12; so, long since in England, the religion of the true God hath outlived and outlasted, and confuted and confounded, all false and feigned deities. To conclude this discourse: I have heard of a man, who, being drunk, rode over a narrow bridge, (the first and

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 385—389.—EDIT. † SELDEN, "Of Tithes," chap. x. p. 269. ‡ SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, lib. viii. Epist.

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last that ever passed that way, as which in likelihood led him to imminent death,) and next morning viewing how he had escaped, he fell into a swoon with acting over again the danger of his adventure in his bare apprehension. So, should England (now, thanks be to God, grown sober and restored to herself) seriously recollect her sad condition, when posting in the paths of perdition, being intoxicated with the cup of idolatry, she would fall into a trance of amazement at the consideration of her desperate state, before Christianity recovered her to her right senses; the manner whereof we now come to relate.

9. *The Character of King Ethelbert.*

When Augustine the monk (as is afore said) landed in Thanet, Ethelbert was then king of Kent; one, who had very much of good-nature in him; of a wild olive well civilized, and a stock fit to be grafted upon. Yea, he was already, with king Agrippa, though not in the same sense, "almost a Christian," Acts xxvi. 28; because his other half, queen Bertha, daughter to the king of France, was a Christian;* to whom he permitted the free use of her religion, allowing her both Luidhard, a bishop, for her chaplain, and an old church in Canterbury (formerly dedicated by the Romans to St. Martin) to exercise her devotion therein. Besides, at this time, this Ethelbert was in effect monarch of England; whilst his person had residence chiefly in Kent, his power had influence even to Humber; all the rest of the Saxon kings being homagers unto him: which afterward much expedited the passage of the gospel in England. Thus each officious accident shall dutifully tender his service to the advance of that design which God will have effected.

10. *Augustine's Addresses, and Ethelbert's Answer.*

Then Augustine acquainted this Ethelbert with his arrival, informing him by his messengers, that he brought "the best tidings unto him, which would certainly procure eternal happiness in heaven, and endless reigning in bliss with the true God, to such as should entertain them." Soon after Ethelbert repaired into Thanet; to whom Augustine made his address μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας, "with a deal of" spiritual-carnal "pomp;" having a silver cross carried before him for a banner, the image of our Saviour painted in a table, and singing the litany in the way as they went.† King Ethelbert desired all things betwixt them might be transacted in the open air, refusing to come under a roof, for fear of fascination.

* Bede *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. 25. † Bede, *ut prius.*

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And, indeed, a stranger, who had never seen the like before, beholding Augustine with such abundance of trinkets about him, being formerly jealous, might hereby have his suspicion increased,—that he went about some strange machination. However, Ethelbert returned him a civil answer:—"That their promises were fair and good; but, because new and uncertain, he could not presently assent unto them, and leave the ancient customs of the English, which had been for so long time observed. But because they were strangers, coming from far countries, to communicate to him and his such things as they conceived were good and true, he would not forbid any converts, whom their preaching could persuade to their opinion, and also would provide them necessaries for their comfortable accommodation."

11. *Ethelbert and others converted to the Christian Faith. A.D. 597.*

Hence Augustine, with his followers, advanced to Canterbury, to the aforesaid old church of St. Martin's. Here they lived so piously, prayed so fervently, fasted so frequently, preached so constantly, wrought miracles so commonly, that many people of inferior rank, and at last king Ethelbert himself, were baptized, and embraced the Christian religion. The same Ethelbert also ordered, that none should be forced into religion;* having understood, that Christ's service ought to be voluntary, and not compelled. And if his courtiers had been as cautious not to embrace religion for fashion, as the king was careful they should not receive it for fear, there had not at that time been made so many Christians, for conveniency probably rather than for conscience, who soon after returned again to Paganism. However, as it is rendered a reason, in the days of Hezekiah, why the Jews, at so short warning, so unanimously kept the passover,—"God had prepared the people, for the thing was done suddenly;"—so, on the same account, it came to pass, that in so little a time (beside temporary believers) so many true and sincere converts embraced the Christian faith.

12. *Gregory's Answer to Augustine's Letters.*

Then Augustine by his letters informed Gregory of the progress and proficiency of his pains in England. Gregory returned him a discreet answer, rejoicing with him, and advising of him not to be puffed up by pride for the great miracles wrought by him; but, *timendo gaudere, et gaudendo pertimescere.* He minded him how when the disciples triumphed at their casting-out of devils, Luke

* Bedæ *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. 26.

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x. 17, Christ more spiritualized their joy,—rather to rejoice "that their names were written in heaven." And, indeed, as some eminent in piety never attained this honour; ("John" Baptist "did no miracle," John x. 41;) so many, finally disavowed of God, as unknown unto him, shall plead for themselves, (and truly, no doubt,) "In thy name have we cast out devils," Matt. vii. 22. Yet this admonition of Gregory is, with me, and ought to be with all unprejudiced persons, an argument beyond exception, that (though no discreet man will believe Augustine's miracles in the latitude of monkish relations) he is ignorantly and uncharitably peevish and morose who utterly denies some miracles to have been really effected by him. About the same time, St. Gregory sent from Rome Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, and Ruffinianus, to be fellow-labourers with Augustine in the English harvest.

13. *Conclusion of this Century.* *A.D.* 600.

Thus was Kent converted to Christianity. For such as account this a conversion of all England, to make their words good, do make use of a long and strong synecdoche, "a part for the whole;" far more than half of the land lying some years after in the darkness of Paganism; which others afterward enlightened with the beams of the gospel. But, as HE is esteemed the architect or master-workman, not who builds up most of the wall, but who first designeth the fabric, and layeth the foundation thereof; in the same respect Augustine carrieth away the credit of all that came after him, because the primitive planter of the gospel amongst the Saxons. And it is observable, that this conversion was done without any persecution, (yea, considerable opposition,) costing some pain, no torture; some sweat, no blood; not one martyr being made in the whole managing thereof. Meantime, the poor Christian Britons, living peaceably at home, there enjoyed God, the gospel, and their mountains; little skilful in, and less caring for, the ceremonies alamode, brought over by Augustine; and, indeed, their poverty could not go to the cost of Augustine's silver cross, which made them worship "the God of their fathers" after their own homely but hearty fashion; not willing to disturb Augustine and his followers in their new rites, but that he had a mind to disquiet them in their old service, as in the sequel of the History will appear.

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SECTION II.

THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

AMICO SUO GR. B.

SOCRATES interrogatus, quo philtro natura sympathias conciliaret, quidve esset in causâ ut alii hominum primo occursu ament medullitùs, alii sibi mutuò sint infensi? hanc rationem reddidit: "Deus," inquit, "ab æterno quicquid futurum esset animarum creavit; creatas, per immensum temporis spatium, in uno cumulo collocavit; collocatas, corporibus, prout indiès generantur, infundit. Hinc est, si contingat vel fortuitum consortium inter eos homines, quorum animæ in hoc acervo propinquiores, quòd primo visu (quasi veteris vicinitatis memores) se invicem diligant; dum isti, primo intuitu, antipathiæ stimulis urgeantur, quorum animæ adversantes diametricè opponebantur."

Fateor commentum hoc Socraticum a theologiâ abhorrere: et in philosophiâ plurimis asystatis laborare. Quod si ei subesset tantum veritatis, quantum ingenii, sanctissimè voverem, in hoc animarum cumulo tuam et meam contiguas olim jacuisse; cùm te primum conspectum et animitùs amarem, et a te redamarer.

1. *Why the Archbishop's See was removed from London to Canterbury. A.D.* 601.

MUCH about this time, pope Gregory sent two archbishops' palls into England; the one for London,* the other for York. The former of these cities had been honoured with an archbishop's see some hundred years since king Lucius. But, at the instance of Augustine, and by a new order of the foresaid Gregory, this pall sent to London was removed thence to Canterbury, (whereof Augustine was made archbishop,) and there, for the future, fixed and confirmed for several reasons. First. London already had lustre enough, being the biggest city in Britain; and it was needless to add new spiritual to her old temporal greatness; which, con-

* ROG. WENDOVER, MATTH. FLORILEG., and ROFF. *Histor.*

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joined, might cause pride in any one place, whilst, divided, they might give honour to two cities. Secondly. London, by reason of the receipt thereof, was likely to prove the residing place for the English monarch; and it was probable that the archi-episcopal dignity would there be eclipsed and outshined by the regal diadem. Thirdly. Had Augustine been archbishop of London, he might have seemed to succeed the British archbishops, and to have derived some right from them, contrary to his humour, who would lead all, but follow none; and therefore would not wear an old title, but have a span-new archbishop's chair carved out for himself. Lastly. Canterbury was the place wherein Christianity was first received by the Saxons, and therefore deserved to be honoured, to perpetuate the memory thereof. Thus London hereafter must be contented with the plain seat of a bishop, the mother being made a daughter, and must come behind Canterbury, which did much wrong and, perchance, something trouble her. But churches have more discretion and humility than to break their hearts about earthly precedency; and the matter is not much, which see went first when living; seeing our age hath laid them both alike level in their graves.*

2. *Augustine summons a Synod of Saxon and British Bishops.*

Augustine, thus armed with archi-episcopal authority, to show a cast of his office, by the aid of Ethelbert king of Kent called a council, for the Saxon and British bishops to come together, in the confines of the Wiccians and West Saxons;† an indifferent place, for mutual ease, in mid-way betwixt both; haply presaging, that, as their distant persons met on equal terms, so their opposite opinions might agree in some moderation. The particular place was called AUGUSTINE'S AKE, (that is, his oak, in our modern dialect,) which Stapleton‡ (mistaken by the affinity of *Wiccii*, or *Veccii*, with *Vectis*, the Latin name for the Isle of Wight) seeketh near Southampton; where, indeed, he may find many oaks in the New Forest, and yet miss the right one. For this oak stood in the confines of Worcester§ and Herefordshire; though, at this day, time hath confounded it root and branch; and therefore this meeting is, in Latin, called *Synodus* || *Vigorniensis*. Many solemn entertainments, we know, were anciently made under trees, Gen. xviii. 4: and a palm-tree served Deborah for her Westminster-hall, wherein she judged Israel, Judges iv. 5. But several reasons are assigned why Augustine kept this council under an oak. First. So public a place was free from exceptions; whereunto none were

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 346, 390.—EDIT. † *Ibid.* p. 391. —EDIT. ‡ In his Translation of Bede, book ii. chap. 2. § CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Worcestershire. || SPELMAN *in Conciliis, anno* 601, p. 107.

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debarred access. Secondly. Being congregated under the view of heaven, and not pent within the walls of a private house, they were minded of clear, fair, and open proceedings, without secret ends, or sinister intents. Thirdly. Perchance some Pagan Saxons, allured with novelty, would repair to the council, whose jealousy was such as in no case they would come under a roof, for fear of fascination,* as hath been formerly observed. Lastly. Augustine, knowing that the Pagan Britons performed their superstitions under an oak,† celebrated his synod under the same, in some imitation, and yet a correction, of their idolatry: as, in a religious parallel, Pagan temples had formerly by him been converted into churches of saints. But, when all is done, the matter is not so clear but that the place called "Augustine's Oak" may as well be a town as a tree, so called from some eminent oak in, at, or near it: as the Vine in Hampshire, so named from vines anciently growing there, is a beautiful house, and principal seat, where the barons Sandys have their habitation. And, what is most apposite for our purpose, Sozomen calleth the place where Theophilus kept a synod against St. Chrysostom, "the Oak;" which, notwithstanding, is notoriously known to have been a populous suburb of the city of Chalcedon.

3. *The British Clergy refuse Submission to the Pope of Rome.*

At the first sessions of this synod there was a very thin appearance of the Britons; of whom Augustine demanded, that they should mutually contribute with him their pains to convert the Heathen in Britain, and that they should submit to the pope, and embrace an uniformity with the Romish rites, especially in the celebration of Easter. What their answer was, it is pity it should be delivered in any other words than what the abbot of Bangor, being the mouth for the rest, represented as followeth; and let it shift, as well as it can, for its own authenticalness:—

Bid ispis a diogel i, chwi ynbod ni holl vn ac arrąl, yn vuidd ac ynn ostingedig i eglwys Duw, ac ir paab o Ruvam, ac i boob Kyar grisdic n dwyucl, y garu pawb yn i radd mewn kariad parfaich, ac ihelpio pawb o honaunt ar air a guecthred i vod ynn blant y Duw, ac amgenach wyddod nc hwn nidadwen i vod ir neb yr yddeck chwi y henwi yn paab ne in daad o daad, yw glemio ac yw ovunn: ar uvyddod hi vn idden in yn varod yw rodde ac yw dalu iddo ef ac i pob Krisdion yn dragwiddol. He uid yr ydym ni dan lywodrath esoob Kaerllion ar Wysc, yr hien ysidd yn oligwr dan Duw ar nom ni, y wuenthud i ni gadwr fordd ysbrydol.‡

* This reason is given by sir Henry Spelman, *ut prius.* † See First Century, parag. iii. p. 6. ‡ Copied exactly, many years since, by sir Henry Spelman out of an ancient British manuscript of Mr. Peter Moston's, a Welsh gentleman.—SPELMAN'S *Concilia*, p. 108.

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"Be it known and without doubt unto you, that we all are, and every one of us, obedient and subjects to the church of God, and to the pope of Rome, and to every godly Christian, to love every one in his degree in perfect charity, and to help every one of them by word and deed to be the children of God; and other obedience than this I do not know due to him whom you name to be *pope*, nor to be the *father of fathers*, to be claimed and to be demanded. And this obedience we are ready to give, and to pay to him, and to every Christian continually. Besides, we are under the government of the bishop of Kaerleon upon Uske, who is to oversee under God over us, to cause us to keep the way spiritual."

See we here the pedigree of the British church, which the shorter the ancienter, the fewer steps it had the higher it reached. They were subject in spiritual matters to the bishop of Caer-leon, and above him unto God, without any subordination unto the pope; so that it was more than a presumption, that religion came into Britain, not by the semi-circle of Rome, but in a direct line from the Asiatic churches. We must not forget, that though, many years since, the archi-episcopal see of the Britons was removed from Caer-leon to St. David's; yet it still retained the title of Caer-leon, as of the first and most famous place.

4. *The Credit of this Manuscript impugned.*

A late papist much impugneth the credit of this manuscript, (as made since the days of king Henry VIII.,) and cavilleth at the Welsh thereof, as modern, and full of false spelling. He need not have used so much violence to wrest it out of our hands, who can part with it without considerable loss to ourselves,* or gain to our adversaries; for it is but a breviate or abstract of those passages, which in Bede and other authors appear most true, of the British refusing subjection to the see of Rome. Whilst, therefore, the chapter is canonical, it matters not if the contents be Apocrypha, as the additions of some well-meaning scribe. And though this Welsh be far later than the days of abbot Dinoth, and the English (added in the original) later than the Welsh; yet the Latin, as ancienter than both, containeth nothing contrary to the sense of all authors, which write this intercourse betwixt Augustine and the Welsh nation.

5. *The Synod proves ineffectual.*

But this synod, in fine, proved ineffectual, the British bishops refusing to submit, and Augustine to communicate with them without such submission. Whereupon, at Augustine's motion, a blind man was publicly presented amongst them; on whom the British

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 392.—EDIT.

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bishops practised in vain with their prayers, to restore him to his sight; which, at the request of Augustine to God, was presently and perfectly performed.* This miracle convinced the Britons, that Augustine was in the right for the critical observation of Easter. But yet they could not, *absque suorum consensu ac licentiâ*, "without the national consent of their own people, and principal elders therein," renounce their ancient customs to embrace new practices. Indeed, as for their submitting to Augustine's jurisdiction, they apprehended it unsafe for the present, and mischievous for the future; having another civil government under kings of their own, and suspecting his spiritual power might, in process of time, intrench upon their temporal liberty.

6. *The Dialogue betwixt the British Bishops and the Anchoret.*

Departing hence, the Britons repaired to an aged anchoret, charactered by Beda to be *sanctus et prudens*, "holy and wise," (and none would wish his counsellor better qualified,) and craved his advice, how hereafter they should behave themselves in the next synod, wherein they had promised to give Augustine a meeting; which out of our author may thus be dialogue-wise digested:—

BRITISH BISHOPS, ANCHORET.

BRITISH BISHOPS.—Are we bound to desert our traditions at the preaching of Augustine?

ANCHORET.—If he be a man of God, follow him.

BRITISH BISHOPS.—But how shall we be able to make trial thereof?

ANCHORET.—The Lord saith, "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart," Matt. xi. 29. If, therefore, this Augustine be mild and humble in heart, it is credible that he himself beareth the yoke of Christ, and tendereth the same to be borne of you; but if he be cruel and proud, it appeareth that he is not of God, neither ought ye to heed what he saith.

BRITISH BISHOPS.—But how shall we make discovery hereof?

ANCHORET.—Contrive it so, that he and his may come first into the place of the synod. And if he rise up when you draw near unto him, hear him then obediently, knowing him for a servant of Christ; but if he slighteth you, and vouchsafeth not to rise up unto you, (seeing you are more in number,) let him be slighted by you.

Armed with these instructions, the British bishops advance to the second synod; where Augustine, pontifically sitting in his chair, at their entrance, entertained them only with neglect and contempt; which by the Britons was accordingly requited.

* BEDE, *Eccles. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 2.

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7. *Proud Diotrephes Augustine.*

Herein that stately prelate forgot St. Gregory's precept to him, "not to proceed too rigorously in the alteration of ceremonies, but to allow a latitude according to time and place."* O for a little in him of St. Paul's temper, who was "made all things to all men, that by all means he might gain some!" 1 Cor. ix. 22. Had Augustine's joints been suppled with the oil of humility, one bended knee might probably have bowed many hearts unto him; whereas now he lost their affections: pride being an unwinning quality, rendering the proud party scorned by his betters, hated by his equals, feared (perchance) by his inferiors, but loved by none. Had not he, who is said to have cured the blind, need to have his own eyes opened herein? who, though he be commonly called "Augustine the less," in distinction from his name-sake, Father St. Augustine of Hippo, yet may be allowed "Augustine the great," if a measure be taken from the dimensions of his pride and haughtiness.

8. *Augustine's Prophecy.*

We pass now from this Augustine's pride, to his prophecy; who, enraged at the British bishops, for denying subjection unto him, flatly fell a-menacing them,—that, seeing they would not submit to his motion, and join with him in preaching to the Saxons, soon after they should feel the force of their enemies' sword, and be suddenly confounded by those whom they would not endeavour to convert: which accordingly came to pass.

9. *The Massacre of the Monks of Bangor.* *A.D.* 603, *aliàs* 605.

For, not long after, Ethelfrid, the Pagan king of Northumberland, having conquered Chester, invaded Wales, and bade the Britons battle. Amongst them was a regiment of the monks of Bangor, all naked and unarmed, save with tears and prayers, (whole volleys whereof they discharged to heaven for the good success of their countrymen,) being all by themselves upon an advantage of ground; and one Brockmaile, a Briton, as captain of their life-guard, had a company of soldiers to defend them. Ethelfrid, being informed that these monks prayed against him, concluded them to be his effectual enemies, though otherwise offering him no hostility; and, fiercely falling on them, put twelve hundred of them to the sword, fifty only escaping; Brockmaile most basely deserting them whom he was set to defend.

* See his answer to Augustine's third question.

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10. *Augustine suspected to be their Murderer.*

But here some birds sing a different note from the rest, which must be listened unto; namely, such authors, considerable for their number, antiquity, gravity, and learning, who accuse this Augustine for the designer of the death and destruction of these innocent British monks; so that he cunningly foretold what he himself cruelly intended to fulfil. Thus, well might Jezebel, who "calleth herself a prophetess," Rev. ii. 20, certainly foreshow the death of Naboth, for denying his vineyard to Ahab, when she had purposely beforehand packed and plotted the same: a heavy accusation, if true, that "Augustine," (to use my friend's expression,)* "*Gregorii Vicarius*, should be *gregis sicarius; et ecclesiæ futuræ Anglicanæ conversor* should be *præsentis Britannicæ eversor;* so that, instead of a prophet's reward, he deserved the punishment of a murderer." But, to clear this point, conceive we a grand jury of four-and-twenty judicious readers empanneled, before whom the memory of Augustine is indicted of murder, and witnesses produced on both sides. Let none censure me, if in these proceedings my pen fails in legal formalities; such exactness not being by me intended, but only some general conformity with a law-trial, to fix the history in our fancies with more pleasure and delight.

11. *Witnesses produced against him.*

The bill, first, was solemnly read, running to this effect,—"That Augustine the monk, (commonly called *the English apostle*,) not having the fear of God before his eyes, out of forethought malice, feloniously did plot, project, and contrive the murder of twelve hundred monks of Bangor, by soliciting Ethelbert the Christian king of Kent, to move Ethelfrid the Pagan king of Northumberland, with force of arms to kill and slay the monks aforesaid," &c. An accusation so heinous, that at first it filled the whole jury with silence, horror, and amazement; till afterwards they recollected themselves to attend unto the following witnesses:—

(1.) GEOFFRY OF MONMOUTH,† whose Welsh blood was up, as concerned in the cause of his countrymen. "Ethelbert, king of Kent," said he, "when he saw the Britons disdaining to yield subjection to Augustine, and that they scorned to be subject to himself, stirred up the Northumberlanders, and other Saxon princes; that, gathering a great army against the city of Bangor, they should go forth to destroy the abbot Dinoth, and the other clergy, who had formerly slighted them."‡

* MR. ABRAHAM WHEELOCK, in his Notes on BEDE, p. 115. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 376.—EDIT. ‡ *Manuscript. in pub. lib. Cantab.* p. 167.

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(2.) THOMAS GRAY, an old chronicler,* (as it is written in French,) brought in this evidence,—"That Augustine, being refused of the Christian Britons, inflamed Ethelbertus king of Kent, to levy his power, and to war against them, himself being also in company," (as in the old abstract of chronicles is recorded,) "and marching with him towards the slaughter;" where they had no more regard of mercy, than a wolf hath upon a sheep.

(3.) NICHOLAS TRIVET, a Dominican, who wrote some three hundred years since, deposed,—"That Ethelbert king of Kent, being highly offended, incited Ethelfrid king of Northumberland, and other petty Saxon kings, because they had contemned Augustine in the council,"† &c.

(4.) ELSEBIENSIS MONACHUS, commenting on those words of Merlin, *Delebitur iterum religio*, "Religion shall again be destroyed," thus expoundeth them:—"This was afterwards fulfilled, either by Gormund, or by Augustine, who caused twelve hundred monks to be slain at Bangor in Wales, because they obeyed him not in a council."‡

These testimonies much moved the jury; who, notwithstanding, reserved their other ear, as it became honest men, to hearken to the depositions in Augustine's behalf.

12. *Testimonies in his behalf.*

Amongst these, that of Bede was most material:—*Sicque completum est præsagium sancti pontificis Augustini, (quamvis ipso, jam multo antè tempore, ad cœlestia regna sublato,) ut etiam temporalis interitûs ultionem sentirent perfidi, quòd oblata sibi perpetuæ salutis consilia spreverant.*§ Which words (for, it is seasonably remembered, all pleas must now be in English) may thus be translated:—"And so the prophecy of holy bishop Augustine was fulfilled, (although himself, long before that, was taken out of this life to the kingdom of heaven,) that also the treacherous people might feel the revenge of temporal ruin, because they had despised the counsels of eternal salvation offered unto them."

13. *The Paragraph in Bede's Testimony questioned.*

Much difference arose hereabouts; the rather, because some urged that parenthesis ("although himself long before," &c.) to have been studiously interpolated in Bede, on purpose for the purgation of Augustine, by some in after-ages that favoured him; alleging that it is not in the ancient Saxon copies, being put in

* Cited in JEWEL'S "Apology," part i. p. 11. † SIR HENRY SPELMAN'S "Councils," p. 111. ‡ *Manuscr. in Bene't Coll. Librar. Camb.* § *Eccles. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 2. *Editione Wheelochianâ.*

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as "a piece of new cloth into an old garment," with intent to "fill it up," but in event "making it worse;" because this passage checketh the pen of Bede in the full speed thereof, (no less against the rules of history, than of horsemanship,) as he was writing the Life of Augustine, the story whereof, notwithstanding, still runs on, and continues until the end of the next chapter. Here some of the jury betook themselves to the point of chronology, as most proper to decide the matter now depending; but such was the variety of authors, that no certainty could thence be extracted. For, though the massacre of the monks of Bangor is generally noted to be *anno* 603,* which falls out before the death of Augustine; yet the Annals of Ulster (whose authority is not to be contemned) observe the same in the year 613; which, undoubtedly, was after Augustine's decease.†

14. *Mr. Fox's Moderation much moveth the Jury.*

Then a second sort of witnesses presented themselves, as Mr. Parker,‡ bishop Jewel,§ and others, somewhat sharp against Augustine in their expressions; which wrought the less with the jury; partly, because of such authors' known opposition to the Romish church; and, partly, because of their modern writing,—almost a thousand years after the matter-in-fact.‖ Only the moderate testimony of reverend Mr. Fox much moved the whole court, as one thoroughly well-affected in religion, and averse from all popery and cruelty, thus expressing himself: "This seemeth rather suspicious than true, that Ethelbert, being a Christian king, either could so much prevail with a Pagan idolater, or else would attempt so far to commit such a cruel deed: but, of uncertain things I have nothing certainly to say, less to judge."¶ This, I say, prevailed so far with the jury, that, consulting with themselves, they found an *ignoramus:* with whose commendable charity I concur; preferring rather to clear a twilight innocence into noon-day, than to darken it into midnight.

15. *The Blood of Bangor Monks revenged.*

To return to the monks of Bangor: Their innocent blood went not long unrevenged; for we find recorded, how three British princes, namely, Blederick duke of Cornwall, Margaduc duke of South Wales, and Cadwan duke of North Wales, bade battle to the Northumberlanders as they were invading Wales, and not only dangerously wounded the aforesaid Ethelfrid their king, but

* Matt. West., Chichestr. *MS. Bibl. pub. Cantabrig.* † Usher, *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 1157. ‡ *Antiq. Britan.* p. 48. § "Apology," part i. p. 11. ‖ See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 393.—Edit. ¶ "Acts and Monuments," part i. p. 154, col. 2.

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also discomfited his army, and slew ten thousand and sixty of his soldiers, forcing him at last to articles of composition;—that he should confine himself within his own country, north of Trent, and leave all Wales to be entirely and peaceably enjoyed by the Britons, the true owners thereof.*

16. *Farewell taken for some Years of the British Church.*

However, here, to our great grief, we are fain to take our farewell, for some hundreds of years, of the British church, wanting instructions concerning the remarkable particulars thereof. Yet Dr. Harpsfield deserves a check, both for his false ground-work,† and presumptuous inference built thereupon. For, first, he slighteth the British nation, as such an one as, since this their dissenting from Augustine and the Romish church in ceremonies, never achieved any actions of renown, or mounted to any eminency in the world. Then, he imputeth their being so long depressed, and at last subdued by the English, as a just punishment of God on their not complying with Rome: so pragmatical a prier he is into Divine secrets. But he who thus casteth forth a national abuse can never see where such a stone lighteth; for, beside the nation for the time being, their posterity, engaged therein, have just cause either to find or make reparation to themselves. I could and would myself assert the British from his scandalous pen, were it not against the rules of manners and discretion to take this office out of the hands of some of their own nation, for whom it is more proper, as they are more able to perform it.

17, 18. *Commendation of the British Language; causelessly traduced by Ignorance.*

Only give me leave to insert a line or two, (some pleasant discourse will not do amiss, after so much sad matter,) in commendation of the British tongue, and vindication thereof against such as causelessly traduce it. First. Their language is native. It was one of those which departed from Babel; and herein it relates to God, as the more immediate Author thereof: whereas most tongues in Europe owe their beginning to human depraving of some original language. Thus the Italian, Spanish, and French, daughters or nieces to the Latin, are generated from the corruption thereof.‡ Secondly. Unmixed. For, though it hath some few foreign words, and useth them sometimes, yet she rather accepteth them out of state, than borroweth them out of need, as having, beside these, other words of her own to express the same things. Yea, the

* Nicolas Trivet, largely cited by sir Henry Spelman in his "Councils," p. 112.
† *Eccles. Hist. sæculo* vii. cap. 39, p. 114.
‡ See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 396.—Edit.

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Romans were so far from making the Britons *to do*, that they could not make them *to speak*, as they would have them: their very language never had a perfect conquest in this island. Thirdly. Unaltered. Other tongues are daily disguised with foreign words, so that, in a century of years, they grow strangers to themselves; as now an Englishman needs an interpreter to understand Chaucer's English. But the British continues so constant to itself, that the prophecies of old Thaliessin (who lived above a thousand years since) are at this day intelligible in that tongue. Lastly. Durable; which had its beginning at the confusion of tongues, and is likely not to have its ending till the dissolution of the world.

Some indeed inveigh against it, as being hard to be pronounced, having a conflux of many consonants, and some of them double-sounded; yea, whereas the mouth is the place wherein *the office of speech* is generally kept, the British words must be uttered through the throat. But this rather argues the antiquity thereof, herein running parallel with the Hebrew, (the common tongue of the old world, before it was enclosed into several languages,*) and hath much affinity therewith, in jointing of words with affixes, and many other correspondencies. Some also cavil, that it grates and tortures the ears of hearers with the harshness thereof; whereas, indeed, it is unpleasant only to such as are ignorant of it. And thus every tongue seems stammering, which is not understood; yea, Greek itself is barbarism to barbarians. Besides, what is nick-named "harshness" therein, maketh it indeed more full, stately, and masculine. But such is the epicurism of modern times, to addulce all words to the ear, that (as in the French) they melt out, in pronouncing, many essential letters, taking out all the bones, to make them bend the better in speaking; and such hypocrites in their words speak them not truly in their native strength, as the plain-dealing British do, who pronounce every letter therein more manly, if less melodious. Lastly. Some condemn it unjustly as a worthless tongue, because leading to no matter of moment; and, who will care to carry about that key which can unlock no treasure? But this is false; that tongue affording monuments of antiquity, some being left, though many be lost; and more had been extant, but for want of diligence in seeking, and carefulness in preserving them.

19. *Augustine baptizeth ten thousand in one Day.*

But, craving pardon of the reader for this digression, we re-assume our Augustine, who all this while was very industrious, and no less successful, in converting the Saxons to the Christian faith. Insomuch

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 398—403.—EDIT.

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that a certain author* reporteth, how, in the river Swale, near Richmond in Yorkshire,† Augustine on one day baptized above ten thousand; adding withal, that the people not only passed without danger through so deep a river, but also they who were sick and deformed when they went in, were whole and handsome when they came forth again.‡ The judicious reader may, in this miracle, discover how the author thereof (no doubt some ignorant monk) hath therein jumbled and confounded three distinct scripture histories, to make a mock parallel betwixt the rivers Jordan and Swale:—(1.) Borrowing the people's safe passing through it, from Joshua's conducting the Israelites through Jordan, Joshua iv. 1. (2.) Borrowing their being baptized in it, from John's baptizing the Jews in Jordan, Matt. iii. 6. (3.) Borrowing the curing of their infirmities by it, from Elisha's healing Naaman's leprosy in Jordan, 2 Kings v. 14. But here it must be remembered, that Bede maketh no mention at all hereof; and ascribeth this numerous baptizing to Paulinus, archbishop of York, many years after. It would argue too much morosity in us, to demur in our faith to the whole fact, till authors are all agreed about the doer thereof. For mine own part, I conceive Paulinus the more probable person, as questioning whether Augustine (most conversant amongst the South and West Saxons) ever moved so far Northward.

20. *The Simplicity of ancient Baptism.*

And, if so many were baptized in one day, it appears plainly, that, in that age, the administration of that sacrament was not loaded with those superstitious ceremonies, as essential thereunto, of crossing, spittle, oil, cream, salt, and such-like trinkets; which protestants generally as little know *what they are*, as papists *why they use them*.§ I say, in that age nothing was used with baptism but baptism; the word and the water made the sacrament. Yea, the archbishop is said to have "commanded, by the voice of criers, that the people should enter the river confidently, two by two, and, in the name of the Trinity, baptize one another by turns."‖ This, indeed, was the most compendious way; otherwise Joshua's day,

* Cited by MR. CAMDEN, Preface of "Britannia," p. 136. † In his *Examen Historicum*, Dr. Peter Heylin says, that the Swale, in which Augustine baptized such a great multitude, was not the river which fertilizes the valley of Richmond in Yorkshire: "The Medway, falling into the Thames, is divided by the Isle of Sheppey into two great branches, of which the one is called East-Swale, the other West-Swale." Fuller very ingenuously adds: "I profess myself the Animadvertor's convert in this point, agreeing with him, that this grand baptizing, if done by St. Austin, was done in the place by him specified." See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 394.—EDIT. ‡ *Flores Sanctorum*, tom. i., wrote by JEROME PORTER, p. 515. § See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 346, 395.—EDIT. ‖ CAMDEN, *ut prius*.

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wherein the sun stood still, had been too short for one man's personal performance of such an employment.

21. *The Idol* Heale *destroyed by Augustine at Cern.*

Another considerable accession was made to Christianity in the South-West part of this isle, and particularly in Dorsetshire; where Augustine, at Cern, destroyed the idol of *Heale*, or Æsculapius, which the Saxons formerly adored.* But in his journey hither, (reader, they are not mine, but my author's words,) "with his holy company, they were cruelly oppressed with the three familiar discommodities of travellers,—hunger, thirst, and weariness; when Augustine, striking his staff into the ground, fetched forth a crystal fountain, which quenched the extremity of their thirst: whence the place was afterward called *Cernel*, from *Cerno*, in Latin, 'to see,' and *El*, in Hebrew, 'God.'" † A composition of a name hardly to be precedented, that a word should commence, *per saltum*, from Latin into Hebrew, without taking Greek by the way thereof. Why not rather, *Cernwell*, "Behold the fountain;" or *Cernheal*, "See the destruction of the idol?" But, in truth, in all books, ancient and modern,‡ the place is plainly written *Cern*, without any paragogical apposition thereunto.

22. *A ridiculous Miracle.*

Indeed, most of the miracles assigned unto this Augustine, intended with their strangeness to raise and heighten, with their levity and absurdity do depress and offend, true devotion. Witness, how, when the villagers in Dorsetshire beat Augustine and his fellows, and in mockery fastened fish-tails at their backs, in punishment hereof "all that generation had that given them by nature, which so contemptibly they fastened on the backs of these holy men." § Fie for shame! he needs an hard plate on his face that reports it, and a soft place in his head that believes it.

23. *The great Improvement of the Gospel.*

However, for the main, we undoubtedly believe that the preaching of Augustine and his fellows took good effect, finding the visible progress and the improvement thereof, in the conversion of so many from Paganism to Christianity. For, Sebert king of Essex (nephew to Ethelbert king of Kent, by Ricula his sister,) embraced the faith, with all his kingdom, by the ministry of Mellitus, whom Augustine ordained bishop of London; much about the same time making one Justus a Roman, (who was *vir sui*

* Camden's "Britannia" in Dorsetshire. † *Flores Sanctorum*, in the Life of Augustine, pp. 515, 516. ‡ So both in Camden and Harpsfield. § *Flores Sanctorum, ut prius.*

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nominis, "a man answering his name,") bishop of Rochester. Many other remarkable matters happened in the life of Augustine, especially those questions and answers which passed betwixt him and Gregory the Great; by us purposely omitted, partly, because they are too voluminous to insert; and, partly, because they are at large in many authors, to whom we remit the reader.*

24, 25. *Augustine's Death and Epitaph. The Date of the Year how wanting therein. A.D.* 610.†

And now was the time come of Augustine's dissolution, whose body was buried in the northern porch of the new church in Canterbury, dedicated to Peter and Paul, having, as Bede informs us, this inscription written upon his monument: "Here resteth lord Augustine, the first archbishop of Canterbury; who, being in times past sent hither from blessed Gregory, bishop of the Roman city, and supported by God with the working of miracles, brought king Ethelbert and his country from the worshipping of idols to the faith of Christ: and, the days of his office being finished in peace, he died the seventh of the calends of June, the same king reigning." ‡

But in this epitaph one thing is wanting, and that mainly material; namely, the year when he died. Strangely is that watch contrived, and is generally useless, which shows the minute of the hour, not the hour of the day. As this epitaph points at the day, of smaller consequence; leaving out the year, of greater concernment;—this hath put men's fancies on various conjectures. Some make it a mere *omission* of Bede; which, notwithstanding, is very strange, because otherwise he is most critical and punctual in the notation of time. Others conceive it a fault of *commission* in some of after-ages, who purposely expunged the year, (beshrew their fingers that thrust out the eyes, the date, of this epitaph!) lest the same should make too clear discoveries of Augustine's surviving after the massacre of the monks of Bangor; which would increase the suspicion of his having a finger therein. Others place the neglect in the monument-maker, and not in Bede; seeing he was but the bare relater of the epitaph, and, therefore, loath to add or alter any thing thereof. Perchance, the tomb-maker registered the day, as a nicety most likely to be forgotten; omitting the year, as a thing generally, universally, and notoriously known, all men keeping a record thereof; which, in process of time, became wholly forgotten. Thus those things are not long effectually kept by any, which are equally to be kept by all, and not charged on any one man's particular account. Sure I am, the setting up of this land-

* Bede, "Book of Martyrs," and others. † *Aliàs* 611, *aliàs* 612. ‡ *Eccles. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 3.

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mark, the noting of the year of his death, had given excellent direction to such as travel in the Saxon chronology, who now wander at random for the want of it.

26. *Farewell to St. Augustine.*

And now we take our farewell of Augustine, of whom we give this character:—He found here a plain religion, (simplicity is the badge of antiquity,) practised by the Britons, living some of them in the contempt, and many more in the ignorance, of worldly vanities, in a barren country: and, surely, piety is most healthful in those places where it can least surfeit of earthly pleasures. He brought in a religion spun with a coarser thread, though guarded with a finer trimming, made luscious to the senses with pleasing ceremonies; so that many, who could not judge of the goodness, were courted with the gaudiness thereof. Indeed, the papists brag, that he was "the apostle of the English;"*—but not one in the style of St. Paul, "Neither from men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ," Gal. i. 1;—being only a derivative apostle, sent by the second-hand; in which sense also he was not our sole apostle; though he first put in his sickle, others reaped down more of the English harvest, propagating the gospel farther, as shall appear hereafter. But, because the beginnings of things are of greatest consequence, we commend his pains, condemn his pride, allow his life, approve his learning, admire his miracles, admit the foundation of his doctrine—JESUS CHRIST; but refuse "the hay and stubble" he built thereupon. We are indebted to God's goodness in moving Gregory, Gregory's carefulness in sending Augustine, Augustine's forwardness in preaching here: but, above all, let us bless God's exceeding great favour, that that doctrine which Augustine planted here but impure, and his successors made worse with watering, is since, by the happy Reformation, cleared and refined to the purity of the Scriptures.

27. *Laurentius succeedeth Augustine.*

After the death of Augustine, Laurentius, a Roman, succeeded him; whom Augustine in his life-time not only designed for, but "ordained in, that place;"† out of his abundant caution, that the infant church might not be orphan an hour, lest satan should assault the breach of such a vacancy, to the disadvantage of religion. Such a super-ordination in such cases was canonical; it being a tradition, that St. Peter in like manner consecrated Clement his successor in the church of Rome.‡ And sure it is, the prophet Elijah, no doubt to his great comfort whilst living, anointed Elisha to minis-

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 387.—EDIT. † BEDE, *Eccles. Hist.* lib. ii. c. 4. ‡ *Idem, ibidem.*

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ter in his room, in his prophetical function, 1 Kings xix. 16. In one respect Laurentius exceeded Augustine,—that he reduced the recusant Britons and Scots (probably demeaning himself more humbly than his predecessor) to some tolerable conformity to the Romish ceremonies, especially in the celebration of Easter. Now, seeing frequent mention hath formerly been made of the difference between the Romish and British churches, in observation of that festival; we will endeavour, as truly as briefly, to state the controversy betwixt them, with arguments each side produceth in their own behalf.

28. *The Controversy about Easter betwixt Rome and the Britons stated.*

But, because the point in hand is so nice, (rather than necessary,) that a little variation therein may be material, I will carefully follow the truest copy I can get, in stating the question; taking it from a learned pen exactly skilled therein.* "The ROMANS kept Easter upon that Sunday which fell betwixt the fifteenth and twenty-first day of the moon,† (both terms included,) next after the twenty-first day of March, which they accounted to be the seat of the vernal equinoctial: and, in reckoning the age of the moon, they followed the Alexandrian cycle of nineteen years, as it was explained unto them by Dionysius Exiguus. The BRITONS kept Easter upon the Sunday that fell betwixt the fourteenth and the twentieth day of the moon; following, in their account thereof, not the nineteen years' computation of Anatolius, but Sulpitius Severus's circle of eighty-four years." It is enough to prove the practice of Rome was the right,—that it was the practice of Rome; yea, did it not deserve the stab of excommunication for any dissenting from her practice, tantamountingly, to give her the lie? However, it seems the reputation of Rome's infallibility was yet in the nonage thereof, that the British durst so boldly differ from them without danger of damnation.

29. *The Britons' Plea.*

Yea, they pretended ancient tradition on their side, from the primitive times, derived from St. John himself; as by the ensuing verses, which we thought fit to translate, may appear:—

Nos seriem patriam,‡ non frivola scripta, tenemus,
Discipulo eusebii § Polycarpo dante Johannis.
Ille etenim bis septenæ sub tempore Phœbæ
Sanctum præfixit nobis fore Pascha colendum;
Atque nefas dixit, si quis contraria sentit.

* JAMES USHER in "the Religion of the ancient Irish," cap. 9. p. 63. † Hence is it, that Beza tartly termeth the controversy, *Lunatica quæstio.* ‡ FRIDGODUS in "the Life of Wilfrid." § *Id est, sancti vel beati.*

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"No writings fond we follow, but do hold
Our country-course, which Polycarp of old,
Scholar to blessed John, to us hath given.
For he, when th' moon hath finish'd days twice seven,
Bade us to keep the holy Paschal time,
And count dissenting for an heinous crime."

Time was, when once the activity of Peter and John with holy zeal was excellently employed, contending in a race which should first come to the grave of our Saviour, John xx. 4: but see here the Romans and the Britons, the pretended followers of these two apostles, not running, but wrestling in a violent contention, who should most truly observe the resurrection of Christ out of his grave.

30. *The Controversy reconciled by Laurentius. A. D.* 613.

Strange that so good and wise men should thus fall out about the mint and cummin of religion,—a ceremony not at all decided in scripture! It is to be feared, that the *when* marred the *how* of Easter; and the controversy about the *time* spoiled a more material circumstance, of the *manner* of keeping this feast; these opposite parties scarce being mutually in charity at the receiving of the sacrament, at that solemn festival, kept among the Jews with "unleavened bread," celebrated among Christians with *too much leaven* (sour and swelling) of anger and passion. The best is, for the present Laurentius composed the quarrel, and brought both Britons and Scots* (that is, the inhabitants of Ireland) to comply with the Romans therein. But as every small wrench, or stepping awry, is enough to put an ill-set bone out of joint; so each petty animosity was great enough to discompose this agreement. But, enough of this controversy for the present: we shall meet it too soon again; which, like a restless ghost, will haunt our English History for more than a hundred-and-fifty years together.

31. *The Antiquity of this Difference.*

Only I will add, that, although about Augustine's time, this controversy was then most heightened and inflamed; yet an old grudge it was, long before, betwixt the Romans and Britons. For, if old Thaliessin (styled "chief of bards" by the Britons) lived (as Pitseus,† a papist‡ writer will have it) in the year five hundred-and-forty; and if the following verses be Thaliessin's, as it is undoubtedly believed;§ then this difference was on foot fifty years before Augustine came into England.

* Bede's "Hist." lib. ii. cap. 4. † *De Britan. Scriptoribus ætate sextâ*, p. 95.
‡ In his "Appeal," p. 404, Fuller says, "*Catholic* shall be deleted in the next edition, and papist placed in the room thereof."—Edit. § "Chron. of Wales," p. 254.

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Gwae'r offeirlad byd
Nys engreiffia gwyd
Ac ny phregetha :
Gwae ny cheidwey gail
Ac efyn vigail
Ac nys areilia :
Gwae ny cheidwey dheuaid
Rhac bleidhie Rhufemaid
Aiffon gnwppa.

"Woe be to that priest yborn
That will not cleanly weed his corn,
And preach his charge among :
Woe be to that shepherd, I say,
That will not watch his fold alway,
As to his office doth belong.
Woe be to him that doth not keep
From Romish wolves his sheep,
With staff and weapon strong."

These words, "from Romish wolves," relate to the vigilancy of the British pastors to keep their people from Rome's infection in these points. Thus, whilst the Britons accounted the Romans "wolves," and the Romans held the Britons to be "goats," what became of Christ's little flock of sheep the while? The best is, the good God, we hope, will be merciful in his sentence on men, though passionate men be merciless in their censures on one another.

32. *The Death of Ethelbert, February 24th, and Decay of Christianity.*

To return to Laurentius: The great joy for the agreement made by him was quickly abated with grief, at the death of king Ethelbert; who, having reigned fifty-six, and been a Christian one-and-twenty, years, was buried nigh to his good wife, queen Bertha, who died a little before him, in the porch of St. Martin's church in Canterbury; which fabric, with some other churches, by him were beautifully built, and bountifully endowed. In Ethelbert's grave was buried much of the Kentish Christianity; for Eadbald, his son, both refused his father's religion, and, wallowing in sensuality, was guilty of that sin "not so much as named amongst the Gentiles," in keeping his father's second wife. Such as formerly had taken up Christianity as the court-fashion, now left it; and whom Ethelbert's smiles had made converts, Eadbald's frowns quickly made apostates. Yea, at the same time, (so infectious are the bare examples of great men,) the three sons of the king of the East Saxons fell back to Paganism. These refused to be baptized, and yet, in derision, demanded of the bishop Mellitus to receive the eucharist, which he flatly denied them; baptism being an

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introductory sacrament, and it being unlawful to break into the church without going through this porch. Yet they gave Mellitus fair warning, and free leave to depart; who, coming into Kent, held there a council with Laurentius and Justus, what was best to be done. At last they concluded that it was in vain prodigally to lose their pains here, which they might expend with more profit in their own country; and, seeing martyrdom, as it is not cowardly to be declined, so it is not ambitiously to be affected, they resolved to go the way which Divine Providence directed them, and to return into France: which Mellitus and Justus did accordingly.

33. *Mellitus and Justus's Departure defended.*

Was this well done of them, to leave their charge? Did not God place them sentinels in his church? And could they come off from their duty, before they were relieved by order? But, surely, their ill-usage was an interpretative discharge unto them. In warrant whereof, we have not only Christ's precept, Matt. x. 14, to leave the "unworthy house" with a witness; (namely, with "the dust of our feet" shaken off, as a testimony against it;) but also his practice,—going from the Gadarenes, Matt. viii. 34; ix. 1, when they desired he should "depart their coasts." Indeed, "the word of life" is a quick commodity, and ought not, as a drug, to be obtruded on those chapmen who are unwilling to buy it; yea, in whose nostrils the very "savour of life unto life" doth stink, because proffered unto them.

34. *Laurentius, intending to depart, rebuked.*

Laurentius entertained the like resolution of departure; when, lying on his bed, St. Peter is said to have taken him to task in a vision.* Yea, St. Peter was not only seen, but felt, sharply and soundly whipping him for his unworthy intention to forsake his flock; who, rather, should have followed St. Peter's example, (as he imitated Christ's,) whom no losses or crosses could so deter as to desert his charge. Some will say, Peter herein appeared a partial parent, so severely disciplining this his son, whilst two other of his children, being more guilty, Mellitus and Justus, (who had actually *done* what Laurentius only *designed,)* escaped without any correction. But we must know, though these seemed more faulty, by what appears in open view, yet the passages behind the curtain (considerables concealed from us) might much alter the case. And, indeed, pastors leaving their people is so ticklish a point, and subject to such secret circumstances, that God and their own consciences are only the competent judges of the lawfulness or unlawfulness thereof.

* Bede, lib. ii. cap. 6.

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35. *Eadbald becomes a Christian.*

Thus, all black and blue, Laurentius repaireth to Eadbald king of Kent, and presenteth himself unto him in that sad condition. The king, much amazed thereat, demands who durst offer such violence to so good a man. Whereby it plainly appears, that, though Eadbald himself refused Christianity, yet he afforded civility and protection to Laurentius, and to all in Kent of his religion. He largely relates what had happened unto him; and, in fine, so prevailed on Eadbald, that he not only put away his wife-mother-whore, but also embraced Christianity, and, at his desire, Justus and Mellitus returned again into England.

36. *Justus received at Rochester, and Mellitus rejected at London.*

Rochester readily received Justus their bishop; being a little place, of few persons, and they therefore the easier all to be brought to be of one mind. But large London, (though then, for greatness, but the suburbs to the present city,) I say, London then was even London then,—as wanton in the infancy as now wayward in the old age thereof; where generally the people, long radicated in wickedness, refused to entertain their good pastor returning unto them. But here my good friend,* in his notes on this passage, makes an ingenious reservation, that, though the major part must be confessed peevish in all populous places, London in all ages afforded eminent favourers of *learned* and *religious* men. And would I could (being the meanest of ministers) as truly entitle myself to the foresaid qualifications, as I heartily concur with him in my grateful confession,—that I have effectually found plenty of good patrons in that honourable corporation. Mellitus, thus rejected, was glad to lead a private life in London, till that, after the death of Laurentius, (A.D. 619, Feb. 3rd,) he succeeded him in the church of Canterbury.

37. *Mellitus's Character.*

A grave and good man, but much afflicted with the gout, and highly meriting of his see of Canterbury; especially if true, what Bede reports,† that, when a grievous fire happened in that city, Mellitus accosted the very fury thereof with faithful prayer and his own bare hands; (strange! that no modern monk hath since, in his relation, put a crucifix, or holy-water-sprinkle into them;) and so presently quenched the raging of the flames. Say not, "Why could he not as easily have cured his own gout, as quenched this fire?" seeing miracles are done, not for men's ordinary ease, but God's solemn honour. Yea, the apostles themselves were not, at pleasure, masters of their miraculous power, for their personal use; seeing St. Paul could neither cure the "often infirmities" of his dear son

* Mr. Wheelock on the place in Bede. † *Eccles. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 7.

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Timothy, 1 Tim. v. 23; nor remove the acute, desperate disease, wherewith he himself in Asia was afflicted, 2 Cor. i. 8. Five years sate Mellitus in Canterbury; after whose death, (A.D. 624, April 24th,) Justus bishop of Rochester succeeded him, and had his pall solemnly sent him by pope Boniface.

38. *What a Pall is.*

By the way, the pall is a pontifical vestment, considerable for the matter, making, and mysteries thereof. For the MATTER: It is made of lambs' wool and superstition. I say, of lambs' wool, "as it comes from the sheep's back, without any other artificial colour;"* spun, say some, by a peculiar Order of nuns, first cast into the tomb of St. Peter; "taken from his body," say others;† surely, most sacred if from both; and superstitiously adorned with little black crosses. For the FORM thereof: "The breadth exceeded not three fingers," (one of our bachelors' lamb-skin hoods in Cambridge would make three of them,) "having two labels hanging down before and behind,"‡ which the archbishops only, when going to the altar, put about their necks, above their other pontifical ornaments. Three MYSTERIES were couched therein: First. Humility, which beautifies the clergy above all their costly copes. Secondly. Innocency, to imitate lamb-like simplicity. And, thirdly, Industry, to follow Him who fetched his wandering sheep home on his shoulders,§ Luke xv. 5. But, to speak plainly, the mystery of mysteries in this pall was, that the archbishops' receiving it showed therein their dependence on Rome; and a mote, in this manner ceremoniously taken, was a sufficient acknowledgment of their subjection. And, as it owned Rome's power, so in after-ages it increased their profit. For, though now such palls were freely given to archbishops, whose places in Britain for the present were rather cumbersome than commodious, having little more than their pains for their labour; yet in after-ages the archbishop of Canterbury's pall was sold || for five thousand florins:¶ so that the pope might well have the golden fleece, if he could sell all his lambs'-wool at that rate. Only let me add, that the author of Canterbury-Book** styles this pall, *tanquam grande Christi sacramentum.*†† It is well *tanquam* came in to help it, or else we should have had eight sacraments. But, leaving these husks to such palates as are pleased to feed on them, we come to the kernel of religion,—how the same was propagated in other parts of England. And, first, of the preparative for the purge of Paganism out of the kingdom of Northumberland.

* *Flores Sanctorum, Matt* 26, p. 506. † Latin CAMDEN, in Kent, p. 238. ‡ *Flores Sanctorum, ut prius.* § CAMDEN, *ut prius.* || GODWIN, *Cat. Episc.* p. 225. ¶ A Florin is worth four shillings and sixpence. ** A manuscript in Trinity-Hall library, in Cambridge. †† Mr. Wheelock on Bede, p. 99.

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39. *Edwin's preparatory Promise to Christianity. A.D. 625.*

Edwin, the king thereof, was monarch of all England, with the Isles of Man and Anglesey, more puissant than any of his predecessors. "And this," saith Bede,* "was *in auspicium suscipiendæ fidei*, 'in good handsel of the faith' he was hereafter to receive." God first made him great, and after gracious; that so, by his power, he might be the more effectual instrument of his glory. Now he had married Edelburge, daughter of Ethelbert king of Kent; to whom he not only permitted free exercise of religion to herself and her servants, but also promised himself to embrace it, if, on examination, it appeared the most holy and fittest for Divine service. In the court of this queen was one Paulinus, a pious bishop, who, with much pains and little profit, long laboured in vain to convert the Pagans; God hereby both humbling him, and showing that the hour of his mercy shall not be antedated one minute by any human endeavours. However, Paulinus, seeing he could not be happy to gain, would be careful to save; and daily plied the word and sacraments, thereby to corroborate his own people in piety.

40. *His Condition performed, and yet he demurs. A.D. 626.*

Now it happened that one Eumere, a swash-buckler, a contemner of his own life, and thereby master of another man's, sent from Guichelm,† king of the West Saxons, with an envenomed dagger sought to kill king Edwin; when Lilla, one of his guard, foreseeing the blow, and interposing himself, shielded his sovereign with his own body, yea, deaded the stroke with his own death: loyalty's martyr, in a case which is likely to find more to commend than imitate it, on the like occasion. Edwin, notwithstanding, slightly hurt, was very sensible of the deliverance, and promised, that if he might conquer the treacherous West Saxon king, with his adherents, he would become a Christian. And though there be no indenting and conditional capitulating with God, (who is to be taken on any terms,) yet this in a Pagan was a good step to heaven, and Paulinus was glad he had got him thus far; especially when, in earnest of the sincerity of his resolution, he consigned over his infant daughter Eansted‡ to be baptized, whom Paulinus christened, with twelve more of the queen's family. Well, the West Saxon king was quickly overcome, and all his complices either killed or conquered; and yet king Edwin demurred to embrace Christianity. But he communicated with the sagest of his council, with whom he had daily debates, being loath rashly to rush on a matter of such moment. And, truly, that religion which is rather suddenly parched up than

* *Eccles. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 9.

† According to Rapin and other historians, *Quicelm.*—EDIT.

‡ BEDE, *Eccles. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 9.

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seasonably ripened, doth commonly ungive afterwards. Yea, he would sit long alone, making company to himself, and silently arguing the case in his own heart, being partly convinced in his judgment of the goodness of the Christian religion; and yet he durst not entertain Truth, a lawful king, for fear to displease Custom, a cruel tyrant.

41. *The Speech of Coify the Priest.*

Amongst the many debates he had with his council about altering his religion, two passages must not be forgotten; whereof one was the speech of Coify, the prime Pagan priest. "Surely," said he,* "these gods, whom we worship, are not of any power or efficacy in themselves; for none hath served them more conscientiously than myself; yet other men, less meriting of them, have received more and greater favours from their hand, and prosper better in all things they undertake. Now, if these were gods of any activity, they would have been more beneficial to me, who have been so observant of them." Here the reader will smile at Coify's solecism, wherein the premises are guilty of pride, as the inference thereon of error and mistake. If he turn Christian on these terms, he will be taught a new lesson;—how not only all outward things happen alike to good and bad, "to him that sacrificeth, as to him that sacrificeth not;" Eccles. ix. 2; but also, that "judgment beginneth at the house of God," 1 Peter iv. 17, and the best men meet with the worst success in temporal matters. However, God was pleased to sanctify this man's error, as introductory to his conversion: and let none wonder, if the first glimmering of grace in Pagans be scarce a degree above blindness.

42. *The Courtier's Comparison.*

Better, in my opinion, was the plain comparison which another nameless courtier made at the same time. "Man's life," said he, "O king, is like unto a little sparrow, which, whilst your majesty is feasting by the fire in your parlour with your royal retinue, flies in at one window, and out at another. Indeed, we see it that short time it remaineth in the house, and then is it well sheltered from wind and weather; but presently it passeth from cold to cold; and whence it came, and whither it goes, we are altogether ignorant. Thus, we can give some account of our soul during its abode in the body, whilst housed and harboured therein; but where it was before, and how it fareth after, is to us altogether unknown. If therefore Paulinus's preaching will certainly inform us herein, he deserveth, in my opinion, to be entertained."†

43. *Edwin converted and baptized. A.D. 627.*

Long-looked-for comes at last. King Edwin, almost three years a candidate-at-large of Christianity, cordially embraceth the same;

* Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 13. † *Idem, ibid.*

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and, with many of his nobles, and multitudes of his subjects, is solemnly baptized by Paulinus, in the little church of St. Peter's in York,* hastily set up by the king for that purpose, and afterward by him changed into a firmer and fairer fabric. Thus, as those children which are backward of their tongues, when attaining to speech, pronounce their words the more plainly and distinctly; so Edwin, long, yea, tedious, before his turning to Christianity, more effectually at last embraced the same. And when it was put to the question, "What person most proper to destroy the Heathen altars?" Coify the chief priest tendered his service, as fittest for the purpose, solemnly to demolish what he had before so superstitiously adored. Down go all the Pagan altars and images at God-mundingham, now Godmanham, a small village in the East-Riding of Yorkshire;† and those idols with their hands were so far from defending themselves, that their mock-mouths could not afford one word to bemoan their final destruction.

44. *The East Angles converted to Christianity.*

"When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren," was the personal precept given to Peter, Luke xxii. 32, but ought generally to be the practice of all good men; as here it was of king Edwin, restless until he had also persuaded Earpwald, king of the East Angles, to embrace the Christian faith. Indeed, Redowald, Earpwald's father, had formerly at Canterbury (to ingratiate himself with king Ethelbert) professed Christianity; but, returning home, he revolted to Paganism at the instance of his wife:‡ so great is the power of the weaker sex, even in matters of religion! For, as Bertha and Edelburge, the queens of Ethelbert and Edwin, occasioned and expedited the conversion of their husbands' kingdoms; so here a female instrument obstructed that holy design. Yea, Redowald afterwards in the same church set up a Samaritan-mongrel religion, 2 Kings xvii. 41, having *altare et arulam*,§ "a communion-table and an idolatrous altar" in the same temple. "You cannot be partakers," saith the apostle, "of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils," 1 Cor. x. 21; that is, You cannot lawfully, conscionably, comfortably; but, *de facto*, "it-may-be-done" was done by Redowald in this his miscellaneous religion.

45. *The Religion and Learning of King Sigebert.* *A.D.* 630.

But, three years after, the conversion of the East Angles was more effectually advanced by king Sigebert, brother, and, after the death of Earpwald, his successor in the kingdom. This Sigebert had lived an exile in France, and got the benefit of learning by his banish-

* BEDE, *Eccles. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 14. † CAMDEN'S "Britannia." ‡ BEDE, *Eccles. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 15. § BEDE, *ut prius.*

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ment. For, wanting accommodations to appear in princely equipage, he applied himself the more close to his studies; seeing that means which would maintain a prince but like a scholar, would maintain a scholar like a prince. Yea, which was best of all, on his learning he grafted true religion; Bede giving him this character,—that he became *vir Christianissimus et doctissimus;* (can more be said in so few words?) and, returning home, assisted by the preaching of FELIX, a monk of Burgundy, *juxta nominis sui sacramentum*, saith Bede, (*happy* was his name, and *happiness* was with him,) converted his subjects to Christianity. This Felix was made the first bishop of Dunwich in Suffolk; a place formerly furnished with two-and-fifty churches,* and hath scarce two now remaining, the rest being swallowed up by the sea. I can hardly hold myself from calling the sea "sacrilegious;" save that, on second thoughts, considering that element to be but a natural agent; yea, such whose motions are ordered by Divine Providence, "Hither shalt thou come, and no farther;" I will rather reserve this epithet, "sacrilegious," to be bestowed on those men who willingly and wilfully demolish the places appointed for God's service.

46. *Difference about the Antiquity of the University of Cambridge. A.D.* 631.†

This Sigebert is generally reputed the founder of the university of Cambridge. And because the point in hand is somewhat litigious, we will take the more pains in clearing thereof, two things being warily premised: First. That Sigebert's founding the university of Cambridge ought not by any to be extended to lessen and abate, much less to drown and destroy, her more ancient title to learning, which she deriveth (according to good authors)‡ from many hundred years before. *Valeant, quantum valere possint:* "Let such her over-grown evidences stand as valid as they may," by us neither confirmed nor confuted for the present. And, indeed, all such old things in either university, though specious to the eye, must be closely kept, and tenderly touched, lest otherwise, being roughly handled, they should moulder into dust. Secondly. Let none suspect, my extraction from Cambridge will betray me to partiality to my mother, who desire in this difference to be like Melchisedec, ἀγενεαλόγητος, "without descent," only to be directed by the truth. And here I make this fair and free confession, which, I hope, will be accepted for ingenuous: That, as in Thamar's travail of twins, Gen. xxviii. 28, Zarah first put out his hand, and then drew it in again, whilst Pharez first came forth into the world; so I plainly

* WEAVER'S "Funeral Monuments" in Suffolk. † But some make it four years after. ‡ See CAIUS on the Antiquity of Cambridge.

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perceive Cambridge with an extended arm, time out of mind, first challenging the birth-right and priority of place for learning; but, afterwards drawing it in again, she lay for many years desolate, and of less account; whilst Oxford, if later, larger, came forth in more entire proportion, and ever since constantly continued in the full dimensions of an university.

47. *The leading Testimony of Bede explained.*

These things being thus cautiously stated, we proceed; beginning with Bede, on whose testimony all the following history is founded. *Sigebertus, ubi regno potitus est, mox ea quæ in Galliis benè disposita vidit, imitari cupiens, instituit scholam, in quâ pueri literis erudirentur, juvante se episcopo Felice, (quem de Cantiâ acceperat,) eisque pædagogos ac magistros, juxta morem Cantuariorum, præbente.*—BEDÆ *Eccles. Historia*, lib. iii. cap. 18. "Sigebert, when he had obtained the kingdom, presently desiring to imitate those things which he had seen well-ordered in France, instituted a school, wherein youths might be trained up in learning, Felix the bishop (whom he had received out of Kent) assisting him, and providing for them teachers and masters, according to the custom of those in Canterbury." See here, king Sigebert, to make his school complete, united therein such conveniences for education, as he had observed commendable, (1.) Abroad, in France; where learning at and before his time was brought to great perfection; St. Jerome affirming, that, even in his age, he had seen *studia in Galliis florentissima, (in epistolâ ad Rusticum,)* "most flourishing universities in France." (2.) At home, in Canterbury; where, even at this time, learning was professed, though more increased some forty years after; when, as the same Bede reports,* that, in the days of Theodorus the archbishop, there were those that taught geometry, arithmetic, and music, the fashionable studies of that age, together with divinity: the perfect character of an university, where divinity the queen is waited on by her maids-of-honour. But I question whether the formality of "commencing" was used in that age; inclining rather to the negative, that such distinction of "graduates" was then unknown, except in St. Paul's sense: "Such as used the office of a deacon well, purchased to themselves A GOOD DEGREE," 1 Tim. iii. 13.

48. *Authors commenting on Bede's Text.*

So much for Bede's text. Come we now to ancient authors commenting upon him. "Ancient" I call those who wrote many years before the differences were started about the seniority of the universities, and therefore are presumed unpartial, as unconcerned in

* *Hist. Eccles.*

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a controversy which did not appear. First. Polydore Virgil,* who from Bede's words plainly collects, that Sigebert then founded the university of Cambridge. Nor see I any cause for that passage in the assertion of Oxford's antiquity,† charging Polydore, *Quod affectibus indulgens, adamatæ studet academiæ;* who, being a foreigner and an Italian, had nothing to bias his affection to one university more than the other. Learned Leland ‡ succeeds; who, being employed by king Henry VIII. to make a collection of British antiquities, (much scattered at the dissolution of abbeys,) thus expresseth himself:—

Olim Granta fuit titulis urbs inclita multis;
Vicini a fluvii nomine, nomen habens.
Saxones hanc belli deturbavere procellis:
Sed nova, pro veteri, non procul indè sita est:
Quam Felix monachus, Sigeberti jussa sequutus,
Artibus illustrem reddidit, atque scholis.
Hæc ego, perquirens gentis monumenta Britannæ,
Asserui in laudem, Granta diserta, tuam.

"GRANT, long ago a city of great fame,
From neighbouring river doth receive her name.
When storms of Saxon wars her overthrew,
Near to the old sprang up another new.
Monk Felix, whilst he Sigebert obeys,
Lighten'd this place with schools, and learning's rays.
Searching the monuments of British nation;
This I assert in GRANT's due commendation."

Here we omit the several testimonies of Bale,§ George Lilie, and Thomas Cooper, in their several histories, *anno* 636, with many more, concluding Sigebert then the founder of the university of Cambridge.

49, 50. *First Objection against Sigebert's founding of Cambridge. Answer.*

But our cousin-germans of Oxford will scarce give credit hereunto, multiplying objections against it.

OBJECTION I.—"There were," say they, "many places besides Cambridge, in the kingdom of the East Angles, (containing Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire,) which, with equal probability, may pretend to this school of Sigebert's foundation, seeing Bede doth not *nominatim* affirm Cambridge for the particular place, where this university was erected."

ANSWER.—Though Bede be dumb in this particular, not naming Cambridge, yet he makes such signs that most intelligent antiquaries, by us alleged, understand him to intend the same;

* Lib. iv. *et* lib. v. p. 107. † Written *anno* 1566, p. 20. ‡ In his Comment. *in Cygneam Cantionem.* § *In Sigeberto, et rursus,* cent. xiii. *in Felice.*

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especially seeing Cambridge is acknowledged by all authors, time out of mind, to have been a place for the education of students in literature.

51, 52. *Second Objection. Answer.*

OBJECTION II.—"If any such university was founded by Sigebert, it was at Grantchester, differing, as in appellation, so in situation, from Cambridge, as being a good mile South-West thereof. Cambridge, therefore, cannot entitle itself, but by apparent usurpation, to the ancient privileges of Grantchester."

ANSWER.—Most usual it is for ancient places to alter their names, (Babylon to *Bagdad*, Byzantium to *Constantinople*, our old Verulam to *St. Alban's*,) still retaining the numerical nature they had before. Oxford, they tell us, was once called Bellositum,* and yet not altered from its same self by another name. Nor is it any news for great cities, in process of time, (as weary of long standing,) to ease themselves a little, by hitching into another place. Thus, some part of modern Rome is removed more than a mile from the ancient *area* thereof. Thus, Jerusalem at this day is come down from Mount Sion, and more South-West climbed up Mount Calvary. Yet either of these places would account themselves highly injured, if not reputed (for the main) the same with the former. Sufficeth it that some part of Cambridge stands, at this day, where Grantchester† did, (which anciently extended North-West, as far as the village called Howse,)‡ and that is enough to keep possession of the privileges of Grantchester, as properly belonging thereunto; especially seeing Oxford at this day lays claim to the antiquities of Crekelade [Cricklade] and Lechlade, (towns distant sixteen miles off, the one in Wilts., the other in Gloucestershire,) two ancient schools of Greek and Latin,§ (as some will have it,) removed afterwards to Oxford, from whence some of her assertors do date her beginning.

53, 54. *Third Objection. Answer.*

OBJECTION III.—"Sigebert founded but *scholam*, which makes little to the honour of Cambridge: for, thereby her professors are degraded to pedants; and, by a retrograde motion, Cambridge is sent back to Eaton; I mean, is made no better than a great grammar-school."

ANSWER.—If the best of Latin orators may be believed, *schola* properly signifies "the place where all arts are publicly professed."

* BRIAN TWYNE, *Antiq. Acad. Ox.* p. 114. † MR. CAMDEN, an Oxford man, in his Description of Cambridgeshire, alloweth Grantchester and Cambridge for the same place. ‡ CAIUS *De Antiq. Cantab. (ex libro Barnwellensi,)* p. 11. § See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 404.—EDIT.

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Ex Platonis scholâ Ponticus Heraclides: "Ponticus Heraclides came out of the school of Plato;"* which is notoriously known to have been an academy; yea, all his scholars known by the name of Academics to this day. Those of Salerno in Italy, dedicating a book of physic to our Henry, (the Second, I take it,) begin thus: —*Anglorum regi scribit schola tota Salerni.* School-boys deserve to be whipped, indeed, if, presuming to prescribe receipts to a king; but THAT *schola* there is sufficiently known to have been a famous university. And, under the favour of the university, the word *universitas* is but a base and barbarous Latin (while *schola* is pure Greek originally) to design either the place where general learning is publicly professed, or the persons studying therein. And, though I dare not totally concur with that learned critic,† that *universitas* was first used in the foresaid sense, about the reign of king Henry III.; yet, I believe, it will not be found in any classical author in that modern acceptation.

55, 56. *Fourth Objection. Answer.*

OBJECTION IV.—"In good authors, Sigebert is said to have founded not only *scholam*, 'a school,' but *scholas*, 'schools,' in the plural. If *schola* therefore be an university, either he made more universities than one in Cambridge, (which is absurd to affirm,) or else he erected more universities in other places of his kingdom, which Cantabrigians will not willingly confess."

ANSWER.—The variation of the number is of no concernment. For, if respect be had to the several arts there professed, Sigebert founded schools; in the plural. But if regard be taken of the cyclopædy of the learning resulting from those several sciences, he erected but one grand school. Every "fresh-man" knows that the single quadrant, wherein the public lectures are read and acts kept, is called plurally "the schools," in each university.

57, 58. *Fifth Objection. Answer.*

OBJECTION V.—"But Bede terms them *pueros*, 'boys,' properly under the rod and ferula, whom Sigebert placed in his school; and the word *pædagogi*, 'ushers,' placed over them, imports the same; that they were no university-students, but a company of little lads, that lived there under correction."

ANSWER.—Critics will satisfy you, that the word *pueri* signifies even those of more maturity, especially if living *sub regimine*, "under the discipline of superiors." Secondly. Bede, being a great

* TULLY *De Naturâ Deorum.* † MR. CAMDEN in his "Britannia," in Oxfordshire, p. 381.

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divine, and conversant in scripture-phrase, borroweth an expression thence; Christ calling his disciples παιδία, "children," John xxi. 5. He useth also *pædagogos* in the same notion with St. Paul's παιδαγωγοὺς ἐν Χριστῷ, which our last translators read "instructors in Christ," 1 Cor. iv. 15, even to the Corinthians, who still needed such pedagogues or teachers, though already "enriched in all utterance and knowledge," 1 Cor. i. 5. Thirdly. The Saxon ancient copy of Bede, which, doubtless, doth emphatically render the Latin, translates *pueri*, ȝeonȝe menn. Fourthly. Asserius Menevensis, speaking of Alfred's founding of Oxford, saith that he endowed the same, *suæ propriæ gentis nobilibus pueris, et etiam ignobilibus;* and it is but equal, that the *pueri* at Cambridge should be allowed as much *man* in them, as those at Oxford. Lastly. The young fry of scholars, when first admitted, is such, to whom *pueri*,* in the proper sense thereof, may well be applied. And here it may seasonably be remembered, how an Oxford antiquary affirmeth,† that Edward the fifth prince of Wales, and Richard his brother, duke of York, *Oxoniæ studuerunt*, "studied at Oxford," in the life-time of their father: stout students, no doubt, whereof the elder could not then be ten, the younger not nine years old. But I forget what lawyers hold,—that the king's eldest son is at full age, for some purposes, at the day of his birth; in which respect he may sue out his liveries for the dukedom of Cornwall; and this, perchance, may somewhat mend the matter,

59. *Conclusion with Prayer.*

But enough of this matter, which some will censure as an impertinency to our Church History, and scarcely coming within the churchyard thereof. My prayers shall be, that each university may turn all envy into generous, yea, gracious, yea, glorious emulation; contending, by laudable means, which shall surpass other in their serviceableness to God, the church, and commonwealth; that so, *commencing* in piety, and *proceeding* in learning, they may agree against their two general adversaries,—ignorance and profaneness. May it never be said of them, what Naomi said of herself, that she was too old to bear sons! Ruth i. 12. May they never be superannuated into barrenness! but, like the good trees in God's garden, "They shall still bring forth fruit in their old age, they shall be fat and flourishing."

60. *Edwin, King of Northumberland, slain. A. D.* 632.

Seasonably Sigebert erected an university at Cambridge, thereby in part to repair the late great loss of Christianity in England, when

* All the scholars of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, not being fellows, are termed *pueri* in their statutes. † Brian Twyne, *Antiq. Oxon.* p. 322.

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(the year after) Edwin, king of Northumberland was slain in battle by Cadwal king of Wales and Penda king of the Mercians.* After whose death, his whole kingdom relapsed to Paganism; and Paulinus archbishop of York, taking with him queen Edelburge, returned into Kent, and there became bishop of the (then vacant) church of Rochester. Mortified man! he minded not whether he went up or down hill, whilst he went on straight in his calling to glorify God, and edify others; sensible of no disgrace, when degrading himself from a great archbishop, to become a poor bishop. Such betray much pride and peevishness, who, outed of eminent places, will rather be nothing in the church, than any thing less than what they have been before.

61. *The unhappy Year.* *A.D.* 633.

After the death of king Edwin, his kingdom of Northumberland was divided into two parts, both petty kingdoms: (1.) BERNICIA, reaching from the river Tees to Edinburgh-frith,† whereof Eanfrith‡ was king. (2.) DEÏRA, whence, say some, Deïrham, or Durham,§ lay betwixt Tees and Humber, whereof Osric was king. These both proved apostates from the Christian faith: and God in his justice let in Cadwald, king of the Britons, upon them, who slew them, harassed their country, and made a lamentable desolation, within the compass of one year, without respect to age or sex; until Oswald, bred and brought up in Scotland, next of the blood-royal, came to be king of Northumberland, whom God sent to redeem that miserable country from the hands of their enemies, and many eminent victories he obtained.

62. *A lost Year well found.*

The fatal year, wherein so many outrages were committed on the apostate Northumberlanders, by Cadwald king of the Britons, is detested by all Saxon chronologers. And, therefore, all the annalists and writers of histories in that age, by joint consent, universally resolved to damn and drown the memorial of that *annus infaustus*, as they call it, "unlucky year," but made so by ungodly men. Yea, they unanimously agreed to allow those two apostate kings‖ no year's reign in their chronicles, adding the time (subtracted from them) to Oswald, their Christian successor, accounting him to have reigned nine years;¶ which, indeed, were but eight of his own, and one of these historians' adoption. Yet is it no news,

* BEDE, *Eccles. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 10. † CAMDEN's "Britannia," p. 797.
‡ According to the orthography of Rapin and other historians, *Anfrid*, and Cadwald, *Cadwallo*.—EDIT. § See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 405, 406.—EDIT.
‖ BEDE, *Eccles. Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 1. ¶ *Idem*, lib. iii. cap. 9.

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even in scripture itself, to bury the reign of tyrants under the monument of a good prince succeeding them. Thus when Ehud is said to have judged the land "fourscore years," Judges iii. 30, those eighteen years are included, wherein Eglon the Moabite oppressed Israel, Judges iii. 14.

63. *A Victory given from Heaven.* *A.D.* 635.

Amongst the many victories achieved by this Oswald, one most remarkable was gained by him near Hexham in Northumberland, against the Pagans, against whom he erected the standard of the cross, in a place which, time out of mind, was called Heafen-feld, (Haledon at this day,) by a prolepsis, not answering the name thereof until this time. Hence a poet, writing the Life of Oswald:—

Tunc primum scivit causam cur nomen haberet
Heafen-feld, hoc est, cœlestis campus; et illi
Nomen ab antiquo dedit appellatio gentis
Præteritæ, tanquam belli præsaga futuri.

"Then he began the reason first to know
Of Heafen-feld, why it was called so;
Named by the natives long since by foresight,
That in that field would hap an heavenly fight."

Thus it is generally reported, that the place nigh Leipsic, where the king of Sweden got one of his signal victories, was, time out of mind, termed by the Dutch *Gots Acre*, or "God's ground."* And thus, as Onesimus and Eutychus were so called from their infancy, but never truly answered their names till after the conversion of the one, Philem. 11, and reviving of the other, Acts xx. 12; so places (whether casually or prophetically) have names anciently imposed upon them, which are sometimes verified many ages after.

64. *Pope Honorius's ineffectual Letter.*

About this time, Honorius the pope sent his letter to the Scotch nation, advising them to an uniformity with the church of Rome in the celebration of Easter. His main reason is thought to have more of state than strength, human haughtiness than holy divinity, in it: namely, he counselleth them, *Ne paucitatem suam in extremis terræ finibus constitutam, sapientiorem omnibus Christi ecclesiis æstimarent.* This is that Honorius of whom Leo II., his successor, complaineth in his epistle to the bishops of Spain: *Flammam hæretici dogmatis non (ut decuit apostolicam authoritatem) incipientem extinxit, sed negligendo confovit:* "By his negligence he did countenance the heretical opinions," meaning of

* "Swedish Intelligencer."

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the Monothelites, then beginning afresh to spring up again, "which he ought to have suppressed."* Thus he, who could stickle about the ceremony of keeping Easter, could quietly connive at, yea, interpretatively consent to, the depraving of the doctrinal part of religion. But his letter to the Scotch took little effect, who kept their Easter not one minute the sooner or later for all his writing unto them.

65. *Birinus converts the West Saxons to the Faith.*

In a better work, and with better success, was Birinus employed; an Italian by birth, sent over by pope Honorius for the conversion of the remainder of England, and to that purpose (that his preaching, belike, might be the more powerful) made a bishop before his coming over,† by Asterius bishop of Genoa. Here I am at a loss: bishop—of what? Where was his diocess or bishopric? Were not bishop and bishopric so correlated in that age, that they must be together? the trick of making titular bishops not as yet being used in Rome. It is impossible, that "bishop" here should import no more than a plain "priest;" and that he only took orders before he came over into England. Well, commend me to the memory of this man, who first was made bishop, and then made himself a bishopric, by earning it out of the Pagan English, whom he intended to convert to Christianity. Yea, he passed his solemn promise in the presence of the pope, that he would preach the gospel "in the heart of the uttermost coasts of England,"‡ (meaning the northern parts thereof,) "whither no teacher had at any time gone before him:" minded herein, like St. Paul, "not to boast in another man's line of things made ready to his hand," 2 Cor. x. 16.

66. *A broken Promise well kept. A.D.* 636.

This his promise Birinus, though he literally brake, virtually kept; for he chanced to land amongst the West Saxons, then called Gevises, in the South-West part of England, where as yet the inhabitants were pure-impure Pagans. Having here found a fit subject for his pains, why should he go farther to seek the same? Is not Providence the best herald to marshal us? And ought we not to sit down where it disposeth us? Besides, according to military rules, it was best to clear the coasts as he went, and not to leave a Pagan foe behind his back. Moved herewith, Birinus here sets up his staff episcopal, fixeth himself, falls a-preaching, converts many, and, amongst the rest, Kyngils§ the West-Saxon king,

* *Decret. Epist. ed Romæ*, 1591, tom. ii. p. 654. † BEDE, lib. iii. cap. 7.
‡ *Idem, ibid.* § Otherwise, *Cinigisil.*—EDIT.

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whom he baptized. Oswald, king of Northumberland, chanced to be present at that time,* and was first godfather, then father-in-law, to king Kyngils, to whom he gave his daughter to wife.

67. *Dorchester made a Bishop's See.*

Dorchester, (not the town which denominates Dorsetshire, but) an old city in Oxfordshire, (not in Berkshire, as Stapleton mistakes it,)† was made the seat of Birinus's bishopric. Bede saith, *Donaverunt autem ambo reges eidem episcopo civitatem, quæ vocatur Dorinca, &c.* "Both the kings" (Oswald and Kyngils) "gave to the said bishop the city Dorinca," or Dorchester. *Both of them*—Hence observe, first, that Oswald, whose concurrence in this grant was required, though particular king of Northumberland, was also monarch of all England; to justify our former observation, that "amongst the seven Saxon kings always one was paramount above the rest." Secondly. That this Dorchester (though it lay North of Thames in Oxfordshire, which properly belonged to the kingdom of Mercia) pertained now to the West Saxons, beyond the ordinary limits assigned to that kingdom.

68. *England divided into Parishes. A.D.* 637.

In this year Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, divided England (understand, so much thereof as was Christian) into parishes. But that most exquisite antiquary‡ seems very unwilling to admit so early and ancient parishes, in the modern proper acceptation of the word. Who knoweth not, that *parochia* at large signifieth "the diocess of the bishop?" and two new diocesses (Dunwich and Dorchester) were erected under Honorius in the province of Canterbury. But whether parishes,—as usually understood for places bounded in regard of the profits from the people therein, payable only to a pastor incumbent there;—I say, whether such parishes were extant in this age, may well be questioned, as inconsistent with the community of ecclesiastic profits, which then seemed jointly enjoyed by the bishop and his clergy.

69. *A morose Preacher little edifieth.*

No sooner was Oswald (whom we formerly mentioned) settled in his kingdom of Northumberland, but his first princely care was, to provide pastors to instruct his people in Christianity. In order whereunto he sends into Scotland (where he had his own education) for some eminent preachers. Unusual the sun should come out of the North to enlighten the South, as here it came to pass. One

* Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 7. † In his translation of Bede, fol. 82.
‡ Mr. Selden in his "History of Tithes," cap. 9, p. 256.

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preacher was sent him thence, whose name we find not,* but thus much of his nature,—that, being over rigid and severe, his sermons made no impression on his English auditory. "Hard with hard," saith the proverb, "makes no wall;" and no wonder, if the spiritual building went on no better, wherein the austerity and harshness of the pastor met with the ignorance and sturdiness of the people. Home he returns, complaining of his ill success; and one Aidan, of a milder temper and more discretion, (a grace which none ever spake against, but such as wanted it,) was sent back in his room.

70. *Aidan's due Commendation.*

Aidan, coming into England, settled himself at Lindisfern, or Holy Island, in Northumberland; a place which is an island and no island twice in twenty-four hours, as divided by the tide from, so conjoined at low-water to, the continent. His exemplary life was a pattern for all pious pastors. First. He left to the clergy, *saluberrimum abstinentiæ vel continentiæ exemplum;* though we read not he vowed virginity himself, or imposed it on others. He lived as he taught; and whatsoever the bounty of princes or great persons bestowed on him, he gave to the poor. He seldom travelled but on foot; and, when invited to large feasts at court, used to arise after a short refection, and betake himself to his meditations. He redeemed many slaves from captivity, making them first freemen, then Christians.

71. *Bede's Allay.*

All these his excellent practices Bede† dashed with this allay,—that "he had a zeal of God, although not fully according to knowledge;" merely because he dissented from the Romish church in the celebration of Easter. But whether those words of St. Paul, Rom. x. 2, spoken of his countrymen the Jews, in reference to their stumbling at Christ, the Saviour of mankind, be fitly applicable to Aidan, only differing in an outward ceremony, let others decide. True it is, this Aidan was a prime champion of the Quartadecimans, as who had been brought up under or with St. Columba,‡ in Ireland. The writer of the Life of this St. Columba (let this be inserted by the way) reports, how the said saint had a revelation of the Holy Ghost,§ "which prophesied unto him of this discord, which after many days should arise in the church,

* Corman, a monk of Iona.—EDIT. † *Eccles. Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 3. ‡ Fuller writes him St. Colme, on the same principle as, in that age, St. Austin was tantamount to St. Augustine, &c.—EDIT. § ARCHBISHOP USHER in "the Religion of the Irish," p. 99.

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about the diversity of the feast of Easter." Yet he telleth us not, that the Holy Ghost reproved this Columba (whose example animated others against the Roman rite) for his error; as if God cared not which of both sides carried the controversy!

72. *Laymen's Diligence in reading Scripture.*

But all which Bede speaketh in diminution of Aidan may freely be forgiven him, were it but for his faithful recording of the following passage in Aidan's Life; and take it with Stapleton's own translation thereof: *Omnes qui cum eo incedebant, sive attonsi, sive laici, meditari deberent; id est, aut legendis scripturis, aut Psalmis discendis operam dare.* "All they which went with him, were they professed into religion, or were they lay-brethren, gave themselves continually to contemplation; that is to say, bestowed all their time in reading scripture, or learning the Psalter." Bede, speaking hereof, addeth, moreover, *tantum vita illius a nostri temporis segnitiâ distabat*, "so much differed his life from the laziness of our age;" taxing those of his time for neglect of the scriptures! And the ignorance bemoaned in his age, continued and increased after his death.

73. *The Royal Interpreter.*

When Aidan came first into England, he was not perfect in the language of our country. For although the speech of the modern Southern Scot be only a Doric dialect of, no distinct language from, English; yet Aidan, who naturally spoke Irish, was not intelligible to his English congregation. Wherefore king Oswald, a better Scotchman (as bred amongst them) than Aidan was Englishman, interpreted to the people what the other preached unto them. Thus these two, put together, made a perfect preacher. And although some will say, "Sermons thus at the second-hand must lose much of their life and lustre;" yet, the same Spirit working in both, the ordinance proved effectual to the salvation of many souls.

74. *The first Lent in England.* *A.D.* 640.

This year the first Lent was kept in England;—conceive it in those parts thereof which obeyed the Roman celebration of Easter. Otherwise it is suspicious, that the Quartadecimans were no good *Quadragesimarians*, and no such conscientious observers of Lent on the Romish account. Surely, if people were taught in Lent to fast (as from flesh, so) from a proud and false opinion of meriting thereby, policy would be well pleased, and piety not offended, at the observing thereof; whilst continent-countries might keep it without any loss to their souls, and islands with great gain to their estates.

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75. *The ill Success of good Kings.* *A.D.* 642.

Oswald, king of Northumberland, fighting at Maserfield (since Oswestry) in Shropshire, against Penda, the Pagan prince of Mercia, was overthrown, slain, and his body most barbarously abused and chopped in pieces. Yea, it is observable that such Saxon kings, which were first converted to Christianity, and such who were the most active restorers of religion after a general apostasy, commonly came to violent deaths by the hands of Heathens. As, Edwin, first Christian king of Northumberland, slain by Pagan Penda, *anno* 632. Erpenwald, first Christian king of East Angles, slain by his own people, *anno* 639. Peada, first Christian king of Mercia, slain by his own wife, *anno* 659. Edelwald, or Ethelwald,* first Christian king of Sussex, slain likewise. Oswald, the most religious restorer of Christianity in Northumberland, slain, *anno* 642. Annas, the most pious king of the East Angles, slain by Penda, *anno* 654. Edmund, the most devout king of the East Angles, martyred by the Danes, *anno* 870. Inquiring into the causes hereof, we find: First. That the lustre of their lives, shining before men, made them the fairer mark for their malicious enemies. Secondly. Satan, accounting them traitors against his "kingdom of darkness," left no stone unturned, thereby to bring them to temporal destruction, the greatest hurt which his power could inflict. Thirdly. God, to try the patience of his infant church, acquainted them with afflictions from their very cradle. Such therefore are mistaken who make prosperity a note either of piety in particular persons, or verity in a whole church; seeing, take it one time with another, and it misseth the mark oftener than it hits it. As for our Oswald, legions of miracles are attributed unto him after death; all which we willingly omit, insisting only on one as most remarkable.

76, 77. *Oswald's Hand said never to putrify.* *Mystically true.*

The story goes thus: On an Easter-day Oswald was sitting in his palace at dinner with bishop Aidan; when in comes one of his servants, and informeth him, that abundance of poor people from all parts sate in the streets, expecting some alms for their relief. Presently king Oswald commands, not only that the meat set before him should be given them, but also that the large silver charger holding the same should be broken in pieces, and (in want, perchance, of present coin) parted betwixt them. Whereupon, Aidan laying hold on Oswald's right hand, (and that alone, we know, ought to be the almoner, Matt. vi. 3,) "May this hand," said he, "never be

* Called by Rapin and others *Adelwalch*, or *Adelwalt*.—EDIT.

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consumed: "* which is said accordingly to come to pass. So that, when all the other members of king Oswald's body (torn asunder by his barbarous enemies) were putrified, his right hand always remained unconsumed.

Nullo verme perit, nullâ putredine tabet
Dextra viri; nullo constringi frigore, nullo
Dissolvi fervore potest; sed semper eodem
Immutata statu persistit, mortua vivit.†

"No worm, no rottenness taints his right hand;
Corruption-free, in vain the cold doth strive
To freeze, or heat to melt it, which doth stand
Still at one stay; and though dead, is alive."

But it is not enough for us, that we have the poet's pen for it; if we also had Oswald's hand to show for the same, much might be wrought on our belief herein.

For my own part, I conceive that Aidan's words to Oswald, that "his hand should never wax old, or be consumed," were spiritually spoken, in a mystical meaning, parallel to those scripture-expressions: "The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance," Psalm cxii. 6, even when "the name of the wicked shall rot," Prov. x. 7. "The bountiful hand never consumes:" neither actually; it never wastes nor impairs an estate, God so ordering it that the more he giveth the more he hath;—nor passively; it is not consumed, the acts thereof remaining in a perpetual memorial here and hereafter. But, grant this miracle of Oswald's hand literally true in the latitude thereof; I desire any ingenuous papist to consider the time wherein it was acted. It was Easter-day, yea, such an Easter-day as was celebrated by the Quartadecimans, Aidan being present thereat, contrary to the time which the canons of Rome appointed. Now, did not a Divine finger in Oswald's miraculous hand point out this day then to be truly observed? Let the papist produce such another miracle, to grace and credit their Easter Roman style, and then they say something to the purpose.

78. *Over-officiousness occasioned Purgatory.*

It plainly appears, that the survivors had not only a charitable opinion, but a comfortable presumption, yea, an infallible persuasion, that the soul of king Oswald was possessed of heavenly happiness, instantly after his death. What better demonstration of his present being in perfect bliss, than those many miracles which the papists confidently report to be done by him after his death, in curing sick people of their several maladies? For, such souls which they fancy

* So Stapleton translateth what in Bede is, *inveterascat.* † CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Lincolnshire.

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in purgatory are so far from healing others, that they cannot help themselves. Yea, Bede * calleth this Oswald, *jam cum Domino regnantem*, "now reigning with the Lord." Yet the same author attesteth,† that even in this time it was the anniversary custom of the monks of Hexham, to repair to Heafen-feld, (a place hard by, where Oswald, as aforesaid, obtained his miraculous victory,) and "there to observe vigils for the salvation of his soul," *plurimâque psalmorum laude celebratâ, victimam pro eo manè sacræ oblationis offerre:* a mongrel action between good-will and will-worship; though the eyes of their souls in those prayers looked not forward to the future, petitioning for Oswald's happiness; but backward to what was past, gratulatory to the bliss he had received. Purgatory, therefore, cannot properly be founded on such suffrages for the dead. However, such over-officiousness, though at first it was like the herb in the pot, which doth neither good nor ill, in after-ages became like that "wild gourd," 2 Kings iv. 40, poisoning men's souls with superstition, when they fell to downright praying for the departed.

79. *The Death of Paulinus.* *A. D.* 644.

This year Paulinus, late archbishop of York, since bishop of Rochester, ended his life; and one Ithamar succeeded him, born in Kent, and the first Englishman-bishop, all being foreigners before him. As he was the first of his nation, I believe him the second of his name, meeting with no more save only Ithamar, the youngest son of Aaron, high priest of Israel, Exod. vi. 23.

80. *Most Christian King Oswy.* *A. D.* 645.

After king Oswald's death, four Christian contemporary kings flourished in England. First. Oswy, king of Northumberland, more commendable for the managing than the gaining of his kingdom; except any will say, that no good keeping can make amends for the ill getting of a crown, seeing he defeated Ethelwald, Oswald's son, and the true heir thereof. Bede termeth him *regem Christianissimum*,‡ "the most Christian king;" a style wherewith the present majesty of France will not be offended, as which, many years after, was settled on his ancestors. Long had this Oswy endeavoured in vain, by presents, to purchase peace from Penda, the Pagan king of Mercia, who miserably harassed his country, and refused any gifts, (though never so rich and great,) which were tendered unto him. At last, saith my author,§ "Oswy resolved, We will offer our presents to such a King, who is higher in command, and humbler in his courtesy, as who will not disdain to accept them." Whereupon he devoted his daughter to God, in her per-

* *Eccles. Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 12. † Lib. iii. cap. 2. ‡ Lib. iii. cap. 21. § *Idem.*

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petual virginity, and soon after obtained a memorable conquest over his enemies, and cleared the country from his cruelty.

81. *Sigebert the Too-good.*

Secondly. SIGEBERT, king of Essex, and the restorer of religion in his kingdom, which formerly had apostatized after the departure of Mellitus; valiant and pious, though taxed for his contumacious company-keeping (contrary to his confessor's command) with an excommunicated count, in whose house he was afterward murdered by two villains; who, being demanded the cause of their cruelty, why they killed so harmless and innocent a prince, had nothing to say for themselves, but they did it, "because his goodness had done the kingdom hurt;* such his proneness to pardon offenders, on their (though but seeming) submission, that his meekness made many malefactors." But I hope and believe, that the heirs of Sigebert, (though the story be silent herein,) finding his fault, amended it in themselves, and exercised just severity in the execution of these two damnable traitors.

82. *Annas happy in a holy Issue. A. D.* 654.

ANNAS may be accounted the third successor to Sigebert, and happy in a numerous and holy offspring. Yea, all his children (save Firminus the eldest, slain with his father in a fight against Pagan Penda) were either mitred or veiled, when living; sainted and shrined, when dead: as, Erkenwald, bishop of London; Ethelred or Audrey, and Sexburga, successively foundresses and abbesses of Ely; Withgith, a nun therein; and Ethelburge, abbess of Barking, nigh London.

83. *The Conversion of the Mercians to Christianity under Prince Peada. A. D.* 656.

PEADA, prince of Mercia, may make up the quaternion, who married Alfrede, daughter of Oswy, king of Northumberland; and thereupon renouncing Paganism, embraced Christianity, and propagated it in his dominions. Indeed, Penda, his father, that persecutor of piety, was still alive, (and survived two years after,) persisting a Heathen till death, but mollified to permit a toleration of Christianity in his subjects. Yea, Penda in his old age used an expression, which might have beseemed the mouth of a better man; namely, that he hated not Christians, but "only such who professed Christ's faith, without his works;"† accounting them contemptible who pretended to believe in God, without obeying him.

* BEDA, lib. iii. cap. 22.

† *Idem*, lib. iii. cap. 21.

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84. *St. Cedde and St. Chad.*

A brace of brethren, both bishops, both eminent for learning and religion, now appeared in the church; so like in name, they are oft mistaken in authors one for another. Now, though it be "pleasant for brethren to live together in unity," yet it is not fit, by error, they should be jumbled together in confusion. Observe their difference therefore: ST. CEDDE, in Latin *Ceddus*, I believe the elder, born at London,* (where afterward he was bishop,) bred in Holy Island, an active promoter in making the East Saxons *con*-verts (or rather *re*-verts) to the faith. He is remembered in the Romish Calendar, January 7th. ST. CHAD, in Latin *Cedda*, born in Northumberland,† bred likewise in Holy Island, and scholar to Aidanus. He was bishop of Lichfield; a mild and modest man, of whom more hereafter. His death is celebrated in the Calendar, March 2d, and the dust of his tomb is by papists reported to cure all diseases alike in man and beast. I believe it might make *the dumb to see, and the lame to speak*. The latter of these was, as the longest liver, so the most eminent in his life; who made many Christians, and amongst the rest Wulfade and Rufine, sons to Wulphere king of Mercia, succeeding Peada therein, who was suddenly slain, and his untimely death was a great loss to religion.

85. *Fridona, first English Archbishop.*

Look we now on the see of Canterbury, where, to our comfort, we have gotten one of our own countrymen into the place, Fridona, a Saxon. Yet, for the more state of the business, he assumed the name of *Deus-dedit*. We know, archbishops of his see are termed *Alterius orbis papæ;* and such changing of names was fashionable with the popes. He was consecrated by Ithamar alone, bishop of Rochester: the first English bishop consecrating the first English archbishop. Let no sophister cavil with his threadbare maxim, "*Nihil dat quod non habet*, and therefore a single bishop could not confer archi-episcopal power;" but leave it to the canon-lawyers, to decide what may be done in case of extremity. Meantime, how causeless is the captiousness‡ of the papists at the consecration of Matthew Parker,§ because no archbishop (though four bishops) was present thereat. Seeing, though an archbishop be requisite *ad dignitatem*, bishops will suffice *ad honestatem;* and a single bishop (as Ithamar here)‖ may be effectual *ad essentiam* of an archi-episcopal consecration. No wonder, therefore, if Evagrius was acknowledged a legitimate bishop by the pope

* *Flores Sanctorum*, p. 35. † *Idem*, p. 224. ‡ The word here used by Fuller was *caption*.—EDIT. § SANDERS *De Schism.* p. 297. ‖ BEDE, *Hist.* lib. iii. p. 217.

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himself,* though contrary to the rigour of the canon, consecrated by Paulinus alone.† *Deus-dedit* answered his name; (a good archbishop is "God's gift;") and, for nine years and more, ruled the church to his great commendation.

86. *Wulphere's Murder of his two Sons. A.D.* 662.

A barbarous murder was committed by Wulphere, king of Mercia; who, understanding that his two sons, Wulfade and Rufine, had embraced Christianity, cruelly slew them with his own hands. But afterwards, repenting of so foul a fact, he himself turned Christian; and, in testimony thereof, finished the fair fabric of the monastery at Peterborough, begun by Peada his brother. The whole story thereof was, till lately, set forth in painting, and poetry (such as it was) in the glass windows, round about the cloisters of Peterborough.

"Wulfade pray'd Chad, that ghostly leach,
The faith of Christ him for to teach."

87. *The making of Glass brought first into England.*

And now, having fallen on the mention of glass, be it seasonably remembered, that just at this time one Benault, a foreign bishop, (but of what place I find not,) brought the mystery of making glass into England, to the great beautifying of our churches and houses; the eyes being the grace of the body, as windows are of buildings. I conceive, his invention was white glass alone, more ancient than painted glass in this island; as plain-song is much senior to all descanting and running of division.

88. *Scottish Bishops dissent from others in keeping Easter.*

The paroxysm continued and increased, betwixt the Scottish bishops (headed, after Aidan's death, by Finan, bishop of Holy Island) and such who celebrated Easter after the Roman rite. The latter so bitterly detested the former, that they would not receive consecration of them, or imposition of hands; as if their very fingers' ends were infected with schism, for dissenting from Rome. Yea, they would neither give the sacrament of the eucharist to them, nor receive it from them: and yet they never quarrelled at or questioned the validity of baptism conferred by them, seeing bishop Finan christened the king of the East Saxons and all his subjects. Somewhat more moderate were the Scots, or Quartadecimans, in their carriage to the other, seeing St. Chad (Scottized in his judgment) refused not consecration from Wyni, bishop of Winchester, though one of the contrary opinion.

* BINNIUS, tom. i. p. 579, *in Notis in Epist.* 17 *Innocentis primi.* † THEODORET, lib. v. cap. 23.

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89. *This Controversy spreads into private Families.*

Nor was this controversy confined to cloisters and colleges, but derived itself from the king's court, down into private families. Thus Oswy, king of Northumberland, was of the Scottish persuasion, whilst his queen and eldest son were of the Romish opinion, in celebration of Easter. One board would not hold them whom one bed did contain. It fell out so sometimes, that the husband's Palm-Sunday was the wife's Easter-day; and in other families, the wife fasted and kept Lent still, whilst her husband feasted and observed Easter. Say not, "That wife deserved to fast always who in so indifferent a ceremony would not conform to her husband's judgment." For, consciences, in such kinds, are to be led, not drawn. Great was the disturbance in every great family; only the poor gained by the difference, causing a duplicate of festivals, two Easters being kept every year in the same house.

90. *A Council is called to compose this Controversy.* *A.D.* 663.

To compose this controversy, if possible, a council was called at Streanch-hall,* now Whitby in Yorkshire, by the procurement of St. Hilda, abbess therein. Here appeared, amongst many others; —For the Romish Easter, Wilfride, an abbot, a zealous champion; Romanus, a priest, very hot in the quarrel; and others:—For the Scottish Easter, St. Coleman, bishop of Holy Island, who succeeded Finan in that place.—Moderators, Hilda, the abbess of Streanch-hall; St. Cedde, bishop of London, propending to the Scottish, but not thoroughly persuaded. But Baronius and Binnius will in no case allow this for a council, (though elsewhere extending that name to meaner meetings,) only they call it "a collation;" because, forsooth, it wanted some council-formalities,—all bishops not being solemnly summoned, but only some volunteers appearing therein. Besides, as there was something too little, so something too much, for a canonical council; Hilda, a woman, being moderatress therein; which seemed irregular.

91, 92. *Wilfride's prevailing Argument. His intended but disappointed Preferment.*

In this council or collation, (call it which you please,) after much arguing *pro* and *con*, Wilfride at last knocked all down with this argument:—That the Romish celebration of Easter was founded on the practice of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, and porter of heaven. King Oswy, hearing this, was affrighted; who had rather anger all the other eleven apostles, than offend St. Peter, one so

* Otherwise, *Streanes-halh*.—EDIT.

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high in power and place; for fear, as he said, lest, coming to heaven-gate, St. Peter should deny him *a cast of his office*, and refuse to let him into happiness. St. Coleman, being on the other side, was angry that so slight an argument had made so deep an impression on the king's credulity; and, to manifest his distaste, after the council was broken up, carried all those of his own opinion home with him into Scotland. One Tuda succeeded him in his bishopric of Holy Island, the first of that see that conformed himself in this controversy to the Romish church, and died in the same year of the plague.

As for Wilfride, he was well rewarded for his pains in this council, being presently promoted to be bishop of York, which, since Paulinus's death, was no longer an archbishop's, but a plain bishop's see. But though appointed for the place by king Oswy, he refused consecration from any English bishops, being all irregular, as consecrated by the schismatical Scots; only Wyni, late bishop of Winchester, now of London, was ordained canonically; but lately he had contracted just shame for his simony, in buying his bishopric. Over goes Wilfride, therefore, to Rome for consecration; and stays there so long, that, in his absence, the king put St. Chad into the bishopric of York. The writer of Wilfride's Life complains loudly hereof:—

Audacter sponsam vivo rapuere marito.

"Boldly, in the husband's life,
Away from him they took his wife."

But, by the poet's leave, York was but espoused, not married, to Wilfride, whilst he was in England: and after his going over beyond sea, he stayed so long that his church presumed him dead, and herself a maid-widow, which lawfully might receive another husband. At last Wilfride, returning home, had York restored unto him, and St. Chad was removed to the new-founded bishopric of Lichfield.

93, 94. *Abbess Hilda. A Miracle imputed to her Holiness.*

The abbess Hilda, whom we mentioned before, was like another Huldah, which lived in the college, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22; superior to most of her sex in learning, inferior to none in religion. Monks ascribe it to her sanctity, that she turned many serpents in that country into stones; plenty of which stones are found at this day about Whitby, the place of her abode, having the shape of serpents, but most headless; as the tale is truthless, relating it to her miraculous operation. Who knows not but that at Alderly, in Gloucestershire, there are found stones resembling cockles or periwinkles, in a place far from the sea? which are esteemed by the

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learned the gamesome work of nature, sometimes pleased to disport itself, and pose us by propounding such riddles unto us.

Some impute it also to Hilda's holiness that wild geese, when flying over the grounds near her convent, fell down to the ground, as doing homage to the sanctity thereof. As the credit of the reporters hath converted wise men to believe the thing; so they justly remain incredulous, that it proceedeth from any miracle, but secret antipathy. But, as philosophers, when posed in nature and prosecuted to render reasons of her mysteries, took sanctuary at *occulta qualitas;* monks, in the same kind, make their refuge to the shrine of some saint, attributing all they cannot answer, to his or her miraculous operation. Yea, sometimes, such is monkish impudence, falsely to assign that to a saint, (though all chronologies protest against the possibility thereof,) which is the plain and pregnant effect of nature. Witness when they write,* that Richard de la Wich, bishop of Chichester, with his fervent prayers obtained, that the *wiches*, or salt-springs, should boil out of the earth in Droitwich in Worcestershire; which are mentioned and described by ancient authors, dead before the cradle of the said Richard de la Wich was made.

95–97. *Theodorus, Archbishop of Canterbury. A.D.* 668. *His Fierceness to keep Easter after the Romish Rite. A.D.* 672–3. *He envieth Wilfride Bishop of York.*

Look we now on the see of Canterbury, and there, after the death of the last archbishop, and four years' vacancy, we find that church hath changed her Latin into Greek, I mean, dead *Deus-dedit*, into *Theodorus* his successor, put in by the pope. This Theodorus was a Grecian by name and nation, fellow-citizen with St. Paul, born in Tarsus in Cilicia, Acts xxii. 3; and herein like him,—that "he spake with tongues more than they all," 1 Cor. xiv. 18; had more skill in learned languages than all his brethren, bishops of England, in that age. Yea, as children, when young, are permitted to play; but, when of some years, are sent to learn their book; so hitherto the infant church of England may be said to have lost time for matter of learning, and now Theodorus set it first to school, brought books to it, and it to books; erecting a well-furnished library, and teaching his clergy how to make use thereof.

I could wish this Theodorus had had one quality more of St. Paul;—that, in matters indifferent, he would have been "made all things to all men, that by all means he might save some," 1 Cor. ix. 22. Whereas he most rigorously pressed conformity to Rome,

* As CAMDEN saith in Worcestershire.

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in the observation of Easter: and, to that purpose, a council was called at Herad-ford, now Hertford, and not Hereford, as judicious and industrious bishop Godwin (partial to the place whereof he himself was bishop) doth mistake it. Here Easter was settled after the Romish rite; and we are not sorry for the same, willing rather it should be any way ordered, than that the reader (with whom I sympathize, more than grudge my own pains) should be troubled any longer with such a small-great controversy, low in its own merit, but heightened with the spleen and passion of such as prosecuted it. In this synod nine other articles were concluded of, as they follow here in order, out of Bede, as Stapleton* himself hath translated them:—

"(1.) That no bishop should have aught to do in another's diocess, but be contented with the charge of the people committed unto him.

"(2.) That no bishop should molest or any wise trouble such monasteries as were consecrated, and given to God, nor violently take from them aught that was theirs.

"(3.) That monks should not go from place to place, that is to say, from one monastery to another, unless by the leave of their own abbot; but should continue in the obedience which they promised at the time of their conversion and entering into religion.

"(4.) That none of the clergy, forsaking his own bishop, should run up and down where he list, nor, when he came any whither, should be received without letters of commendation from his diocesan. And, if that he be once received, and will not return, being warned and called, both the receiver and he that is received shall incur the sentence of excommunication.

"(5.) That such bishops and clerks as are strangers be content with such hospitality as is given them; and that it be lawful for none of them to execute any office of a priest, without the permission of the bishop in whose diocess they are known to be.

"(6.) That whereas, by the ancient decrees, a synod and convocation ought to be assembled twice a-year; yet because divers inconveniences do happen among us, it hath seemed good to us all, that it should be assembled once a-year, the 1st day of August, at the place called Clofeshooh.†

"(7.) That no bishop should ambitiously prefer himself before another, but should all acknowledge the time and order of their consecration.

"(8.) That the number of bishops should be increased, the number of Christian folk waxing daily greater; but hereof at this time we said no further.

* Lib. iv. cap. 5. † See cent. viii. parag. 21, p. 152.—EDIT.

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"(9.) That no man commit advoutry [adultery] nor fornication; that no man forsake his own wife, but for only fornication, as the holy gospel teacheth. And, if any man put away his wife being lawfully married unto him, if he will be a right Christian man, let him be joined to none other: but let him so continue still sole, or else be reconciled again to his own wife."

I wonder no mention herein of settling the tonsure of priests, (a controversy running parallel with that of Easter,) according to the Roman rite. To conclude: Let not the reader expect the like exemplification of all articles in following synods, so largely as here we have presented them. For this synod Stapleton * calls "the first of the English nation;" (understand him, whose canons are completely extant;) and, therefore, more patrimony is due to the heir and eldest son, than to the younger brethren, who shall be content to be confined to their pensions; I mean, to have their articles not exemplified, but epitomized hereafter.

Theodorus, archbishop of Canterbury, beheld Wilfride, bishop of York, (one of great parts, and greater passions,) with envious eyes; and therefore, to abate his power, he endeavoured that the diocess of York might be divided. Wilfride, offended hereat, goes over to Rome to impede the project, and by the way is tossed with a grievous tempest. It is an ill wind which bloweth no man profit. He is cast on the shore of Friezland in Belgia, where the inhabitants, as yet Pagans, were by his preaching converted to Christianity. This may be observed in this Wilfride,—his παέρεργα were better than his ἔργα, his casual and occasional were better than his intentional performances; which shows plainly, that Providence acted more vigorously in him, than his own prudence: I mean, when at ease in wealth, at home, he busied himself in toys and trifles of ceremonious controversies; but when (as now and afterwards) a stranger, and little better than an exile, he effectually promoted the honour and glory of God.

98. *The South Saxons, as formerly the Friezlanders, converted by Wilfride. A.D. 679.*

And as it is observed of nightingales, that they sing the sweetest when farthest from their nests; so this Wilfride was most diligent in God's service, when at the greatest distance from his own home. For though returning into England, he returned not unto York, but staid in the Pagan kingdom of the South Saxons, who also, by God's blessing on his endeavours, were persuaded to embrace the Christian faith.

* In his translation of Bede, folio 118.

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99. *The first, the last.*

These South Saxons, of all the seven kingdoms, were the last which submitted themselves to the perfect freedom of God's service; and yet their country was in situation next to Kent, where the gospel was first planted. Herein it was verified, "Many that are first shall be last, and the last, first." Yea, the Spirit, which "bloweth where it listeth," observeth no visible rules of motion; but sometimes, taking no notice of those in the middle, reacheth to them which are farthest off. Indeed, Edilwalch [Adelwalch] their king was a little before christened by the persuasion of Wulphere, king of Mercia, (who was his godfather, and at his baptizing gave him for a gift the Isle of Wight, *et provinciam* Meanuarorum in gente Occidentalium Saxonum,)* but his country still remained in Paganism. And although Dicul, a Scot, with some six of his brethren, had a small monastery at Bosenham† in Sussex; yet they, rather enjoying themselves, than meddling with others, were more careful of their own safety, than their neighbours' conversion. And, indeed, the Pagans neither heeded their life, nor minded their doctrine.

100. *Pagan Obstinacy punished with Famine.*

However, these South Saxons paid for their stubbornness, in standing out so long against the gospel; for they always were a miserable people, and at this present afflicted with a great famine, caused by three years' drought; so that forty men in a row, holding hand in hand, used to throw themselves into the sea, to avoid the misery of a lingering death. In this woful condition did Wilfride, bishop of York, find them, when he first preached the gospel unto them; and on that very day wherein he baptized them, (as if God from heaven had poured water into the font,) he obtained store of rain, which procured great plenty. Observe (though I am not so ill-natured as to wrangle with all miracles) an apish imitation of Elijah; who carried the key of heaven at his girdle, to lock or unlock it by his prayer; only, Elijah gave rain after three years and six months, Wilfride after bare three years; it being good manners to come a little short of his betters.

101. *South Saxons first taught to fish. A.D.* 680.

Also, saith my author,‡ he taught the people (who till then knew not how to catch any fishes but eels) how to take all kind of fish in the sea and rivers. Strange! that thus long they should live in ignorance of so useful a trade, being (though infidels) no idiots;

* Bede, lib. iv. cap. 13. † In modern times, *Bosom*.—Edit. ‡ Bede, lib. iv. cap. 13.

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especially seeing men's capacities come very soon to be of age to understand their own profit; and the examples of their neighbours might have been tutors unto them. But Wilfride afterward wanted no hearers, people flocking unto him; as when Christ made his auditors his guests, they followed after him, "because they ate of the loaves, and were filled." The priests, Eappa, Padda, Bruchelin, and Oidda, assisted in baptizing the common people; and king Edilwalch gave Wilfride a piece of land, containing eighty-nine families, at Selsey, where he erected a bishop's see, since translated to Chichester.

102. *A double good Deed.*

Amongst other good deeds, Wilfride freed two hundred and fifty men and maid-servants, both out of soul-slavery and bodily bondage. For, having baptized them, he procured their liberty of their masters; which they, no doubt, cheerfully embraced, according to St. Paul's counsel: "Art thou called a servant? care not for it: but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather," 1 Cor. vii. 21. And thus, by God's blessing, in the space of eighty-and-two years, (from five hundred ninety-seven, to six hundred seventy-nine,) was the whole Saxon heptarchy converted to Christianity, and did never again relapse to Paganism.

103. *Godfathers used to Men of mature Age.*

Mention being lately made * of Wulphure's, the Mercian king, being godfather unto Edilwalch, king of the South Saxons, some will much admire, that one arrived at years of maturity, able to render an account of his faith, should have a godfather, which, with swaddling-clouts, they conceive, belong to infants alone. Yet this was very fashionable in that age: not only for the greater state, in kings, princes, and public persons; but *in majorem cautelam*, even amongst private people. For such susceptors were thought to put an obligation on the credits, and, by reflection, on the consciences, of new Christians, (whereof too many in those days were baptized out of civil designs,) to walk worthy of their profession, were it but to save their friends' reputation, who had undertaken for their sincerity therein.

104, 105. *Cadwallader founds a Welsh Hospital at Rome; since, injuriously taken from the Welsh. A. D. 685.*

Cadwallader, the last king of Wales, wearied out with war, famine, and pestilence, left his own land, and, with some small treasure, fled to Alan, king of Little Britain. But princes are

* Paragraph 99.

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welcome in foreign parts, when pleasure (not need) brings them thither; or whilst they are so considerable in themselves as to command their own entertainment. Whereas this distressed king's company was beheld not only as useless and expensive, but dangerous, as likely to draw with it the displeasure of the Saxon kings (his enemies) on his entertainer. But, it seems, Cadwallader had better friends in heaven, than any he found on earth; if it be true, what confidently is reported, that an angel appeared unto him, advising him to go to Rome, there to take on him the habit of a monk, and spend the remainder of his life.* Here he purchased lands, all by the foresaid angelical direction, built a house, (after his death converted into an hospital,) and by his will so ordered it, that certain priests of his own country should for ever have the rule and government thereof. These were to entertain all Welsh pilgrims with meat, drink, and lodging, for the space of a month, and to give them a certain sum of money for a *viaticum* at their departure, towards their charges in returning to their own country.

Many a year did this hospital flourish in good plenty, till the middle of queen Elizabeth's reign; when fair the revenues belonging, and few the Welsh pilgrims repairing, thereto. This made father Parsons, with the rest of our English Jesuits, cast an envious eye thereon, who would never be quiet until they had obtained of pope Gregory XIII. to eject the old British, and unite this hospital to the English college at Rome. This, no doubt, stirred up the Welsh blood of Dr. Morris, Dr. Lewis, Dr. Smith, and Mr. Griffith, who, in vain, stickled to the utmost of their power to continue this foundation to their countrymen. In my poor opinion, seeing an angel is said to direct in the founding and endowing of this hospital, it was but fit that either the same angel appearing again, or some other of an higher or, at least, equal dignity and degree in the celestial hierarchy, should have altered the use and confirmed the alienation thereof. But of this more hereafter.†

106. *The ecclesiastical Laws of King Ina. A. D.* 692.

Ina, king of the West Saxons, about this time, set forth his Saxon laws, translated into English by Mr. Lambert. Eleven of his laws concerned church-matters; kings in that age understanding their own power, the pope having not as yet intrenched on their just prerogative. These constitutions were concluded on by the king, through the persuasion of Kenred his father, Hedda and Erkenwald his bishops, and all his aldermen and wise senators of the people. Let none wonder that Ina, in his preface to these

* Lewes Owen's "Running Register," p. 17. † *Vide annum Domini* 1569.

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laws, termeth Erkenwald his bishop, whose see of London was properly under the king of the East Saxons. For he might call him his in affection, whose diocess was in another king's possession; Ina highly honouring Erkenwald for his piety, and, therefore, inviting him (forward of himself to all goodness) to be present at the passing of these laws. Besides, some assign Surrey as part of the kingdom of the West Saxons.* Probably, at this present Ina's puissance sallied over the Thames, and London might be reduced into his honorary protection. But see here a breviate of his church-laws:—

(1.) That ministers observe their appointed form of living.†

(2.) That every infant be baptized within thirty days after his birth, on the penalty of his parents forfeiting thirty shillings; and, if the child chance to die before he be baptized, all his estate.

(3.) If the servant doth any work on the Lord's day at the master's command, the servant shall be acquitted,‡ and the master pay thirty shillings. But if he did that work without his master's command, let him be beaten, or redeem it with money, &c. A priest offending in this kind was to be double punished.

(4.) The first-fruits of seeds were to be paid to the church on the feast of St. Martin, on the penalty of forty shillings, besides the payment of the said first-fruits twelve times over.

(5.) If any deserving stripes shall fly to a church, his stripes shall be forgiven him. If guilty of a capital crime, he shall enjoy his life, but make recompence according to what is right and due.

(6.) Fighters in the king's court, to lose their goods, and to be at the king's mercy for their life. Such as fight in the church, to pay one hundred and twenty shillings. If in the house of an alderman, sixty shillings, &c.

(7.) Such as falsify their witness or pawn in the presence of the bishop, to pay one hundred and twenty shillings.

(8.) Several penalties of moneys imposed on those that should kill a stranger.

(9.) Such as are breakers of the peace in the town of the king or archbishop, punishable with one hundred and twenty shillings; in the town of an alderman, eighty shillings; in the town of one of the king's servants, sixty shillings, &c.

(10.) First-fruits of all seeds were to be paid by house-keepers, as due to that place wherein they themselves were resident on the day of Christ's nativity.

* Usserius *De Brit. Eccles. Primord.* p. 394. † Sir Henry Spelman's "Councils," p. 182, &c. ‡ The Latin, *liber esto*, may not only import a freedom from fault, but, also, that such a slave-servant should be manumised from servitude. See the following 113th paragraph.

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(11.) What sums of money are to be paid by such who have killed their god-fathers or god-sons.

In this last law, express provision is made, *episcopi filius si occidatur*, "in case the son of a bishop be killed;" a passage impertinently alleged, by some, for the proof of bishops married in that age; seeing neither sons natural nor conjugal, but only *spiritual*, at the font, are thereby intended. Now, let the learned in the law render the reason, why murder in that age was not punishable with death, but might be bought off with money.

107. *Women present at the great Council of Becanceld.* *A.D.* 694.

A great council (for so it is titled) was held at Becanceld * by Withred king of Kent, and Bertuald archbishop of Britain, so called therein; (understand him of Canterbury;) wherein many things were concluded in favour of the church. Five Kentish abbesses, namely, Mildred, Ethelred, Æte, Wilnolde, and Heres-wide, were not only present, but subscribed their names and crosses to the constitutions concluded therein. And we may observe, that their subscriptions are not only placed before and above all presbyters, but also above Botred † a bishop, (but of what diocess not specified,) present in this great council. It seems it was the courtesy of England to allow the upper hand to the weaker sex, as in their sitting, so in their subscriptions.

108—112. *Romish Brags of St. Audre's Chastity. Twice a Wife, still a Maid. Pretended Chastity real Injustice. Her miraculous Monument of Marble; confuted by a credible Witness.*

We will conclude this century with the miraculous holiness of Ethelreda,‡ or St. Audre; professing at first to be afraid to adventure on so high a subject, disheartened in reading a popish author to rant so in her commendation: "Let the fabulous Greeks talk no more of their chaste Penelope, who in the twenty years' absence of her husband Ulysses lived continently, in despite of the tempting importunity of many noble wooers; and let the proud Romans cease to brag of their fair Lucretia, that chose rather to become the bloody instrument of her own death, than to live after the violent ravishment of her honour; and let all the world turn their minds to admire, and their tongues and pens to sound the praises of the Christian virtues and chastity of our blessed Ethelreda," &c.§ But,

* Supposed to be Beckenham in Kent.—EDIT. † SIR HENRY SPELMAN'S "Councils," p. 190. ‡ Adelfrida, or St. Audry.—EDIT. § "The Flowers of the Saints," written by JEROME PORTER.

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leaving the bubbles of his rhetoric to break of themselves, on serious considerations we are so far from admiring, it is more than we can do to excuse, this St. Audre, as her story is reported.

This Audre was daughter to Annas king of the East Angles, and from her infancy a great affecter of virginity. However, she was over-persuaded to marry one Tombert, prince of the Fen-land, with whom she lived three years in the bands of unexperienced wedlock; both, by mutual consent, abstaining from carnal copulation. After his death, so importunate were her friends with her, that she married with Egfride king of Northumberland.

Strange, that, being once free, she would again entangle herself; and stranger, that, being married, she utterly refused to afford her husband what the apostle calls "due benevolence," 1 Cor. vii. 3, though he by importunate entreaties requested the same. Being "benevolence," it was uncharitable to deny it; being "due," it was unjust to detain it; being both, she was uncharitable and unjust in the same action. Was not this a mockage of marriage, (if in that age counted a sacrament,)—solemnly to give herself unto her husband, whom formerly she had passed away by a previous vow of virginity? At last she wrested leave from her husband to live a nun in the monastery of Ely, which she built and endowed. After her entrance therein she ever wore woollen, and never linen * about her; which whether it made her more holy or less cleanly, let others decide. Our author† tells us, that, in memory of her, our English women are wont to wear about their necks a certain chain made of fine small silk, which they call "Ethelred's chain." I must profess myself not so well acquainted with the sex, as either to confute or confirm the truth thereof. At last she died of a swelling in her throat, and was buried in Ely.

Sixteen years her corpse slept in a private grave near her own convent; when it came into the head of bishop Wilfride and her friends, to bestow on her a more costly burial. But, alas! the soft and fenny ground of Ely-Isle (where scarce a stone big enough to bury a worm under it) afforded not a tomb-stone for that purpose. Being thus at a loss, their want is said to be miraculously supplied;‡ for under the ruined walls of Grantchester, or Cambridge, a coffin was found, A. D. 696, with a cover correspondent, both of white marble, which did fit her body so exactly, as if (which one may believe was true) it was made for it. Herein was Audre's corpse stately enshrined, and for many years superstitiously adored.

* Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* lib. iv. cap. 19. † Jerome Porter, in his "Flowers of the Saints," and Harpsfield, sec. vii. cap. 24. ‡ Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* lib. iv. cap. 19.

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But Johan. Caius, fellow of Gonville-Hall, within ten miles of Ely, at the dissolution of abbeys, being reputed no great enemy to the Romish religion, doth on his own knowledge report, in his *Histor. Cantab.* lib. i. p. 8: *Quamquam illius ævi cæcitas admirationem in eo paret, quod regnante Hen. nuper VIII., dirutum idem sepulchrum ex lapide communi fuit, non, ut Beda narrat, ex albo marmore.* "Although the blindness of that age bred admiration therein, yet, when the tomb was plucked down in the reign of king Henry VIII., it was found made of common stone, and not of white marble, as Bede reporteth." Thus was her tomb degraded and debased one degree; which makes the truth of all the rest to be suspected. And if all popish miracles were brought to the test, they would be found to shrink from marble to common stone, nay, from stone to dirt and untempered mortar.

113. *The Council at Berghamsteed* [*Berkhampstead*]. *A.D.* 697.

It is needless here to insert the canons concluded on at Berghamsteed, by Withred king of Kent, and Bertuald archbishop of Canterbury. First. Because topical, confined to that small kingdom. Secondly. Hard to be understood, as depending on some Saxon law-terms, whereon conjectures are the best comment. Thirdly. Such as are understood are obsolete; namely, If a master gave his servant flesh to eat on a fasting-day, his servant was, on the refusal and complaint thereof, to be made free.* Some punishments therein were very absurdly proportioned; namely, six shillings, or a whipping, was to be paid by that servant who ate flesh on fasting-days; and just the same penalty was inflicted on him if convicted of offering oblations to the devil; as if equal their offences. And be it remembered, that this council was kept *cum viris quibusdam militaribus*, "some soldiers being present thereat;" and yet the fifth canon therein was made to punish adultery in men of their profession.

114. *Wilfride restored to York, and outed again.*

As for bishop Wilfride, whom lately we mentioned so active about the removal of St. Audre's corpse, he was about this time restored to his bishopric of York. Whereupon he fairly quitted the bishopric of Selsey, which Edilwalch, and after Cedwall, kings of Sussex, bestowed upon him, and returned to York. It is much this rolling stone should gather so much moss, and get wealth enough to found two monasteries; who sometimes had three bishoprics together,—York, Lindisfern, and Hagulsted; sometimes none

* Sir Henry Spelman's "Councils," p. 1904, &c.

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at all, living many years together in exile. And, indeed, he continued not long in York; but, being expelled thence again, was for a time made bishop of Leicester. Nor was the king of Northumberland content with his bare expulsion, but also he would have him confess the same legal, and resign it according to the late decrees which the archbishop of Canterbury had made against him. But more hereof, God willing, in the next century.

SECTION III.

THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

THOMÆ ADAMIDI, SENATORI LONDINENSI, MÆCENATI MEO.

In hâc tantâ rerum vicissitudine, quis, qui te novit, constantiam tuam non suspicit? Undique turbatur; tu interim tibimet ipsi tota tranquillitas, cum Deo, et bonis, et studiis tuis vacas.

Perlegas, quæso, hanc centuriam, vel eo nomine, quod funera tui et mei Bedæ exhibeat: "Tuum" dico, quia haud ita pridem sub auspiciis patronatûs tui, typis Saxonicis pulcherrimus prodiit: "Meum," quo authore (vel potius authoribus) in hoc opere toties usus sum. Pluribus viro occupatissimo molestus esse nolo. Vale.

1. *Wilfride persecuted afresh by Alfride King of Northumberland. A.D.* 701.

Painful Wilfride was no sooner out of one trouble, but he was engaged in another. Hereupon Harpsfield * calls him "the Athanasius of that age;" only, saith he, "that father was persecuted by heretics, and this Wilfride by catholics." He might have added, that Athanasius was troubled for essential and doctrinal truths, whilst Wilfride was vexed about ceremonious and circumstantial matters. And now Alfride, who succeeded Egfride king of Northumberland, powerfully opposed him, being the paramount prince and, in effect, monarch of the Saxon heptarchy. For, as we

* *Hist. Eccles. Angl.* p. 95.

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have noted before, amongst these seven kings, as amongst the planets, there was ever one sun that outshined all the rest. This Alfride, joining with Bertuald archbishop of Canterbury, called a council,* and summoned Wilfride, who appeared there accordingly. But being demanded whether he would obey the decrees of Theodore, late archbishop of Canterbury, he warily returned, that he was willing to obey them so far as they were consonant to the holy canons.† This answer was not satisfactory to his adversaries, as having in it too little of a grant to please them, and yet not enough of a denial to give them a just offence. Then they sought by fair means to persuade him, because much trouble had arisen in the church about him, voluntarily to resign under hand and seal his possessions and archbishopric; affirming, it would be a glorious act to prefer the public good before his private profit. But Wilfride persisted loyal to his own innocence, affirming such a cession might be interpreted a confession of his guiltiness; and appealed from that council to his Holiness; and this tough old man, being seventy years of age, took a journey to Rome, there to tug it out with his adversaries.

2, 3. *Wilfride appealeth to Rome, and is acquitted. A.D.* 705. *He is at last restored, and dieth in Peace.*

They accused him of contumacy, that he had contemptuously denied canonical obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury. He cleared himself, and complained that he had been unjustly deprived, and that two monasteries of his own founding, Ripon and Hexham, were violently detained from him. No fewer than seventy several councils‡ (understand them so many several meetings of the conclave) were assembled in four months, and employed only or chiefly about deciding of this difference. Belike, there were intricacies therein more than are specified in authors, (knots to employ so many cunning fingers to untie them,) or else the court of Rome was well at leisure. The sentence of pope John VII. passed on his side; and his opposers were sent home with blame and shame, whilst Wilfride returned with honour, managing his success with much moderation; equally commendable, that his innocence kept him from drooping in affliction, and his humility from insulting in prosperity.

Bertuald, archbishop of Canterbury, humbly entertained the pope's letters in behalf of Wilfride, and welcomed his person at his return. But Alfride, king of Northumberland, refused to re-seat him in his bishopric, stoutly maintaining, that "it was

* Malmesb. *De Gestis Pont.* lib. iii. † See sir Henry Spelman *in Conciliis, anno* 701. ‡ *Septuaginta conciliabula coacta.*—Malmesbury, *ut prius.*

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against reason to communicate with a man twice condemned by the council of England, notwithstanding all apostolic commands in favour of him." * But soon after he fell dangerously sick,—a consequent of, and therefore caused by, his former stubbornness; as those that construe all events to the advantage of the Roman see, interpret this a punishment on his obstinacy. Suppled with sickness, he confessed his fault; and so Wilfride was restored to his place: whose life was like an April-day, (and a day thereof is a month for variety,) often interchangeably fair and foul; and, after many alterations, he set fair in full lustre at last. Being forty-five years a bishop, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, he died, and was buried in his monastery at Ripon. And as he had been a great traveller when living, so his bones took one journey after his death, being translated, by Odo archbishop of Canterbury,† from Ripon to Canterbury; in reparation, perchance, for those many wrongs which the predecessors of Odo had done to this Wilfride. Let not therefore the papists vaunt immoderately of the unity of their church, neither let them uncharitably insult on our unhappy differences; seeing, by the confession of their own authors, there was *digladiabile odium*, "hatred," as one may say, "even to daggers' drawing," betwixt Wilfride and certain principal persons, conceived signal for sanctity in that age, and since put into the "Calendar of their Saints." And it is as sure as sad a truth, that as long as corruption resides in the bosoms of the best, there will be dissensions inflamed by malicious instruments, betwixt pious people, who otherwise agree in main matters of religion.

4. *Sherborne taken out of Winchester Bishopric.*

The bishopric of Sherborne was taken out of the bishopric of Winchester by king Ina, and Adelme his kinsman made first bishop thereof. I find no compensation given to the see of Winchester for this great canton cut out of it; as, in after-ages, when Ely was taken out of Lincoln diocess, the manor of Spaldwick in Huntingdonshire was given by king Henry I. to Lincoln, in reparation of its loss, for so much of the jurisdiction taken from it. But at this time, when Sherborne was parted from Winchester, the damage to Winchester, accruing thereby, was not considerable; episcopal jurisdiction in that age not being beneficial, but rather burdensome. So that Winchester might turn her complaints into

* *Contra rationem, homini jam bis a toto Anglorum consilio damnato, propter quælibet apostolica scripta communicare.*—MALMESBURY *De Gestis Pontificum*, lib. iii.
† GODWIN, in his Catalogue of the archbishops of York, p. 11:—*Viri illi quos sanctissimos celebrat antiquitas, Theodorus, Bertualdus, Johannes Beda, et Hilda Abbatissa, digladiabili odio impetierunt Wilfridum Deo acceptissimum.*

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thankfulness, being thus eased of her cumbersome greatness. This Adelme, bishop of Sherborne, was the first of our English nation who wrote in Latin; * and the first that taught Englishmen to make Latin verse, according to his promise:—

Primus ego in patriam mecum modò vita supersit,
Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas.

"If life me last, that I do see that native soil of mine,
From Aon top I'll first with me bring down the Muses nine."

He wrote many works; one of Virginity,† another of the Celebration of Easter; and about this time, the libraries of monasteries began to be replenished with books, many being written in that age.

5. *Multitude of Books created by Mistake.*

By the way, one mistake (I could not have discerned it myself, had not a learned writer‡ discovered it unto me) makes books of this age more numerous, and the kings therein more learned, than indeed they were: namely, because every Latin charter, granted by any king to a monastery, is termed by the Saxon writers, *liber*, or *libellus*, "a book." Wherefore, when they tell us of such-and-such books, made by the Saxon kings; understand we most of them of *their charters of donation*. In which sense king Edgar, who, some two hundred years after this time, founded as many monasteries as weeks in the year, (and, consequently, made as many charters,) was a voluminous writer of no less than fifty-two books. And yet this large acceptation of books will not make up the number which Bale and Pits pretend they have seen in this age: a vanity in them to affect a *title-learning*; (though a stationer's apprentice, after some weeks' experience, might excel them therein;) and the greater, because many imaginary authors, which they make as if they had seen, either were never extant, or long since extinguished.

6. *The Numerosity of noble Saints in this Age.*

But the multitude of books increaseth not our marvel so much as the numerosity of saints, such as they were, in this age; whereof four parts of five (according to the heraldry of such who wrote their Lives) were of royal or noble extraction. It addeth to the wonder, because St. Paul saith, "Not many NOBLE are called;" 1 Cor. i. 26; except any confine that observation of the apostle to times of persecution, whereas Christianity now in England flourished in all peace and prosperity. But, to render their noble parentage at this

* CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Wiltshire. † BEDE. ‡ SPELMAN *in Conciliis*, p. 210.

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time the more probable, know, that, under the Saxon heptarchy, royalty was increased seven-fold in England, which must beget a proportionable multiplication of nobility attending them. Yet, when all is done, as the Jewish Rabbins, on their bare tradition, without ground from scripture, make Ruth the daughter to Eglon, king of Moab, merely to make the descent of their king David from her the more illustrious; so it is suspicious, that, to advance the temporal reputation of these saints, such monks as wrote their Lives causelessly clarified and refined many of their bloods into noble extraction. However, if truly pious indeed, such saints have the best nobility in the scripture-sense: "These were more noble, because they received the word with all readiness of mind," Acts xvii. 11.

7. *St. Guthlake the first Saxon Hermit. A.D.* 708.

Of these noble saints, St. Guthlake, a Benedictine monk, was the first Saxon that professed a hermitical life in England; to which purpose he chose a fenny place in Lincolnshire, called Crowland, that is, "the raw or crude land;" so "raw," indeed, that before him no man could digest to live therein. Yea, the devils are said to claim this place as their peculiar, and to call it "their own land."* Is any place, but the prison of hell, properly theirs? Yet wonder not at their presumption, pretending this spot of ground to be theirs whose impudence durst affirm, that God had given them "all the world, and the glory thereof," Matt. iv. 8. Could those infernal fiends, tortured with immaterial fire, take any pleasure, or make any ease to themselves, by paddling here in puddles, and dabbling in the moist, dirty marshes? However, Guthlake took the boldness to "enter common" with them, and erect his cell in Crowland. But if his prodigious Life may be believed, ducks and mallards do not now flock thither faster in September, than herds of devils came about him; all whom he is said victoriously to have vanquished. But, whom satan's power could not foil, his policy had almost destroyed, by persuading Guthlake to fast forty days and nights together, after the example of Moses and Elias:† till, finding this project destructive to nature, he was forced, in his own defence, to take some necessary but very sparing refection. He died in his own cell; and Pega, his sister, an anchoritess, led a solitary life, not far from him.

8. *A swinish Conceit of a Monk.*

Eoves also, a poor, plain man, was eminent in this age: a shepherd, say some; a neatherd, others; swineherd, say the third sort,

* *Flores Sanctorum*, written by JEROME PORTER, in the Life of St. Guthlake, p. 349.
† *Idem*, p. 347.

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and that most probable. For whilst he lived in Worcestershire, not far from the river Avon, the virgin Mary is said to have appeared unto him, even where (farewell all good tokens!) "he found a lost sow with seven pigs sucking upon her;"* and to have given order, that in that very place a monastery should be erected to her honour. The beastly monk, who made this vision, had even learned as far as Virgil's Æneids; whence he fetched the platform of this pretty conceit, a place, so marked, being foretold fortunate to Æneas, to found Alba (near Rome)† therein.

Litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus,
Triginta capitum fœtus enixa, jacebit
Alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati:
Hic locus urbis erit, requies ubi certa laborum.‡

"Where under oaks on shore there shall be found
A mighty sow, all white, cast on the ground,
With thirty sucking-pigs; that place is 'sign'd
To build your town, and ease your wearied mind."

Here the monk, *mutatis mutandis*, (but, principally, shrinking the number of the pigs from thirty to seven, as more mystical,) applies the apparition to his purpose. A pretty parallel, that Pagan Rome, and popish superstition, (if hue-and-cry should be made after them,) might be discovered by the same marks! This gave the first motion to the foundation of Evesham abbey, (so called from Eoves aforesaid,) first built in that sow-place.

9. *The first Synod for Image-worship in England. A.D.* 709.

But the building thereof was hastened by a second, more neat and cleanly, apparition of the virgin Mary in the same place; who is pretended to have showed herself, with two maiden attendants, to Egwin, bishop of Worcester, prompting him to expedite a structure therein.§ Egwin posts presently to Rome, and makes faith of this vision to Constantine the pope; who, convinced in his judgment of the truth thereof, dispatcheth his commands to Brightwall, archbishop of Canterbury, to assemble a synod at Alncester [Alcester] in Worcestershire, to promote the building of an abbey in that place: which was done accordingly, and the same was bountifully endowed by Offa, and other Mercian kings, with very large revenues. And not long after, another synod, saith my author,‖ was called at London, to introduce into England the doctrine of image-worship, not heard of before, and now first beginning to appear in the public practice thereof.

* GODWIN *in Catalogo Episcoporum*, p. 501. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 407.—EDIT. ‡ *Æneidos* lib. iii. 390—393. § See SIR HENRY SPELMAN'S "Councils," p. 210. ‖ MAGDEBURGENSES *Cent. sed ex recentioribus authoribus, viz. Nauclero, et Balæo.*

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10. *Binnius and Baronius sullen, and why.*

Here we expected that Binnius and Baronius, two of the Romish champions, should have been both joyful at and thankful for this London synod, in favour of image-worship,—a point so beneficial to the popish coffers. But behold them, contrary to our expectation, sad and sullen! insomuch as they cast away the credit of this synod, as of no account, and disdain to accept the same. For, say they, long before, by Augustine the monk, worship of images was introduced into England. But let them show us when and where the same was done. We deny not but that Augustine brought in with him, in a banner, the image of Christ on the cross,* very lively depictured; but this makes nothing to the worshipping thereof. Vast the distance, in their own nature, betwixt the historical *use* and *adoration* of pictures; though, through human corruption, the former, in after-ages, hath proved introductory to the latter. Nor was it probable, that Augustine would deliver doctrine point-blank against Gregory that sent him, who most zealously inveigheth against all worshipping of images.† Wherefore, let Binnius and Baronius make much of this London synod for image-worship, or else they must be glad to accept of later councils in England to prove the same, seeing before this time none can be produced tending thereunto.

11. *The Miracle-working of St. John of Beverley.* *A.D.* 718.

Now also flourished another noble-born saint, namely, John of Beverley, archbishop of York, a learned man, and who gave the education to one more learned than himself, I mean, Venerable Bede.‡ Now, though John Baptist did none, John x. 41, yet John of Beverley is said to have done many miracles. But, did not the monk over-do, who reports, in his relation, that this John of Beverley, by making the sign of the cross on a dumb youth, with a scald head, not only restored him to speech and a head of hair, but to eloquent discourse and brave curled locks?§ Some years before his death, he quitted his archbishopric, and retired himself to his monastery at Beverley, where he died; and which afterwards king Athelstan made (I will not call it "a sanctuary," because unhallowed with the largeness of the *liberties* allowed thereunto, but) a place of refuge for murderers and malefactors: so that the *freed-stool* in Beverley became "the seat of the scornful;" and such heinous offenders as could recover the same, did therein securely defy all legal prosecution against them.

* See our second book, cent. vi. parag. 10. p. 84. † In his epistle *ad Serenum Massiliensem.* ‡ Bede acknowledgeth that he received the order of priesthood from him. § "Flowers of the Lives of English Saints," p. 416.

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12. *Kings and Queens turn Monks and Nuns.*

About this time it grew fashionable with kings and queens in England to renounce the world, and turn monks and nuns, commonly in convents of their own foundation. Surely, it is not only lawful, but commendable, for men to leave the world before it leaveth them, by "being crucified thereunto, and using it as if they used it not," Gal. vi. 14. But let others dispute, whether this properly be renouncing the world,—for Christians to bury their parts and persons in a cloister, which, put forth to the bank, would turn to good account for church and commonwealth. David, I dare say, as holy a man as any of these, lived a king, and died a king. The swaying of his sceptre did not hinder the tuning of his harp; his dignity being no impediment to his devotion. And whilst these kings, turning monks, pretended to go out of the world, a world of spiritual pride and superstition went into them, if (as it is too, too suspicious) they had a high opinion to merit heaven thereby.

13. *King Ina's Fine and Rent to the Church. A.D. 726.*

Amongst the Saxon princes who thus renounced the world, in this and the next century, these nine following were the principal:—(1.) Kinigilsus, king of West Saxons; (2.) Ina, king of West Saxons; (3.) Ceolwolfus, king of Northumberland; (4.) Edbertus, king of Northumberland; (5.) Ethelredus, king of Mercia; (6.) Kenredus, king of Mercia; (7.) Offa, king of East Saxons; (8.) Sebbi, king of East Saxons; (9.) Sigeburtus, king of East Angles. Of all whom, king Ina was paramount for his reputed piety; who, accounting himself to hold all that he had of God, his Landlord-in-chief, paid not only a great fine, but settled a constant rent on the church, then accounted the receiver-general of the God of heaven. *Great fine*—For, beside his benefaction to other, he bestowed on the church of Glastonbury two thousand six hundred forty pounds' weight,* in the utensils thereof, of massy gold and silver. So that while some admire at his bounty, why he gave so much; others wonder more at his wealth, how he got so much; being in that age wherein such dearth of coin, and he (though, perchance, the honorary monarch of England) but the effectual king of the West Saxons. The "constant rent" he settled were the Peter-pences to the pope of Rome,† to be paid out of every fire-house in England, (a small sum in the single drops, but swelling great in the general channel,) which, saith Polydore Virgil, this king Ina began in England. I say Polydore Virgil, (and let

* Sir Henry Spelman in his "Councils," p. 229. † *Antiq. Brit.* fol. 58.

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every artificer be believed in his own art,) seeing, as he confesseth, this place was his first preferment in England, which brought him over to be the pope's publican, or collector of that contribution. Afterwards this king went to Rome, and there built a school for the English, and a church adjoining unto it, to bury their dead.

14. *Winnifride, an Englishman, converteth the Germans. A. D. 730.*

But, if my judgment mistake not, Winnifride, an Englishman, was better employed; being busied, about this time, to convert to Christ the provinces of Franconia and Hessia in Germany. True it is, the English were indebted to the Dutch, [Germans,] from them formerly deriving their original, by natural generation; and now none will censure them for incest, if the son begat his parents; and this Winnifride, descended from the Dutch, was an active instrument of their regeneration.

15. *Bede, though sent for, went not to Rome.*

Now, although many in this age posted from England to Rome, possessed with a high opinion of the holiness thereof; yet, sure I am, one of the best judgment (namely, Venerable Bede) was often sent for, by pope Sergius himself, to come to Rome; yet, for aught we can find, never went thither: which, no doubt, he would not have declined, if sensible of any transcendent sanctity in that place, to advantage the dwellers therein the nearer to heaven. This Bede was born in the kingdom of Northumberland, at Girwy,* now Yarrow, in the bishopric of Durham, brought up by St. Cuthbert; and was the profoundest scholar in his age, for Latin, Greek, philosophy, history, divinity, mathematics, music, and what not. Homilies of his making were read in his life-time in the Christian churches; a dignity afforded to him alone. We are much beholden to his Ecclesiastical History, written by him, and dedicated to Ceolwolfus king of Northumberland. A worthy work, indeed; though, in some respect, we could heartily wish that his faith had been less, and his charity more. *Faith less*—In believing and reporting so many prodigious miracles of the Saxons; except any will say, that this in him was not so much *vitium hominis* as *seculi*. *Charity more*—I mean to the Britons, being no friend to them, and over-partial to his own countrymen, slightly and slenderly touching British matters, only thereof to make a pedestal, the more fairly to rear and advance his Saxon History thereupon.

* CAMDEN'S "Britannia," p. 743.

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16. *Bede probably went out of his Cell.*

Some report, that Bede never went out of his cell, but lived and died therein. If so, the scholars of Cambridge will be very sorry, because thereby deprived of their honour, by Bede's living once in their university; whose house they still show, betwixt St. John's college and Round-church, or St. Sepulchre's. Surely, Bede was not fixed to his cell, as the cockle to his shell; seeing no observance of his Benedictine Order imposed such a penance upon him. Indeed, his own words, in the end of his book, give some countenance to their conjecture of his voluntary confinement, speaking of himself, *Cunctum tempus vitæ in ejusdem monasterii habitatione peragens.* But his expression imports only his general residence therein, that he was no gadder abroad, or discontinuer from his convent, for a long time; though he might, for some short space, make his abode elsewhere. Thus, when of the prophetess it is said, "that she departed not from the temple," Luke ii. 37; we understand it not so as if she never went out thereof, but that, for the main, she spent the most of her time therein.

17. *Bede, why surnamed* VENERABILIS.

He is generally surnamed *Venerable;* but why, authors differ therein. Some say, a dunce-monk, being to make his epitaph, was non-plussed to make that dactyle, which is only of the quorum in the hexameter, and therefore at night left the verse thus gaping,—

Hic sunt in fossâ Bedæ ——— ossa;

till he had consulted with his pillow, to fill up the hiatus. But, returning in the morning, an angel (we have often heard of their singing, see now of their poetry!) had filled up the *chasma* with *Venerabilis.* Others, disclaiming this conceit, assign this reason: Because Bede's Homilies were, as aforesaid, read in all churches in his life-time,* plain Bede was conceived too little, and saint Bede too much; because, according to popish (but not St. Paul's) principles, *saint* is too much flattery to be given to any whilst alive; Solon allowing none *happy*, and this mine author none, in this degree, *holy*, before their death, Wherefore, *Venerable* was found out as an expedient to accommodate the difference, luckily hitting the mark, as a title neither too high nor too low; just even to so good a man and great a scholar, whilst alive. This is observable in all those who have written the Life of Bede,—that whereas such Saxon saints as had not the tenth of his sanctity, nor hundredth part of his learning, are said to have wrought miracles *ad lectoris*

* *Flores Sanctorum*, in the Life of Bede, p. 528.

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nauseam; not one single miracle is reported to have been done by Bede. Whereof, under favour, I conceive this the reason: Monks, who wrote the Lives of many of their saints, knew little more of many of them than their bare names, and times wherein they lived; which made them *historiæ vacua miraculis supplere*, "to plump up the hollowness of their history with improbable miracles," swelling the bowels of their books with empty wind, in default of sufficient solid food to fill them. Whereas Bede's Life affording plenty and variety of real and effectual matter, the writer thereof (why should a rich man be a thief or liar?) had no temptation (I am sure, no need) to farse his book with fond miracles, who might rather leave than lack of material passages therein.

18. *Bede's last Blaze, and the Going-out of the Candle of his Life. A.D. 734.*

One of the last things he did was the translating of the Gospel of St. John into English. When death seized on him, one of his devout scholars, whom he used for his secretary or amanuensis, complained, "My beloved master, there remains yet one sentence unwritten." "Write it, then, quickly," replied Bede, and summoning all his spirits together, like the last blaze of a candle going out, he indited it, and expired. Thus, God's children are immortal while their Father hath any thing for them to do on earth; and death, that beast, cannot "overcome and kill them, till first they have finished their testimony," Rev. xi. 7; which done, like silkworms, they willingly die when their web is ended, and are comfortably entombed in their own endeavours. Nor have I aught else to observe of Bede, save only this: A foreign ambassador, some two hundred years since, coming to Durham, addressed himself first to the high and sumptuous shrine of St. Cuthbert, "If thou beest a saint, pray for me;" then, coming to the plain, low, and little tomb of Bede, "Because," said he, "thou art a saint, good Bede, pray for me."

19. *The general Viciousness of the Saxons, how occasioned. A.D. 735.*

Now began the Saxons to be infected with an universal viciousness. The cause whereof was, Ethelbald, king of Mercia, contemned marriage; and though abstinence from it, in some cases, may be commendable, the contempt thereof always is dangerous,—yea, damnable, as it proved in him. For his unlawful lust made no difference of places or persons, castles or cloisters: common kerchief or nuns' vail, all came alike to him. But O the legislative power which is in a great prince's example! His subjects presumed they

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might, not only *impunè* but *legitimè*, follow his precedent; which made the land swarm with wickedness.

20. *The Effect of Boniface's Letter to the King of Mercia.*

This caused the letter of Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, (an Englishman born, and lately very eminent for converting the Germans to Christianity,) to king Ethelbald; wherein he observed the prudent method of St. Paul to the Corinthians. As the apostle first commended them,—"I praise you, brethren, that you remember me in all things," &c., 1 Cor. xi. 2, 22,—so he began with a large encomium of king Ethelbald's charity and bountiful almsgiving. Hence, seasonably, he descended to his faults: "Shall I praise you in this? I praise you not;" and soundly and roundly told him of his notorious incontinency; proving, both by scripture and reason, the heinousness of that sin, and heavy judgments of God upon it. In fine: this wrought so far on the king's good nature, that he not only reformed himself, but, with Cuthbert archbishop of Canterbury, called a solemn synod at Cloves-Ho, or Clives-at-Ho, for the reformation of others, A.D. 747.

21. *Cliff in Kent probably the ancient Cloves-Ho.*

But where this Cloves-Ho should be, authors make much inquiry. It is generally conceived the same with Cliff, near Gravesend, in Kent. Though a learned author * will hardly consent thereunto; and his intimations to the contrary are of no great validity. For, whereas he allegeth, that this Cliff is in Kent, whilst Ethelbald, who called this synod, was king of Mercia; he minded not, mean time, (what, no doubt, he knew well,) that this Ethelbald is styled, in the letter of Boniface,† archbishop of Mentz, unto him, *inclyta Anglorum imperii sceptra gubernans*, "ruling the famous sceptre of the English empire." And whereas he objecteth, "the site of that place inconvenient for such an assembly;" it seems fit enough, (though confessed dirty in winter, and unhealthy at all times,) for the vicinity thereof to London and Canterbury,—the residing places of the king and archbishop, the two persons in this synod most concerned.‡ Nor doth the modern meanness of the place make any thing against it; it might be a gallant in that age, which is a beggar now-a-days. And though, we confess, there be many Cliffs in the inland shires, (properly belonging to Mercia,) yet the addition of *ho*, or *haw*, speaketh the maritime positure thereof. So

* CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Kent. † Extant in SIR HENRY SPELMAN'S "Councils," p. 233. ‡ "Cliff-at-Hoo," says Rapin, "is a town on a rock near Rochester. But the presence of the king of Mercia at this and some other councils, held at Cloveshoo, makes it supposed that it is the same with Abingdon in Berkshire, about the middle of the nation, anciently written *Shovesham*."—EDIT.

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that Clives-Ho, or Haw,* seems to be a cliff near the sea, well agreeing to the situation of Cliff in Kent aforesaid.

22. *The chief Canons of this Synod.*

But the acts of this synod are more certain than the place thereof; being generally accounted one-and-thirty canons, although some small variation in their number and order, all extant at large in Malmesbury; † and of which we take notice of these four as of most concernment:—

(1.) "That the priests 'learn, and teach to know,'‡ the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and words of Consecration in the Mass," or Eucharist, "in the English tongue."—It seems learning then ran low, that the priests themselves had need to learn them; yet ignorance was not then so high but that the people were permitted to be taught them.

(2.) "That the Lord's day be honourably observed."—We understand it not so as if the sanctity of that day depended only upon ecclesiastical constitutions, or that the command thereof in scripture is so infirm, in point of right to oblige men's consciences, that it needs the title of man's power, *ad corroborandum:* only, human authority was here cast in as over-weight, for the better observation of the day; carnal men being more affected and affrighted with corporal penalties of man's inflicting, (as nearer unto them,) than with eternal punishments, which Divine justice, at distance, denounceth against them.

(3.) "That the sin of drunkenness be avoided, especially in the clergy."—Indeed, it was high time to suppress that sin, which was grown so rife that (as Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, doth observe in his letter to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury)§ the English bishops were so far from punishing it, that they were guilty of the same. Moreover, he addeth, *Ebrietas speciale malum nostræ gentis; hoc nec Franci, nec Galli, nec Longobardi, nec Romani, nec Græci faciunt:* "Drunkenness is a special evil of our nation;" (namely, of the Saxons, of which country this Boniface was a native;) "for neither Franks, nor Gauls, nor Lombards, nor Romans, nor Greeks," (understand him, anciently, for we know the modern proverb, of *a merry Greek,*) "are guilty thereof."

(4.) "That prayers be publicly made for kings and princes."—An excellent canon indeed, because canonical scripture, and long before made by St. Paul himself: "I exhort, therefore, that supplications be made for all men; for kings," &c. 1 Tim. ii. 1.

* Plymouth Haw. See [in] SPEED's "Survey of London," the meaning of Haw.
† *De Gestis Pont.* lib. i. *in Cuthberto.* ‡ *Discant et doceant.*—MALMESBURY.
§ Extant in SIR HENRY SPELMAN's "Councils," p. 241.

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This synod being finished, with the royal assent and all the bishops' subscriptions thereunto, Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, with wonderful celerity, returned the canons concluded therein, by Rinebert his deacon, to Boniface archbishop of Mentz, who was affected with great joy at the sight thereof.

23. *Egbert, Archbishop of York, famous in several Respects.*

At this time flourished Egbert, archbishop of York, famous in his generation for, First, his royal extraction, being brother to Eadbert king of Northumberland; both of them lovingly lying buried together, in the porch of the church of York. For, in that age, the greatest princes' and prelates' corpses came no nearer than the church-porch, and, as I may say, only knocked at the church-doors; though, in after-ages, the bodies of meaner persons were admitted into the church, and buried therein. Secondly. For his procuring the archi-episcopal pall to his see. For, after the departure, or rather the banishment, of Paulinus from York, his successors were content with the plain title of "Bishop," until this Egbert (to do something extraordinary, proportionable to his princely extraction) procured the restitution of his pall, which *ipso facto* re-advanced his church into an archbishopric. Thirdly. For furnishing the same with a plentiful library, highly commended by Alcuinus, in his epistle to Charles the Great, wishing France had the like; which, though exceeding England in paper till of late years, ever came short of it in books. Fourthly. For his canons, for the regulating of his province; whereof one sort is called, "Egbert's Excerptions out of Fathers,"* and is generally good; the other entitled, "Canons for the Remedy of Sin," and are fraught with abundance of abominable beastliness and superstition.

24. *The beastly Canons of Egbert. A.D. 750.*

I will give the reader only a taste (or rather a distaste) of these canons, by which he may guess the rest:—"If a layman hath carnal knowledge of a nun, let him do penance for two years, &c., she three. If a child be begotten betwixt them, then four years: if they kill it, then seven years' penance."† Penance also is provided for bestiality and sodomy, in the same canons. Thus, where God in scripture denounceth death,—"Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," Gen. ix. 6;—they now changed it into penance, and in after-ages commuted that penance into money; so, by degrees, "making the word of God of none effect," by their paltry canons. See we here, also, how forced virginity was the

* At large in SIR HENRY SPELMAN'S "Councils," p. 258. † See SIR HENRY SPELMAN'S "Councils," p. 282.

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mother of much uncleanness; it being applicable to them, what the apostle speaketh of others: "It is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret," Eph. v. 12. And one may justly admire how these canonists, being pretended virgins, could arrive at the knowledge of the criticisms of all obscenity; so that chaste love may lie seven-and-seven years in "the undefiled marriage-bed," and be utterly ignorant what the language of lust meaneth in such filthy canons. Yea, when such love, by the help of an interpreter, shall understand the same, it would blush for shame; were it not that that red would be turned into paleness, as amazed at so horrid uncleanness!

25. *The Charter of Kenulphus to the Abbot of Abingdon. A. D.* 755.

Some five years after, Kenulphus, king of West Saxons, conferred large privileges on the monastery of Abingdon. We will recite so much of this charter * as concerns us, because useful to show the power which kings in that age had in ecclesiastical matters:—

Kenulphus, rex, &c: per literas suas patentes, consilio et consensu episcoporum et senatorum gentis suæ, largitus fuit monasterio de Abbindon in comitatu Barke, ac cuidam Richino tunc abbati monasterii, &c. quandam ruris sui portionem, id est, quindecim mansias in loco, qui a ruricolis tunc nuncupabatur CULNAM, *cum omnibus utilitatibus ad eandem pertinentibus, tam in magnis quàm in modicis rebus, in æternam hæreditatem. Et, quod prædictus Richinus, &c. ab omni episcopali jure in sempiternum esset quietus, ut inhabitatores ejus nullius episcopi aut suorum officialium jugo inde deprimantur; sed in cunctis rerum eventibus, et discussionibus causarum, abbatis monasterii prædicti decreto subjiciantur. Ita quod, &c.*

"Kenulphus, king, &c. by his letters patent, with the advice and consent of the bishops and counsellors of his country, hath given to the monastery of Abingdon in the county of Berks, and to one Richine then abbot of the monastery, &c. a certain portion of his land, that is to say, fifteen mansions, in a place which then of the inhabitants was called *Culnam*, with all profits to the same belonging, as well in great as mean matters, as an inheritance for ever. And, that the aforesaid Richine, &c. should be for ever acquit from all episcopal jurisdiction, that the inhabitants thereof be thenceforth oppressed with the yoke of no bishop or his officials; but in all events of matters, and discussions of causes, they be subject to the decree of the abbot of the aforesaid monastery. So that," &c.

* Cited by Stamford, lib. iii. fol. 111; and this charter was pleaded *primo* Hen. vii fol. 23 and 25.

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From this charter, sir Edward Coke,* the king's attorney, inferreth, that king Kenulphus had ecclesiastical jurisdiction in himself, in that he had power to discharge and exempt this abbot from the jurisdiction of the bishop. Which ecclesiastical jurisdiction was always invested in the imperial crown of England; and therefore the statute made under Henry VIII., concerning the king's spiritual authority, "was not introductory of a new law, but declaratory only of an old."

27. *The Cavils of Parsons against Sir Edward Coke confuted.*

But father Parsons (for he it is who stands under the vizard of the "Catholic Divine," in a book written of set purpose against Master Attorney, in this point) will by no means allow king Kenulphus any ecclesiastical power; but by many fetches seeks to evade so pregnant a proof.

ARGUMENT I.—First he pleadeth,† that "in this charter, Kenulphus did not exempt the abbot from all jurisdiction spiritual of the bishop, but from some temporal interest, or pretence which, perhaps, the bishop of the diocess claimed over the lordship of Culnam."

ANSWER.—*Perhaps*, (commend not his modesty, but thank his guiltiness for his timorous assertion,) saith he: but, how doth this appear? For he bringeth no proof; and, if he affirmeth it on free cost, we can confute it as cheap, by denying it.

ARGUMENT II.—Secondly. Saith he, "The king exempted the abbot, *ab omni episcopali jure*, that is, 'from all right of the bishop,' and not jurisdiction."

ANSWER.—Sharp wit, to cut so small a mote in two parts, for no purpose; seeing, *jus* and *jurisdiction* are often known to import the same sense!

ARGUMENT III.—Thirdly. He objecteth, "The words no way seem fitly to agree to be spoken of the bishop's ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which run thus: 'That the abbot should be quiet from the bishop's right, and that the inhabitants from thenceforward should not be oppressed by the yoke of the bishop's officers.'"

ANSWER.—Why? what incongruity, but that these words may be spoken, as they are, of ecclesiastical jurisdiction? Is the word *yoke* too coarse a phrase to be applied to the bishops' spiritual power, as they sometimes did manage it? I appeal to those who felt it: for no yoke is heavy to him that puts it on, but to those who bear it. Mark, by the way, the word he rendereth *officers*, is in the charter

* His "Reports," part v. fol. 9. † Catholic Divine, *alias* PARSONS, in his Answer to the King's Attorney, pp. 95, 96, &c.

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(not *officiarii*, lay-Latin, but) *officiales*, which is church-language, and the very dialect of the court Christian, and should be translated "officials," to whom bishops committed their spiritual power. But Parsons knew well how to lay his thumb on what he would not have seen.

ARGUMENT IV.—Fourthly. "Howsoever it were, it is manifestly false," saith he, "that this ecclesiastical jurisdiction of king Kenulphus was derived from his crown; it might be, he had it from the pope, which is most likely."

ANSWER.—Which is most unlikely; for no clause in the charter relates to any delegate power; and yet such a passage might easily have been inserted, yea, could not justly have been omitted, if he had claimed his jurisdiction by deputation from the pope.

ARGUMENT V.—Lastly. "Which," he saith, "seemeth to convince the whole matter, and decide the very case: One Rethurus, abbot of Abingdon, went afterwards to Rome, to obtain confirmation of the privileges of his monastery from the see apostolic." *

ANSWER.—What of this? This post-fact of Rethurus argues no invalidity in Kenulphus's former grant, but rather shows the over-officiousness of a pragmatical abbot, who, to ingratiate himself with the pope, craved of him what he had before. Yea, such cunning compliance of the clergy with his Holiness, by degrees, fixed in him a supposed ecclesiastical power paramount, which really he never had, nor rightly ever ought to have.

See here the king's power in church-matters, in conferring ecclesiastical privileges; and this single thread we will twist with another instance, so strong that the Jesuit's art shall be unable to break it in sunder.

27. *Bodies first brought to be buried in Churches. A. D.* 758.

By the constitution of Augustine, first archbishop of Canterbury, confirmed by the authority of Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome, it was decreed, that no corpse, either of prince or prelate, should be buried within the walls of a city, but only in the suburbs thereof; and that alone in the porch of the church, and not in the body. Now Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, having built Christ-church therein, was desirous to adorn it with the corpses of great persons, therein afterwards to be interred. In pursuance of this his design, he durst not adventure on this innovation by his own power, nor did he make his applications to the pope of Rome, (as most proper to repeal that act, which the see apostolic had decreed,) but only addresseth himself to Eadbert, king of Kent, and from

* HARPSFIELD, *Hist. Ang. seculo primo*, cap. 9, *ex Mariano Scoto.*

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him, *partim precario, partim etiam pretio*, "partly praying, partly paying for it," saith my author,* obtained his request. Behold here an ancient church-canon, recalled at the suit of an archbishop, by the authority of a king. This Cuthbert afterwards handseled Christ-church with his own corpse; whose predecessors were all buried in St. Augustine's without the walls of Canterbury. Thus began corpses to be buried in the churches, which, by degrees, brought in much superstition; especially after degrees of inherent sanctity were erroneously fixed in the several parts thereof: the porch saying to the church-yard, the church to the porch, the chancel to the church, the east end to all, "Stand farther off, for I am holier than you." And, as if the steps to the high altar were the stairs to heaven, their souls were conceived in a nearer degree to happiness, whose bodies were mounted there to be interred.

28. *The Occasion of Monks' first drinking of Wine in England.*

About this time the bill of fare of monks was bettered generally in England, and more liberty indulged in their diet. It was first occasioned some twenty years since, when Ceolwolphus, [Ceolulph,] formerly king of Northumberland, but then a monk in the convent of Lindisfern, or Holy Island, gave leave to that convent to drink ale and wine,† anciently confined by Aidan, their first founder, to milk and water. Let others dispute, whether Ceolwolphus thus dispensed with them by his new abbatical or old regal power; which he so resigned, that, in some cases, he might resume it, especially to be king in his own convent. And, indeed, the cold, raw, and bleak situation of that place, with many bitter blasts from the sea, and no shelter on the land, speaks itself to each inhabitant there, "Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake, and thine often infirmities," 1 Tim. v. 23. However, this local privilege, first justly indulged to the monks of Lindisfern, was, about this time, (A.D. 760,) extended to all the monasteries of England; whose primitive over-austerity in abstinence was turned now into a self-sufficiency, that soon improved into plenty, that quickly depraved into riot, and that, at last, occasioned their ruin.

29. *Danes' first Arrival in England.* *A.D.* 789.

This year the English have cause to write with sable letters in their almanack, on this sad occasion,—that therein the Danes first invaded England with a considerable army. Several reasons are assigned for their coming hither, to revenge themselves for some

* THO. SPOT, in his "History of Canterbury." Also *Archiv. Cantuarien.* cited by *Antiq. Brit.* in Cuthbert. † ROGER HOVED. *in parte priori.*

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pretended injuries; though the true reason was, because England was richer and roomier than their own country.

30—32. *Denmark, formerly fruitful, is now become barren of Men. Two Reasons thereof. The Reason of Reasons.*

It is admirable to consider what shoals of people were formerly vented out of Cimbrica Chersonesus, (take it in the largest extent for Denmark, Norway, and Sweden,)* who, by the terrible names of Goths, Ostro-Goths, Visi-Goths, Huns, Vandals, Danes, Normans, over-ran the fairest and fruitfullest parts of Christendom. Whereas now, though for these last three hundred years (the Swedish wars in Germany excepted) that country hath sent forth no visible numbers of people, and yet is very thinly inhabited; so that one may travel some hundreds of miles therein through mere deserts, every man whom he meeteth having a phœnix in his right hand. Yea, so few the natives, that some of their garrisons are manned with foreigners, and their kings fain to entertain mercenary Dutch and Scotch to manage their wars.

Strange, that this country, formerly all on the giving, should now be only on the taking hand. Some impute their modern comparative barrenness to their excessive drinking,† (a vice, belike, which lately hath infected that nation,) drinking themselves past goats into stocks, out of wantonness into stupidity, which by a contracted habit debilitateth their former fruitfulness. Others, more truly, ascribe their former fruitfulness to their promiscuous copulations with women during their Paganism,‡ which are not so numerous since Christianity hath confined them to the marriage of one wife.

If I might speak according to my own profession of a divine, (soaring over second causes in nature,) I should ascribe their ancient populousness to Divine operation. As the widow's oil multiplied till her debts were satisfied, and that effected for which the miracle was intended, which done, the increase thereof instantly ceased; so these northern parts flowed with crowds of people, till their inundations had paid the scores of sinful Christians, and then (the birch growing no more when the wanton children were sufficiently whipped) the procreativeness of those nations presently stinted and abated.

33. *Bad Presages of the Danes' Approach.*

The landing of these Danes in England was ushered with many sad prognostics:§ stars were seen strangely falling from heaven,

* Otherwise, strictly it containeth only part of Denmark, continent to Germany.
† Barclay *in Icon Animarum.* ‡ G. Taylor in his "Chronicle of Normandy."
§ Sim. Dunel., Ranulphus Cestrensis, *et alii.*

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and sundry terrible flames appeared in the skies. From the firing of such extraordinary beacons, all concluded some new enemy was approaching the nation. Serpents were seen in Sussex, and blood rained in some parts of the land. Lindisfern, or Holy Island, was the first that felt the fury of these Pagans; but, soon after, no place was safe and secure from their cruelty; whereof more hereafter.

34. *The archi-episcopal Pall removed to Lichfield. A.D.* 790.

At this time the archbishopric of Canterbury was in part removed to Lichfield, five essential things concurring to that great alteration:—

(1.) The puissance and ambition of Offa, king of Mercia, commanding in chief over England. He would have the brightest mitre to attend the biggest crown.

(2.) The complying nature of pope Adrian; except any will call it "his thankfulness," to gratify king Offa for the large gifts received from him.

(3.) The easy and unactive disposition of Jambert, or Lambert, archbishop of Canterbury: unless any will term it "his policy," that, finding himself unable to resist, (a pope and a prince overmatch for a prelate,) he would not strive to keep what must be taken away from him.

(4.) The commodious situation of Lichfield, almost in the navel of the land: and where should the highest candlestick stand (the metropolitan cathedral) but in the midst of the table? whereas Kent itself was but a corner, (whence it taketh its name,) and Canterbury seated in the corner of that corner, a remote nook thereof.

(5.) The antiquity of Lichfield in Christianity, where the British church suffered a massacre from the Pagans three hundred years before St. Augustine's coming to Canterbury;* witness the name of the place, being another Helkath-hazzurim, or "field of strong men," 2 Sam. ii. 16, where so many worthies died for the testimony of the truth.

On these and other considerations, Aldulph was made the first (and last) archbishop of Lichfield, (though others make Humbert and Higbert his successors in that dignity,) and six suffragans, (namely, Worcester, Hereford, Leicester, Sidnacester, Helmham, and Dunwich,) subjected to his jurisdiction. Yet was not the archi-episcopal see removed, as some seem to conceive, but communicated to Lichfield; Canterbury still retaining its former dignity, and part of its province; the bishops of London, Rochester, Winchester, and Sherborne continuing still subject unto him.

* *Vide supra*, cent. iv. parag. 8.

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35. *St. Alban's Body enshrined. A.D.* 793.

King Offa having settled an archbishopric at Lichfield, his next design was to enshrine the corpse of St. Alban; five hundred and seven years had passed since his death and plain burial.* For, as John Baptist, the last martyr before Christ, and St. Stephen, the first martyr after him, were fairly interred by their friends and followers, without any more ado; so the corpse of St. Alban was quietly committed to the earth, and there some centuries of years peaceably reposed. But now Offa, they say, was admonished, in a vision, to bestow more public sepulture upon him. A star, we know, directed to the place of Christ's birth; whereas a bright beam,† say the monks, discovered the place of St. Alban's burial: a beam, suspected by some, shot by him who can turn himself into an angel of light, because gaining so much by their superstition. Then was Alban's body in pompous manner taken up, enshrined, and adored by the beholders. No wonder, then, if the Danes now invaded the dominions of the English; seeing the English invaded the prerogative of God, diverting the worship, due to him alone, to the rotten relics of dead men; and henceforth the old Romans' city of Verulam lost its name under the new Saxon town of St. Alban's.

36. *Peter-pence re-confirmed to Rome. A.D.* 794.

King Offa went to Rome, and there confirmed and enlarged to pope Adrian the gift of Peter-pence, what Ina king of the West Saxons had formerly bestowed. For this favour the pope granted him, that no Englishman for penance imposed should be banished out of his own country.

37. *Gift no Debt.*

But bold beggars are the bane of the best bounty, when grown so impudent that what at first was given them for alms, in process of time they challenge for rent. Some call this a tribute (badge of subjection) of England to the see of Rome; among whom is Polydore Virgil, once collector of those Peter-pence in England. But blame him not for magnifying his own office; who, had he owned this money (as indeed it was) given in *frank-almonage*, had then appeared no better than a genteel beggar, whereas now he hopes to advance his employment to a nobler notion.

38. *The royal Foundation of St. Alban's Abbey. A.D.* 795.

Offa, having done all his work at Rome,—namely, procured the canonization of St. Alban, the absolution of his own sins and

* *Vitæ Offæ Secundi*, annexed to the new edition of M. PARIS, p. 28. † *Ibid.* p. 26.

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many murders, and visited and endowed the English college there, —returned home, fell to found the monastery of St. Alban's, bestowing great lands and liberties upon it; as freeing it from the payment of Peter-pence, episcopal jurisdiction, and the like. This is alleged and urged by our *regians* to prove the king's paramount power *in ecclesiasticis;* seeing none can give, save what they are formally or eminently possessed of. And whereas papists plead that Offa had fore-requested the granting of these privileges from the pope; no mention at all thereof appears in the charter of his foundation,* (here too large to insert,) but that all was done by his own absolute authority. Next year Offa ended his life; buried at Bedford, on that token,—that the river Ouse, swelling on a sudden, swept his corpse clean away.

39. *Canterbury recovereth its former Dignity. A.D. 799.*

Offa being dead, down fell the best pillar of Lichfield church, to support the archi-episcopality thereof. And now Canterbury had got Athelard, a new archbishop, who had as much activity to spare, as his predecessor Lambert is said by some to want. Wherefore, he prevailed with Kenulph king of Mercia, and both of them with Leo the new pope, to restore back the archi-episcopal see to Canterbury; as in the next century was perfectly effected.

40. *Learned Alcuinus confuteth Image-worship.*

We will conclude this century with two eminent men, (to leave at last a good relish in the memory of the reader,) now flourishing therein. The one, Alcuinus, or Albinus; it being questionable, whether he were more famous for Venerable Bede, who was his master, or Charles the Great, who was his scholar; whilst it is out of doubt, that he is most honoured for his own learning and religion. And because Englishmen may be presumed partial in the praise of an Englishman, hear what a character a learned foreigner gives of him:† *Vir in divinis scriptis eruditissimus, et in sæcularium literarum peritiâ nulli suo tempore secundus, carmine excellens et prosâ.* But he got himself the greatest credit by opposing the canons of the second Nicene council, wherein the superstitious adoration of images was enjoined.‡ These canons, some seven years since, were sent by Charles the Great to king Offa, to be received of the English; who, notwithstanding, generally distasted and rejected them, the aforesaid Alcuinus writing a learned epistle against the same. He was fetched by Charles, his scholar, calling

* Amongst SIR THO. COTTON'S Manuscripts, and is exemplified in WEAVER'S "Funeral Monuments," p. 99. † TRITHEMIUS ABBAS, *lib. De Script. Ecclesiasticis*, fol. 61. ‡ R. HOVEDEN, *Annal.* part i. p. 405.

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him his "delicious master;" where he first founded the university of Paris, and died abbot of St. Martin's in Tours.

41. *Egbert the first fixed Monarch of England.* *A.D.* 800.

The other was Egbert, who in this very year made himself sole monarch of England. True it is, in the Saxon heptarchy there was generally one who out-powered all the rest. But such monarchy was desultory and movable, sometimes the West Saxon, sometimes the Mercian, sometimes the Northumberland, king ruled over the rest. But henceforward Egbert fixed the supreme sovereignty in himself and his posterity: for though afterwards there continued some other petty kings, as Kenulph king of Mercia, &c., yet they shined but dimly, (as the moon when the sun is risen,) and in the next age were utterly extinguished. So that hereafter we shall double our files, and for the better regulating of time, next the column of the year of our Lord, add another of the reign of our English kings.*

SECTION IV.

THE NINTH CENTURY.

TO MR. WILLIAM AND MR. ROBERT CHRISTMAS, MERCHANTS, OF LONDON.

You are both brethren by birth, and by your joint bounty on my endeavours. It is therefore pity to part you. May no other difference be in your hearts, than what heraldry allows in your arms, only to distinguish the age of the elder from the younger; that so the memory of your happy father may survive in you his hopeful children!

1. *The Archbishopric restored to Canterbury at the Instance of King Kenulph.* 1 Egbert. *A.D.* 801.

THEN Kenulph, king of Mercia, sent a letter to Leo III., pope, by Æthelard the archbishop, to this effect:—That whereas the metropolitan seat, by authority apostolic, was primitively fixed at Canterbury, where the blessed body of Augustine was buried; and whereas lately king Offa, out of opposition to archbishop Lambert,

* In this edition, the alteration is added to the running title on each leaf.—EDIT.

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had removed the same seat to Lichfield, and procured from pope Adrian the same translation to be confirmed; Kenulph* requested his Holiness so far to concur with the general desire of the English nation, as to revoke the act of his predecessor, and restore the archbishopric to its proper place. And knowing that suits in the court of Rome speed no whit the less when accompanied with gifts, he sent his Holiness one hundred and twenty mancuses† for a present. The gift was kindly accepted, the archbishop courteously entertained, the request bountifully granted; and thus the archbishop's see, dislocated, or out of joint, for a time, was by the hands of his Holiness set right again.

2. *The first most formal Subscription in a Synod.* *A.D.* 803.

Æthelard, returning home, called a synod at Clives-Ho, in Kent, not far from Rochester, where, by power from the pope, he riveted the archbishopric into the city of Canterbury, the synod denouncing heavy penalties to any that hereafter should endeavour to divide them; so that it is believed, that the archbishop's see may as easily be wholly dissolved, as hence removed. The subscriptions in this council were the most formal and solemn of any so ancient. The reader will not be offended with their hard names‡ here following, seeing his eye may run them over in perusing them, though his tongue never touch them in pronouncing them.

CANTERBURY:—Æthelard, archbishop; Æthilheah, Feologeld, abbots; Wulfheard, Wernoth, Beornmod, presbyters; Vulfræd, archdeacon.

LICHFIELD:—Adulf, bishop; Higberth, abbot; Lulla, Monn, Wigfreth, Eadhere, Cuthberth, presbyters.

LEICESTER:—Werenberth, bishop; Ealmund, Beomia, Forthrod, Wigmund, priests and abbots; Eadberth, presbyter.

SYDNACESTER:—Eadulf, bishop; Eadred, Dæghelm, priests and abbots; Plegberth, Eadulf, Hereberth, presbyters.

WORCESTER:—Dænebreth, bishop; Higberth, Thineferth, Pega, abbots, and Freothomund, priest and abbot; Coenferth, presbyter.

HEREFORD:—Wulfheard, bishop; Cuthræd, abbot; Srygol, Dygoga, Monn, presbyters; Heathobald, deacon.

SHIREBURN:—Wigberth, bishop; Muda, Eadberth, Beorthmund, abbots.

WINCHESTER:—Almund, bishop; Cuthberth, Mark, Cumba, Lulla, abbots; Northeard, Ungthe, presbyters.

* MALMESBURY *De Gestis Reg.* lib. i. cap. 4. † *Mancusæ, quasi manus cusæ*, a coin about the valuation whereof is much variety [of opinion]. ‡ The original is extant in the Records of Canterbury, copied out by SIR HENRY SPELMAN in his "Councils," p. 325.

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HELMHAM :—Ealheard, bishop; Folcberth, Frithoberth, Eadberth, Vulflab, presbyters; Hunfride, deacon.

DUNWICH :—Fidfrith, bishop; Wulfheard, Lulla, abbots; Ceolhelm, Cynulfe, Tydberth, presbyters; Eadberth, deacon.

LONDON :—Osmond, bishop; Heahstan, Plegberth, abbots; Wigheard, Tidhun, Frithorad, Ethelhelme, presbyters.

ROCHESTER :—Wærmund, bishop; Lullingo, Tuda, Beagnoth, Heathoberth, Wigheard, presbyters.

SELSEY :—Weothun, bishop; Ceolmund, abbot; Dudd, Eadberth, Beorcol, Hethfride,* Cynebald, presbyters.

Being one archbishop; twelve bishops; twenty-six abbots; thirty-nine presbyters; one archdeacon; three deacons: eighty-two, in all.

3. *Some Observables on the Method and Manner of their Meeting.*

Now, to make a short, but necessary, digression: In this synod we may observe, that bishops appeared personally, and the rest of the clergy were represented, monks in their abbots, and the seculars in the priests and deacons of their diocess respectively. Such abbots as in this catalogue have the addition of pr.† were also priests, and so present in a double capacity; though, perchance, they made only use of their abbotship. No deans appear here, as a dignity of far later institution. The bishops, in the order of their subscriptions, seem to observe seniority of their consecrations, and not dignity of their bishoprics; seeing London lags one of the last, to which our church-heralds‡ did afterwards assign the highest place, next the archbishops: only Lichfield may seem to have had the precedency, by the courtesy of the synod, that the lost dignity thereof might be buried in honour, being so lately the seat of an archbishop. Lastly. This was but a provincial council for Canterbury alone; York, with his two suffragans, (Lindisfern and Hexham,) not mentioned in the meeting. Thus, as the anatomy of a little child, representing all parts thereof, is accounted a greater rarity than the skeleton of a man of full stature; so I conceive it more acceptable to the studious in antiquity, to behold the form of these synods, with the distinct members thereof, in the infancy of the Saxon church, than to see a complete council in after-ages, when grown to full perfection.

4. *The Acts of the Council at Celichyth.* *A.D.* 816.

Pass we by some petty synods celebrated in the reign and country of king Kenulph of Mercia. Eminent was the council at Celichyth §

* Doubtful whether priests or deacons. † Here called "priests" unabridged.—EDIT.
‡ HARPSFIELD, *Hist. Ang.* p. 743. § Rapin calls it Calculth or Calchite.—EDIT.

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under Wolfred (who succeeded Æthelard) archbishop of Canterbury. Wherein, amongst other things slight or superstitious, was decreed,

(1.) That the catholic faith should be kept, and ancient canons observed.

(2.) That new churches * should be consecrated with holy-water by their bishops, and the saints somewhere painted therein to whom the same is dedicated.

(3.) That all in Christian charity mutually love one another.

(4.) That abbots and abbesses be blameless persons, chosen by the bishop with the consent of the convent.

(5.) That no Scotchman baptize, or administer the eucharist, in England; it being uncertain whether, or by whom, they are ordained.

We may discover herein some remaining dregs of the long-lasting difference about the celebration of Easter, which made the suspicious English still to harbour a causeless prejudice against the Scotch priesthood.

(6.) That the judicial sentences of bishops in former synods remain ratified; as also all their acts solemnly signed with the cross.

(7.) That no abbey-lands be leased out longer than *in dies et spatium unius hominis*;—that is, as I take it, "for the single life of one man;" except in some case of extremity; "to help against famine, invasion of foes, or for obtaining of freedom."

(8.) That things dedicated to God remain so for ever.

(9.) That the acts of all synods be fairly written out, with the date thereof, and name of the archbishop president, and bishops present thereat.

(10.) That bishops at their death give the full tithe of their goods to the poor, and set free every Englishman who in their lifetime was a slave unto them.

(11.) That bishops invade not the diocess, priests the parish, neither the office, of another; save only when desired to baptize, or visit the sick. The refusers whereof in any place are to be suspended their ministry, till reconciled to the bishop.

(12.) That they pour not water upon the heads of infants, but immerge them in the font, in imitation of Christ; who, say they, was thrice so washed in Jordan.†

But where is this in scripture? The manifestation indeed of the Trinity plainly appears in the text,—Matt. iii. 16, 17; Father in the voice, Son personally present, Holy Spirit in the dove; but as for thrice washing him, *altum silentium!* However, see how our modern sectaries meet popery in shunning it,—requiring the person

* See SIR HENRY SPELMAN in his "Councils," p. 328. † *Idem*, p. 331.

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to be plunged; though critics have cleared it, that *baptize* doth import as well "dipping" as "drenching" in water.

5. *Egbert proclaimed Monarch of England.* A.D. 820.

And now we take our farewell of king Kenulph, who, for all his great bustling in church-matters for the first twenty years in this century, was (as *genus subalternum* amongst the Logicians) a king over his subjects, yet but a subject to king Egbert, who now at Winchester was solemnly crowned monarch of the southern and greater moiety of this island, enjoining all the people therein to term it ENGELOND, (since, England,) that so the petty names of seven former distinct kingdoms might be honourably buried in that general appellation.

6. *Seven Kingdoms swallowed up in Engelond.*

Some will wonder, seeing this nation was compounded of Saxons, Juites,* and Angles, why it should not rather be denominated of the first, as in number greatest, and highest in reputation. Such consider not, that a grand continent in Germany was already named Saxony; and it was not handsome for this land to wear a name at second-hand belonging to another. Besides, England is a name of credit, importing in Dutch the same with "the land of angels."† And now the name, stamped with the king's command, soon became current, and extinguished all the rest. For Kent, Essex, Sussex, Northumberland, though remaining in common discourse, shrunk from former *kingdoms* into modern *counties:* Wessex, Mercia, and East Angles were, in effect, finally forgotten. It will not be amiss to wish, that, seeing so great a tract of ground meets in one name, the people thereof may agree in Christian unity and affections.

7. *Danes disturb King Egbert.* A.D. 831.

King Egbert was now in the exaltation of his greatness. But never will human happiness hold out full measure to man's desire. Freed from home-bred hostility, he was ready to repose himself in the bed of ease and honour; when the Danes not only jogged his elbows, but pinched his sides, to the disturbance of his future quiet. They beat the English in a naval fight at Charmouth in Dorsetshire, which proved fatal to our nation. For an island is never an island indeed, until mastered at sea, cut off from commerce with the continent. Henceforward these Pagans settled themselves in some part of the land, though claiming it by no other title than their own pride and covetousness, and keeping it in no other tenure than that of violence and cruelty.

* The ancient inhabitants of Jutia, or Jutland, in Denmark.—EDIT. † VERSTEGAN, "Of Decayed Intelligence."

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8. *Athelwolphus's universal Grant of Tithes to the Church.*
1 Ethelwulf. *A.D.* 837.

Athelwolphus [Ethelwulph] his son succeeded king Egbert in the throne; a prince not less commended for his valour, than devotion, and generally fortunate in his undertakings; though much molested all his life-time by the Danes. But nothing makes him so remarkable to posterity, as the granting of this charter, or rather the solemn passing of this act ensuing:—

Regnante Domino nostro Jesu Christo, in perpetuum. Dum in nostris temporibus bellorum incendia, et direptiones opum nostrarum, necnon et vastantium crudelissimas depræda tiones hostium barbarorum, Paganarumque gentium multiplices tribulationes ad affligendum usque ad internecionem, cernimus tempora incumbere periculosa.

Quamobrem ego Ethelwolphus, rex Occidentalium Saxonum, cum consilio episcoporum ac principum meorum, consilium salubre, atque uniforme remedium affirmavi: ut aliquam portionem terrarum hæreditariam antea possidentibus omnibus gradibus, sive famulis et famulabus Dei, Deo servientibus, sive laicis, semper decimam mansionem ubi minimum sit, tamen partem decimam in libertatem perpetuam perdonari dijudicavi, ut sit tuta ac munita ab omnibus secularibus servitutibus, necnon regalibus tributis majoribus et minoribus, sive taxationibus, quod nos dicimus WITEREDEN; *sitque libera omnium rerum pro remissione animarum nostrarum ad serviendum Deo soli, sine expeditione, et pontis instructione, et arcis munitione, ut eo diligentiùs pro nobis ad Deum preces sine cessatione fundant, quo eorum servitutem in aliquâ parte levigamus.*

Placuit etiam episcopis Alhstano Schireburensis ecclesiæ, et Swithuno Wintoniensis ecclesiæ, cum suis abbatibus, et servis Dei, consilium inire, ut omnes fratres, et sorores nostræ, ad unamquamque ecclesiam omni hebdomadâ die Mercurii, hoc est Weddenesday, cantent quinquaginta psalmos, et unusquisque presbyter duas missas, unam pro rege Ethelwolpho, et aliam pro ducibus ejus huic dono consentientibus, pro mercede et refrigerio delictorum suorum: et pro rege vivente dicant, OREMUS, DEUS, QUI JUSTIFICAS; *pro ducibus etiam viventibus,* PRÆTENDE, DOMINE: *postquam autem defuncti fuerint, pro rege defuncto singulariter, et pro principibus defunctis communiter. Et hoc sit tam firmiter constitutum omnibus, Christianitatis diebus, sicut libertas illa constituta est, quamdiu fides crescit in gente Anglorum.**

This Athelwolphus was designed by his father to be bishop of Winchester, bred in a monastery, after taken out, and absolved of

* *Ex* INGULPH. *et* MALMESB. *Gest. Reg.* lib. ii. cap. 2.

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his vows by the pope; and, having had church-education in his youth, retained to his old age the indelible character of his affections thereunto. In expression whereof, in a solemn council kept at Winchester, he subjected the whole kingdom of England to the payment of tithes, as by the foregoing instrument doth appear. He was the first *born* monarch of England. Indeed, before his time there were monarchs of the Saxon heptarchy; but not successive and fixed in a family, but fluctuating from one kingdom to another. Egbert, father to this Athelwolph, was the first that achieved this monarchy, and left it to this his son, not *monarcha factus*, but *natus*, and so in unquestionable power to make the foresaid Act obligatory over all the land.

9. *Former Acts for Tithes infirm.*

Indeed, before his time many Acts for tithes are produced, which, when pressed, will prove of no great validity. Such are the imperial edicts in civil law, never possessed of full power in England; as also the canons of some councils and popes, never admitted into plenary obedience by consent of prince and people. Add to these, first, such laws as were made by king Ina and Offa, monarchs indeed of England in their turns, as I may say, but not deriving the same to the issue of their bodies; so that their Acts, as personal, may by some froward spirits be cavilled at, as determining with their own lives. Join to these (if produceable) any provincial constitutions of an English archbishop, perchance, Egbertus of York: those might obey them who would obey, being otherwise not subject to any civil penalty. But now this Act of Athelwolphus appears entire in all the proportions of a law, made in his great council, equivalent to after-parliaments; not only *cum consilio episcoporum*, "with the advice of his bishops," (which easily may be presumed willingly to concur in such a matter of church-advancement,) but also *principum meorum*, "of my princes," saith he; the consent of inferior persons not being required in that age.

10. *Objections against this Act answered.*

However, nothing can be so strong but it may meet with cavils, though not to destroy, to disturb the validity thereof; as this Act hath: and we will severally examine the defects charged upon it.

OBJECTION I.—Some object that "Athelwolphus was but king of the West Saxons, as appears by his style, *Rex Occidentalium Saxonum*, and not 'universal monarch of England,' whose Act only is obligatory to his own subjects. Let those of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Hants, Wilts, and Berks, pay tithes by

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virtue of this command; other parts of the land are freed from the same, because *nihil dat quod non habet*, 'none can derive that to others which they enjoy not themselves;' being king but of a part, he could not lay this law upon all the land."

ANSWER.—He is termed eminently, not exclusively, "king of the West Saxons;" being fondest of that title, as his father's first inheritance, before he acquired the monarchy of the whole land. There were, indeed, at this time two other royalets, as only kings by his leave; namely, Beorred king of Mercia, and Edmond king of East Angles, who, as it plainly appears by Ingulphus,* were present at his council, and consented to the Acts thereof.

OBJECTION II.—"The consideration was superstitious, to say so many masses for the souls of this king and his captains when deceased."

ANSWER.—A double consideration is mentioned in this grant. The First, general: So pious in itself, no exception can be taken thereat; namely, to divert the imminent judgments of God from the land, hourly fearing the invasion of fierce foreign Pagans; so, the better to secure the nine parts thereof to himself and his subjects, by setting apart, resigning, and surrendering a tenth to God, (the Supreme Landlord of all,) in such as attended his daily service. The Second consideration is more restrictive and particular; and resents, indeed, of the ignorance of that age; but yet is proportionable to the best devotion those days produced: and easily may an accidental abuse be purged by the pious use intended, and designed generally to God's glory.

OBJECTION III.—"The king only granted tithes of his own crown-land, *non in dominio sed in dominico suo*, 'not in all his dominions, but only in his demesnes.'"

ANSWER.—There needed no such solemn consent of the council of the land for the passing away of his private bounty. And that the grant extended to the kingdom in general, appears by other authors on the same:† *Adelwolphus decimo-nono anno regni sui, qui totam terram suam ad opus ecclesiarum decimavit propter amorem Dei*, &c. More plainly another author: *In eodem anno decimavit Athulf. rex de omni possessione suâ in partem Domini, et in universo regimine sui principatûs sic constituit.*

11. *Store no Sore.*

Here we insist not on the many arguments out of Old and New Testament, to prove tithes to be *jure Divino;* which in due time may be produced, when all tempests of tumultuous spirits are

* Exemplified in SIR HENRY SPELMAN'S "Councils," p. 348. † HENRY HUNTINGDON, *Hist.* lib. v. p 348.

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allayed, and when—what the town-clerk of Ephesus promised to the citizens thereof—the question may be determined ἐν τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, "in a lawful and ordinary assembly," Acts xix. 39, without fear of force, and suspicion of violence. For, two strings to a bow do not amiss; being no hinderance to the archer for the better hitting of the mark, who may wind up one, and use that for the present which he sees most for his own convenience. Mean time most true it is, that men are not so conscientious to obey the laws of God, as fearful to resist the edicts of men; and therefore (though far be it from the clergy to quit their title to tithes by Divine right) they conceive it the surest way sometimes to make use of human injunctions, as having the most potent influence on men's affections: especially in this age, when the love of many (both to God and goodness) beginneth to wax cold.

12. *A pleasant Passage.*

A reverend Doctor in Cambridge, and afterwards bishop of Salisbury, was troubled, at his small living at Hogginton, with a peremptory Anabaptist, who plainly told him: "It goes against my conscience to pay you tithes, except you can show me a place of scripture whereby they are due unto you." The Doctor returned: "Why should it not go as much against my conscience, that you should enjoy your nine parts, for which you can show no place of scripture?" To whom the other rejoined: "But I have, for MY land, deeds and evidences from my fathers, who purchased and were peaceably possessed thereof by the laws of the land." "The same is my title," saith the Doctor; "tithes being confirmed unto me by many statutes of the land, time out of mind." Thus he drave that nail, not which was of the strongest metal or sharpest point, but which would go best for the present. It was *argumentum ad hominem*, "fittest for the person he was to meddle with;" who afterwards peaceably paid his tithes unto him. Had the Doctor engaged in scripture-argument, though never so pregnant and pertinent, it had been endless to dispute with him who made clamour the end of his dispute, whose obstinacy and ignorance made him uncapable of solid reason; and therefore the worse the argument, the better for his apprehension.

13. *A solid Answer of a learned Serjeant.*

Most solid and ingenious was the answer of a most eminent serjeant-at-law of this age, to the impertinent clamours of such against the payment of tithes, because, as they say, due only by human right: "My cloak is my cloak by the law of man; but he is a thief, by the law of God, that taketh it away from me."

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14. *This Law not presently and perfectly obeyed.*

True it is, that this law did not presently find an universal obedience in all the land. And the wonder is not great if, at the first making thereof, it met with many recusants; since, corroborated by eight hundred years' prescription and many confirmations, it finds obstacles and oppositions at this day: for, in succeeding ages, several kings confirmed the same, though papal exemptions of several Orders, and *modus decimandi* according to custom, have almost since tithed the tithes in some places.

15. *King Ethelwolph's Journey to Rome, and Bounty to the Pope. A.D. 856.*

King Athelwolphus the next year took his—call it "progress" or—"pilgrimage" to Rome: where the report of his piety prevented [preceded] his arrival, and provided both welcome and wonder for his entertainment. Here he confirmed unto the pope his predecessor's grant of Peter-pence, and, as a surplusage, bestowed upon him the yearly revenue of three hundred marks, thus to be expended:—(1.) To maintain candles for St. Peter, one hundred marks. (2.) To maintain candles for St. Paul, one hundred marks. (3.) For a free largess to the pope, one hundred marks.*

16. *How this Sum was divided, and collected out of several Dioceses.*

If any be curious to know how these three hundred marks were in after-ages divided and collected, let them peruse the following account; if the particulars be truly cast up, and (attested to me out of sir Thomas Cotton's library, and, as they say, out of the Vatican itself) be authentical:—

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Canterbury	8	8	0	Winchester	17	6	8
London	16	10	0	Coventry and Lichfield	41	5	0
Rochester	5	12	0	Exeter	9	5	0
Norwich	21	10	0	Worcester	10	5	0
Salisbury	17	0	0	Hereford	6	0	0
Ely	5	0	0	Bath and Wells	12	5	0
Lincoln	42	0	0	York	11	10	0
Chichester	8	0	0				

These sums were demanded by pope Gregory XIII., in the forty-sixth of Edward III., on that token,—that their payment was much opposed by John of Gaunt. I dare not discede from my copy a

* William Malmesbury, *ut prius.*

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tittle, coming, as they say, from the register at Rome: nor will I demand a reason why Durham and Carlisle are here omitted; much less, examine the equity of their proportions, as applied to their respective diocesses; but implicitly believe all done very justly. The reason why the Welsh bishoprics were exempted, is, because, at the grant thereof by king Athelwolph, Wales was not then under his dominion. This three hundred marks was but a distinct payment by itself, and not the whole body of Peter-pence, (amounting to a greater sum,) whereof, God willing, hereafter.

17. *The Saxons wilfully accessory to their own Ruin by the Danes.* 1 Ethelred. *A.D.* 867.

After the death of king Athelwolphus, and his two sons Ethelbald and Ethelbert succeeding him, this land was in a sad condition, though nothing so bad as under the reign of Ethelred his third son and successor: for then, indeed, most miserable was the state of the English, harassed by the Danes, who, like the running-gout, shifted from joint to joint, from place to place; often repelled from the several shires, never expelled out of England. The Saxon folly hurt them more than the Danish fury; refusing effectually to unite, to make a joint resistance against a general enemy. For, some sixty years since, the West Saxons had subdued the other six kings of this nation; yet so, that they still continued kings, but homagers to the West-Saxon monarchy. The shortening of their sceptres stuck in their stomachs, especially of the Mercian and Northumbrian kings, the most puissant of all the rest. Whereupon, beholding Ethelred, the West-Saxon king, (the staff and stay of the whole nation,) embroiled with the invasion of the Danes, they not only lazily looked on, but secretly smiled at this sight, as the only way to conquer the conqueror. Yea, such their envy, that rather than one (once their equal) should be above them in felicity, they all would be equal with him in misery. They would more contentedly be *slaves* to a foreign foe, to whom they all stood unrelated, than *homagers* to him who had, as they thought, usurped dominion over them; never considering, that the Danes were Pagans; (self-interest is deaf to the checks of conscience;) and revenge, which is wild at the best, was so mad in them that they would procure it with the hazard, if not loss, of their God, his church, and true religion. Thus the *height* of the Saxon pride and envy caused the *breadth* of the Danish power and cruelty. Indeed, the foresaid Saxon kings, perceiving their error, endeavoured at last to help the West Saxon (or rather to help themselves in him) against the Danes. But, alas! it was too late. For the Danish garrisons lay so indented in the heart of the land, that the Saxon

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troops were blasted before they could grow into regiments; and their strength, dispersed in the gathering, was routed before regulated into an army.

18. *Fight betwixt Christians and Danes.* *A.D.* 870.

This year the Danes made an invasion into Lincolnshire, where they met with stout resistance; and let us take a list of the chief officers on both sides.

CHRISTIAN SAXONS.

Count Algar, general, with the youth of Holland:* Harding de Rehale, with Stanford men, all very young and valiant: Tolie, a monk, with a band of two hundred Crowlanders: Morcar, lord of Burn, with those of his numerous family: Osgot, sheriff† of Lincolnshire, with five hundred under him: Wibert, living at *Wiberton*, nigh Boston in Holland; Leofrick, living at *Leverton*, anciently *Lefrinkton*;—places named from their owners.

DANISH PAGANS.

King Gordroum, king Baseg, king Osketill, king Halfeden, king Hammend; count Frena, count Unguar, count Hubba, count Sidroke the elder, count Sidroke the younger.

The Christians had the better the first day, wherein the Danes lost three of their kings, buried in a place thence called Trekingham; so had they the second, till at night, breaking their ranks to pursue the Danes in their dissembled flight, they were utterly overthrown.

19. *Crowland Monks massacred.*

Theodore, abbot of Crowland, hearing of the Danes' approach, shipped away most of his monks, with the choicest relics and treasures of his convent, and cast his most precious vessels into a well in the cloister. The rest remaining were at their morning prayers, when the Danes, entering, slew Theodore, the abbot, on the high altar; Asher, the prior, in the vestiary; Lethwin, the sub-prior, in the refectory; Pauline, in the choir; Herbert, in the choir; Wolride, the torch-bearer, in the same place; Grimketule and Agamund, each of them an hundred years old, in the cloisters. These, saith my author,‡ were first *examinati*, "tortured," to betray their treasure, and then *exanimati*, "put to death," for their refusal. The same writer seems to wonder, that, being killed in one place, their bodies were afterwards found in another. Surely, the corpses removed not themselves; but, no doubt, the Danes dragged them from place to place when dead. There was one

* INGULPHI *Hist.* p. 865. † *Vice-dominus.* ‡ INGULPHUS, p. 866.

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child-monk therein, but ten years old, Turgar by name, of most lovely looks and person. Count Sidroke the younger, pitying his tender years, (all devils are not cruel alike,) cast a Danish coat* upon him, and so saved him, who only survived to make the sad relation of the massacre.

20. *Peterborough Monks killed. Monastery burned.*

Hence the Danes marched to Medeshamsted, since called Peterborough; where, finding the abbey-gates locked against them, they resolved to force their entrance; in effecting whereof, Tulba, brother to count Hubba, was dangerously wounded, almost to death, with a stone cast at him. Hubba, enraged hereat, like another Doeg, killed abbot Hedda, and all the monks, being fourscore and four, with his own hand. Count Sidroke gave an *item* to young monk Turgar, (who hitherto attended him,) in no wise to meet count Hubba, for fear that his Danish livery should not be found of proof against his fury. Then was the abbey set on fire, which burned fifteen days together, wherein an excellent library was consumed. Having pillaged the abbey, and broken open the tombs and coffins of many saints there interred, these Pagans marched forwards into Cambridgeshire, and, passing the river Nine, two of their waggons fell into the water, wherein the cattle which drew them were drowned, much of their rich plunder lost, and more impaired.

21. *A Heap of Martyrs.*

Some days after, the monks of Medeshamsted were buried all together in a great grave, and their abbot in the midst of them, a cross being erected over the same; where one may have four yards square of martyrs' dust, which no place else in England doth afford. Godric, successor to Theodore, abbot of Crowland, used annually to repair hither, and to say masses two days together for the souls of such as were entombed. One would think, that, by popish principles, these were rather to be prayed *to*, than prayed *for*; many maintaining that martyrs go the nearest way to heaven, *sine ambage purgatorii*: so that, surely, Godric did it not to better their condition, but to express his own affection, out of the redundancy of his devotion; which others will call "the superfluity of his superstition."

22. *The cruel Martyrdom of King Edmund.*

The Danes spared no age, sex, [or] condition of people; such was the cruelty of this Pagan unpartial sword! With a violent inundation they brake into the kingdom of the East Angles; wasted

* In Latin, *Collobium*.

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Cambridge, and the country thereabouts; burnt (the then city of) Thetford; forced Edmund, king of that country, into his castle of Framlingham; who, perceiving himself unable to resist their power, came forth, and at the village of Hoxon [Hoxne] in Suffolk, tendered his person unto them, hoping thereby to save the effusion of his subjects' blood: where, after many indignities offered unto him, they bound him to a tree; and, because he would not renounce his Christianity, shot him with arrow after arrow; their cruelty taking deliberation, that he might the better digest one pain, before another succeeded, so distinctly to protract his torture, (though confusion be better than method in matters of cruelty,) till not mercy, but want of a mark, made them desist; according to the poet's * expression:—

Jam loca vulneribus desunt, nec dum furiosis
Tela, sed hybernâ grandine plura volant.

"Room wants for wounds, but arrows do not fall
From foes, which thicker fly than winter-hail."

After-ages, desiring to make amends to his memory, so over-acted their part in shrining, sainting, and adoring his relics, at Bury St. Edmund's; that, if those in heaven be sensible of the transactions on earth, this good king's body did not feel more pain from the fury of the Pagan Danes, than his soul is filled with holy indignation at the superstition of the Christian Saxons.

23. *King Ethelbert's Prayer-victory.*

However, the West-Saxon king Ethelbert behaved himself bravely; fighting, with various success, nine battles † against the Danes: though ninety-nine had not been sufficient against so numerous an enemy. But we leave these things to the historians of the state to relate. We read of "a heap of stones," Gen. xxxi. 52, made between Jacob and Laban, with a mutual contract, that neither should pass the same for harm. Thus would I have ecclesiastical and civil historians indent about the bounds and limits of their subjects, that neither injuriously encroach on the right of the other. And, if I chance to make an excursion into the matters of the commonwealth, it is not out of curiosity, or busybodiness, to be meddling in other men's lines; but only in an amicable way, to give a kind visit, and to clear the mutual dependence of the church on the commonwealth. Yet let me say, that this war against the Danes was of church-concernment; for it was as much *pro aris*, as *pro focis*, "as much for religion, as civil interest." But one war must not be forgotten: Importunate messengers brought the tidings, that

* CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in the Description of Suffolk. † WILLIAM MALMESBURY, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, lib. ii. p. 42.

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the English were dangerously engaged with the Danes, at Essendune, (haply, Essenden now, in Surrey,)* and likely to be worsted. King Ethelbert was at his devotions, which he would not omit, nor abbreviate, for all their clamour. No suit would he hear on earth, till first he had finished his requests to heaven. Then, having performed the part of pious Moses in the mount, Exod. xvii. 11, he began to act valiant Joshua in the valley. The Danes are vanquished, leaving posterity to learn,—that time spent in prayer is laid out to the best advantage.

24. *King Ethelbert heart-broken with Grief.* *A.D.* 871.

But, alas! this Danish invasion was a mortal wound, *dedecus Saxonicæ fortitudinis;* the cure whereof was rather to be desired than hoped for. Ease for the present was all art could perform. King Ethelbert saw, that of these Pagans the more he slew, the more they grew; which went to his valiant heart. Grief is a heavy burden; and, generally, the strongest shoulders are able to bear the least proportion thereof. The good king, therefore, withered away in the flower of his age, willingly preferred to encounter rather death than the Danes; for he knew how to make a joyful end with the one, but endless was his contest with the other; according to the observation of the English Historian,† that the Saxon kings, in this age, *magis optabant honestum exitum, quàm acerbum imperium.*

25. *King Alfred's exemplary Character.* 1 Alfred. *A.D.* 872.

In this sad condition God sent England a deliverer, namely, king Alfred, or Alured, born in England, bred in Rome; where, by a prolepsis, he was anointed king by pope Leo, (though then but a private prince, and his three elder brothers alive,) *in auspicium futuri regni*, "in hope that hereafter he should come to the crown." Nor did this unction make Alfred antedate his kingdom, who quietly waited till his aforesaid brothers successively reigned, and died before him, and then took his turn in the kingdom of the West Saxons. The worst was, his condition was like a bridegroom, who, though lawfully wedded, yet might not bed his bride, till first he had conquered his rival; and must redeem England, before he could reign over it. The Danes had London, many of the inland, more of the maritime, towns, and Alfred only three effectual shires,—Somerset, Dorset, and Wilts; yet, by God's blessing on his valour, he got to be monarch of all England. Yea, consider him as a king in his court, as a general in his camp, as a Christian in his closet, as

* Or, according to others, Aston in Berkshire.—EDIT. † MALMESBURIENSIS, *ut prius.*

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a patron in the church, as a founder in his college, as a father in his family,—his actions will every way appear no less excellent in themselves, than exemplary to others.

26. *Alfred, as a Fiddler, discovereth the Danish Designs.* A.D. 876.

His most daring design was, when lying hid about Athelney in Somersetshire, and disguised under the habit of a fiddler, (being an excellent musician,) he adventured into the Danish camp. Had not his spirit been undaunted, the sight of his armed foes had been enough to have put his instrument out of tune. Here going unsuspected through their army, he discovered their condition, and some of their intentions. Some would say, that the Danes deserved to be beaten, indeed, if they would communicate their counsels to a fiddler. But let such know, Alfred made this general discovery of them,—that they were remiss in their discipline, lay idle and careless: and security disarms the best-appointed army. Themistocles said of himself, that he could not fiddle, but he knew how to make a little city great. But our Alfred could fiddle, and make a little city great, too; yea, enlarge a petty and contracted kingdom into a vast and absolute monarchy.

27. *The Danish Ships left water-bound.*

But, as the poets feign of Antæus, the son of the earth, who, fighting with Hercules, and often worsted by him, recovered his strength again every time he touched the earth, [and] revived with an addition of new spirits; so the Danes, which may seem the sons of Neptune, though often beaten by the English in land-battles, no sooner recovered their ships at sea, but, presently recruiting themselves, they returned from Denmark, more numerous and formidable than before. But, at last, (to follow the poetical fancy,) as Hercules, to prevent Antæus's farther reviving, hoisted him aloft, and held him strangled in his arms till he was stark dead, and utterly expired; so, to secure the Danes from returning to the sea, who out of the Thames had with their fleet sailed up the river Lea, betwixt Hertfordshire and Essex, Alfred with pioneers divided the great stream of Lea into several rivulets; so that their ships lay water-bound, leaving their mariners to shift for themselves overland; most of whom fell into the hands of their English enemies: so that this proved a mortal defeat to the Danish insolence.

28. *The general Ignorance in England.*

Alfred—having thus reduced England to some tolerable terms of quiet, made most of the Danes his subjects by conquest, and the

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rest his friends by composition—encountered a fiercer foe, namely, ignorance and barbarism, which had generally invaded the whole nation; insomuch, that he writeth, that, south of Thames, he found not any that could read English. Indeed, in these days all men turned students. But what did they study? Only to live secretly and safely from the fury of the Danes. And now, that the next age might be wiser than this, Alfred intended the founding of an university at Oxford.

29. *Ancient Schools at Crekelade and Lechlade.*

Indeed, there were anciently standing on the banks of Isis, (which in due time commenceth Thamisis,) two towns; one Crekelade, or Greeklade, [Cricklade,] in Wiltshire; the other Lechlade, or Latinlade, in Gloucestershire. In the former of these, many years since, (things "time out of mind" must not be condemned as "time out of truth,") the Greek tongue, as in the latter the Latin tongue, are said to be publicly professed by philosophers. But where was *Hebrew-lade?* the Hebrew tongue being more necessary than both the former for the understanding of the Old Testament. Alas! in this age it was banished, not only out of England, but out of Christendom. As in the ordinary method of nature, the more aged usually die first; so no wonder if Hebrew, generally presumed the oldest language in the world, expired first in this age of ignorance, utterly abolished out of the Western countries. Yea, it is well the other two learned tongues were preserved in these places; Crekelade and Lechlade being then cities of eminent note, shrunk now to mean towns, and content with plain English, where Latin and Greek were formerly professed.*

30. *The University first founded by Alfred at Oxford.* *A.D.* 882.

But now the Muses swam down the stream of the river Isis, to be twenty miles nearer to the rising sun, and were by king Alfred removed from Crekelade and Lechlade, to Oxford, where he founded an university. Yet some say, Alfred did *find* and not

* Heylin says, "There is a common tradition, (amongst the common people,) that Crekelade [Cricklade] was a university of Greek philosophers; Lechlade of *Leches*, or physicians, as the name doth intimate; and Latten, a small village betwixt both, to be the place of study for the Latin tongue. But though the people are mistaken in the etymon of the name of Lechlade, yet are they not so far out, as our author is in making Lechlade or Latinlade to be both the same place and of the same signification; whereas, in truth, that town is so denominated from the river Lech, which, arising in the hills of Cotswold, passeth first by Northlech, from thence to Eastlech," &c. Fuller, in his "Appeal of injured Innocence," (p. 404,) after expressing his obligations for these remarks, subjoins: "My next edition, God willing, shall be reformed accordingly." See also, in this volume, the same subject discussed, p. 114.—EDIT.

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[did] *found* letters therein, seeing there was a sprinkling of students therein before; though learning was very low and little therein, till this considerable accession, when Alfred founded therein three colleges, one for grammarians, a second for philosophers, a third for divines. Take a list of their primitive professors:—In divinity, St. Grimbald, St. Neoth; in grammar, Asserius, a monk; in logic, John of St. David's; in mathematics, Johannes Monachus. It is credibly reported, that what is now called University College was then one of king Alfred's foundations, as the verses written in their hall, under his arms, do attest:—

Nobilis Alfredi sunt hæc insignia, cujus
Primùm constructa est hæc pietate domus.

And from this time learning flourished here in great plenty and abundance, though oft-times abated; the universities feeling the impressions of the commonwealth.

31. *King's Hall founded by King Alfred.*

At the same time wherein king Alfred built University College in Oxford, he also founded another house called King's-great-hall, (intimating a lesser hard by,) now included within the compass of Brasen-nose College.* And hence it is that at this very day it payeth some chief-rent to University College, as the ancient owner thereof. Here he placed Johannes Scotus (highly endeared in this king's affections) reader therein; on the clearing of whose extraction and opinions a long story doth depend.

32. *The Birth-place of Johannes Scotus.*

This Scotus is called Johannes Scotus Erigena, with addition sometimes of Sophista: so that all may amount to a kind of definition of him as to his individual person. Conceive we Scotus for his genus, which because homonymous in that age,† (as signifying both Scotland and Ireland,) *Erigena* is added for his difference, that is, born (as some will have it) in Ireland, called Erin in their own country language.‡ But Dempster, a Scotch writer,§ who will leave nothing that can be gotten above-ground (yea, will dive and dig into the water and land of others) to the credit of his country, claimeth Scotus as born in Scotland, spelling him Airigena, from Aire, a small place therein. But, beside unanswerable arguments to the contrary, "gena" is a termination seldom added to so restrictive a word, but (as Francigena, Angligena) denoteth generally the nation, not petty place, of a man's extraction. As for Dempster, his credit runneth low with me, ever

* *Res Platonicus*, p. 211. † JAC. WARE *De Scrip. Hib.* p. 43. ‡ MERCATOR'S "Atlas," p. 47. § *Eccles. Hist. Scot.* lib. i. num. 64, and lib. ix. num. 104.

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since he made pope Innocentius I. a Scotchman, because calling himself Albanus,—and Scotland, forsooth, is Albania!—it being notoriously known that the said Innocent was born at Long Alba nigh Rome. Yea, Bellarmine himself said, reading the three books of Dempster, wherein he hooketh in so many for his countrymen, that he thought that if he should add a fourth, he would make Jesus Christ himself to be a Scotchman.

33. *Wales's Right to Scotus's Birth.*

All this while Wales stands modestly silent, with intention to put in her claim the last to Scotus's nativity, whom many writers make born at St. David's.* Whilst some will have the epithet of *Erigena* affixed unto him *quasi* ἠρι γινόμενος, "early born," because of the timely rising of his parts (as a morning star) in those dark days; which I can better applaud for an ingenious allusion, than approve for a true and serious assertion. But be Scotus born where he please, most sure it is, by king Alfred he was made a professor of learning in Oxford.

34. "*Scotus*," *saith Caius*, "*studied at Cambridge*."

I confess, Caius maketh this John Scotus scholar to Bede,† (as many good authors also do,)‡ and brought up at Cambridge; to which the sons of our aunt are loath to consent, that one who was taught in Cambridge should teach in Oxford; and their eloquent orator falls very foul§ (save that it is some ease to be railed on in good Latin) on him for the same. Now, because we Cambridge-men are loath to take a limb of John Scotus, or any other learned man, more than what will come of itself, with the consent of chronology; and because I find Bale dislikes the same,‖ chiefly on the account of his improbable vivacity of an hundred-and-seventy years; I can be content to resign my particular title unto him, provided it be without prejudice to others of our university, who hereafter may challenge him with better arguments.

35. *Miserably murdered by his Scholars.*

I much wonder that this Scotus should be so degraded in his old age from Oxford to Malmesbury; from a professor in an university, to a schoolmaster in a country town; where, pouring learning into his lads, (rather in proportion to the plenty of the fountain, than to the receipt of the vessels,) he was severe to such scholars as were dull in their apprehensions. This so irritated

* BALE *De Scrip. Brit.* cent. ii. p. 124. † CAIUS *De Ant. Cant.* lib. i. p. 157.
‡ TRITHEMIUS *et ejus sequaces.* § SIR ISAAC WAKE *in Rege Platonico*, p. 212.
‖ BALEUS, cent. ii. *ut prius.*

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their anger against him, that by an universal conspiracy they dispatched him in the school with their penknives. I find not what punishment was inflicted upon them; whipping being too little, if sturdy youths; and hanging too much, if but little boys. Only I observe one Cassianus, a schoolmaster in primitive times, sent the same way on the same occasion, his death being elegantly described by Prudentius.*

36. *Unmartyred by Baronius.*

All the amends which is made to the memory of Scotus is, that he was made a martyr after his death, and his anniversary is remembered in the Calendar on the fourth of the Ides of November, in the Roman Martyrology, set forth at Antwerp, 1586, by the command of Gregory XIII. But, since, Baronius hath unmartyred him; and that on good reason, saith Henry Fitz-Simon,† attesting that an apology is provided, confirmed with approbation of many popes, cardinals, and many learned doctors, justifying Baronius therein; which we, as yet, have not beheld. Indeed, Scotus detested some superstitions of the times, especially about the Presence in the Lord's supper; and I have read,‡ that his book *De Eucharistiâ* was condemned in the Vercellian synod, for some passages therein, by pope Leo. This makes it suspicious, that some hands of more age, and heads of more malice, than school-boys, might guide the penknives which murdered Scotus, because of his known opposition against some practices and opinions of that ignorant age.

37. *Scotus confounded with others of his Namesakes.*

It is much that this Scotus, though carrying in his name a comment on himself, that all should not suffice so distinctly to expound him to some apprehensions, but that still they confound him with others of his name; sometimes with Johannes Scotus Mailrossius,§ sometimes with John Duns Scotus; though, indeed, there be difference enough of time, place, and other distinguishing characters betwixt them,—our present Scotus being most probably an Irishman, a great linguist in the learned tongues, a vast traveller into the Eastern parts, a monk by profession, killed and buried at Malmesbury. The other Scotus born in Northumberland, skilled only, and that but meanly, in Latin, never travelling farther than France and the hither part of Germany, a Franciscan by his Order, dying of an apoplexy, and buried at Cologne, of whom (God willing) largely hereafter.

* PRUDENTIUS in his book *Peri Stephanon.* † *In secundâ edit. Catal. SS. Hib.*
‡ JOH. PARISIENSIS *Hist. in anno* 877. § JOHN BALE, *ut prius.*

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38. *The Scholars' Maintenance out of the King's Exchequer.*

To return to king Alfred: As for the maintenance of the scholars, it issued forth annually from Alfred's exchequer, who made a fourfold division of his wealth:*—understand it of the surplusage thereof, more than what his court and camp expended:—one part to the poor, of all kinds, that came and craved of him; a second to the monasteries of his own erection; a third to the school, understand Oxford, which he himself had founded; the fourth and last to the neighbouring monasteries round about. However, we may easily believe, that, after his death, the students of Oxford were often at a loss of livelihood. For, seeing the coffers of the greatest kings, especially in the time of war, are subject to a drought of coin, there must needs be a dearth in those colleges which are watered thence for their maintenance. Scholars *may* in time of peace, but soldiers *must* be paid in time of war. Wherefore the most certain subsistence for scholars, (so far forth as inconstant things, as all sublunary, can be made constant,) is, what ariseth from solid lands, wherewith they are endowed. For, though even such revenues are subject to casualties, yet some water will ever be running, though the tide thereof may ebb or flow, according to the fall or rise of commodities.

39. *Dissension betwixt the Students at Oxford. A.D.* 885.

But it is hard so to compose two swarms of bees in one hive, but that they will fall out and fight. The college of logic, it seems, from the foundation thereof, studied divisions, as well as distinctions; there happening a dangerous difference betwixt the *aborigines* and the *advenæ*, "the old stock of students and the new store" brought in by St. Grimbald: the former, standing on their seniority, expected more respect unto themselves, deriving their privileges from their learned ancestors, time out of mind, which the Grimbaldists would not consent unto. Both sides appealed to Alfred, as their patron. He, coming to Oxford, carried himself with much moderation, as accounting that agreement most durable into which the parties were persuaded, not commanded. Grimbald, expecting king Alfred's zealous engaging on his side, according to the conceived merits of his cause, was not a little offended that the king did not appear more resolute in his behalf; insomuch that he forsook Oxford, wherein he had formerly built the church of St. Peter from the very foundation, with stone most curiously wrought and polished, and translated both himself and his intended tomb thence to Winchester.

* ASSERIUS MENEVENSIS *in Alfredo.*

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40. *The Arms of Oxford.*

An antiquary tells us,* that the ancient arms were assigned to Oxford about this time; namely, in a Field Azure, a Bible with seven seals appendant thereunto, opened (at the beginning of St. John's Gospel, "In the beginning was the Word," &c.) betwixt three Crowns Or; which three crowns, saith he, signify the three senses of the scripture; in the which, I confess, I do not understand him. For either we must admit but one sense of the scripture, as principally intended therein, which is the general opinion of the protestants; or, if, with the papists, we will allow more senses than one, we must conclude four, namely, the literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogical.† What, if the three crowns import the three professions which Alfred here founded, and all necessary to the understanding of the book betwixt them? Grammar, to understand the letter—Philosophy, the reason—and Divinity, the mystery—of the scripture.

41. *One, once a Swineherd, made Bishop of Winchester.*

One of the first scholars of note, whom I find bred in Oxford, was one Dunwolphus, once a swineherd in Athelney, when Alfred lurked therein, being the king's host who entertained him, or rather his master whom the king served. Alfred, perceiving in him pregnancy of parts, (though stifled with the narrowness and crippled with the lowness of his vocation,) sent him to Oxford,‡ where he became, after some years' study, doctor in divinity, and was by the king, in gratitude, preferred to be bishop of Winchester.§ But the monks of Winchester are so proud and sullen, they disdain to accept this man for their bishop, affirming, that their see stood void at this time;‖ more willing to confess a vacancy, than admit a swineherd into their episcopal chair. Whereas, surely, Alfred, so great a scholar and good a man, would not have advanced him, *per saltum*, from a swineherd to a bishop, had he not been qualified by intermediate degrees of education. For my own part, I see no reason why Winchester should be ashamed of him; and, for aught I know, Dunwolph might be as good a bishop as Dunstan, of whom the monks of Winchester so boast, both without cause and measure.

42. *The Preface to the Canons made by King Alfred. A.D.* 887.

Councils, except councils of war, were very rare in this age. The first I find a solemn one, celebrated by king Alfred; ¶ the

* BRIAN TWYNE, *in Apolog. Antiq. Oxon.* † AQUINAS'S "Sums," quæst. i. art. 10. ‡ GODWIN in his Bishops of Winchester, p. 263. § MALMESBURIEN. *De Gest. Pontificum*, lib. ii. ‖ See MR. ISAAKSON'S "Chronology" in Catal. of Bishops. ¶ SIR HENRY SPELMAN'S "Councils," p. 354.

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place not expressed, but the canons therein fairly transmitted to posterity. The preface of these canons is very remarkable, consisting of three parts:—(1.) The Ten Commandments translated into Saxon, as being the basis and foundation of all human laws. (2.) Several pieces of chapters in Exodus, being the breviate of the judicial law of the Jews; which though in the latitude thereof calculated only for the Jewish commonwealth, yet the moral equity therein obligeth all Christians. (3.) The fifteenth chapter of the Acts, containing the council of Jerusalem, as being a Divine precedent or warrant for Christians to convene together, and conclude orders for regulating men's conversations. It is remarkable, that in the aforesaid Ten Commandments, as exemplified in this council of Alfred, the second commandment is wholly expunged; image-worship beginning then to grow common in the world, and the clergy who gained thereby, (hating the second commandment on the same account as Ahab did Micaiah, 1 Kings xxii. 8;—because it ever prophesied evil unto them,) dashed it out of the Decalogue. The worst is, when this was wanting, the *Deca*-logue was but an *Ennea*-logue; and, therefore, to preserve the number of ten, the papists generally cleave the last commandment into two; but in Alfred's preface, this is made the tenth and last commandment, "Thou shalt not worship gods of gold and silver." Which, as it comes in out of its proper place, (and why should not God's *order* be observed, as well as his *number*, in the Commandments?) so is it defectively rendered, nothing so full against "graven images" as God propounded it. The canons made in this council fall under a threefold consideration: some relate only to the commonwealth, and by us may properly be forborne; others concern only monks and friars,—a sixth finger, and no necessary member of the church; and, as *actio moritur cum personâ*, so, with the extirpation of those convents, those canons may seem to expire.

43. *A general Contribution to Rome and Jerusalem.* *A.D.* 889.

Plegmund, a hermit in the Isle of Chester, (now called Plegmundsham,) tutor to king Alfred, was by him preferred to be archbishop of Canterbury, then a miserable place, as hardly recovered from the late sacking of the Danes. By the king's command, he called the clergy of England together, and made a collection of alms, to be sent to Rome and Jerusalem; and Athelm, archbishop of York, was employed in the journey, going personally to the aforesaid places, to see the contribution there faithfully delivered, and equally distributed.

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44. *Death of King Alfred. A. D.* 900.

About the end of this century died worthy king Alfred, remarkable to posterity on many accounts, whereof this [is] not the least, —that he turned David's Psalms into English; so that a royal text met with a royal translator. He left his crown to Edward his son, (commonly called "the elder,") far inferior to his father in skill in —but not so much in his love to—good literature. Indeed, he had an excellent tutor, Asserius Menevensis, archbishop of St. David's, (the faithful writer of his father's actions,) supposed, by some, bishop of Sherborne; which is denied by others,* (though one of the same name was some years before,) as inconsistent with chronology.

45. *Weak Guardians, God wot!*

As for the principal clergymen extant at this time, we take special notice of two: The one, Berthulf, bishop of Winchester, made one of the guardians of the realm against the incursion of the Danes: The other, Halard, bishop of Dorchester, advanced also into the same employment. But, alas! what weak guardians were these to defend the land, who could not secure their own sees! And in what capacity (save in prayers and tears) were they able to make any resistance? For now the Danes not only assailed the skirts and outsides of the land, but also made inroads many miles into the continent thereof. Insomuch that Winchester lay void six, and Sherborne seven, years; such the Pagan fury, that none durst offer to undertake those places!

46. *The woful Estate of the English.*

True it is, the English oftentimes in battle got the advantage of them; when the Pagan Danes, being conquered, had but one way to shift for themselves; namely, to counterfeit themselves Christians, and embrace baptism: but no sooner had they got power again into their hands, but that they, turning apostates, were ten times more cruel than ever before. Thus successively was the land affected with sickness, recovery, and relapses; the people's condition being so much the more disconsolate, because, promising a continuance of happiness to themselves upon their victories, they were on their overthrows remanded to the same, if not a worse, condition.

47. *The commendable Temper of King Alfred and King Edward.*

It is strange to observe the alternations of success between the English and Danes, how exactly they took their turns; God using them to hold up one another, whilst he justly beat both. Meantime,

* James Usher, *De Brit. Eccles. Primord. in Indice Chronolog.* p. 1177.

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commendable the temper of late king Alfred, and present king Edward; it being true of each of them,

Si modo victus erat, ad crastina bella parabat;
Si modo victor erat, ad crastina bella timebat.

"If that it happ'd that conquered was he,
Next day to fight he quickly did prepare;
But if he chanced the conqueror to be,
Next day to fight he wisely did beware."

But these things we leave to the historians of the state to prosecute, and confine ourselves only to matters of ecclesiastical cognizance.

SECTION V.

THE TENTH CENTURY.

JACOBO LANGHAM, ARMIGERO, AMPLISSIMI SENATORIS LONDINENSIS PRIMOGENITO.

DECIMAM hanc centuriam tibi dedicandam curavi, quòd numerus denarius semper aliquid augustum sonet. Sic in papicolarum globulis, quibus preculas suas numerant, decimus (ut Decurio) aliis magnitudine præstat.

At dices: "Centuria hæc inter ecclesiasticos audit infelix, cùm suâ tantùm obscuritate sit illustris." Quid tibi igitur, felicissimo viro, cui lætum ingenium, lauta hæreditas, cum infelici seculo?

Verbo expediam: Volui nomen tuum historiæ meæ hìc prætendi, ut, instar phosphori, lectores in hac tenebrosâ ætate oberrantes, splendoris sui radiis dirigat.

Percurras, quæso, insequentes paginas; nihil scientiæ, aliquid voluptatis, tibi allaturas. Quo cum nemo sit in ipsis elegantiarum apicibus Latinior, probè scio, te perquàm suaviter risurum, cum diploma Edvardinum, nimiâ barbarie scatens, perlegeris.

1. *England interdicted by the Pope for Want of Bishops.*
3 Edward the Elder. *A.D.* 904.

AT this time there was a great dearth of bishops in the land, which lasted for seven years,—as long as the famine in Egypt;

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during which time, there was no bishop in all the West parts of England. Pope Formosus was foully offended hereat, and thereupon, *cum magnâ iracundiâ et devotione*,* "with much passion and piety," by his curse and excommunication, interdicted king, kingdom, and all the subjects therein. We cannot but gaze at the novelty of this act, as we conceive, a leading case in this kind; whilst the skilful in the canon law can give an account of the equity of the pope's proceedings, why *all* should suffer for *some*, the *guiltless* with the *guilty*, and have the word and sacraments taken from *them* for the want of bishops *in other places:* otherwise, the punishment seemeth unjust in the rigid justice thereof, and, if not heavier, larger than the offence, and beareth no proportion with common equity, Christian charity, and God's proceedings, who saith, "The soul that sinneth shall die."

2. *The Character of those Kings on whom the Pope most improved himself.*

Notwithstanding, this excommunicating of king Edward by the pope is highly urged by Parsons,† to prove the pope's power in England over princes, according to his constant solecism clean through the tenor of his book, to reason *a facto ad jus;* arguing, from the pope's barely doing it, that he may *justly* do it. We deny not but that, in this age, active and ambitious popes mightily improved their power upon five sorts of princes. First. On such as were lazy and voluptuous; who, on condition they might enjoy their sports and delights for the present, cared not for their posterity. Secondly. On such as were openly vicious, and so obnoxious to censure; who would part with any thing, out of the apprehension of their guiltiness. Thirdly. On such as were tender and easy-natured; who gave, not so much out of bounty to give, as out of bashfulness to deny the pope's importunity. Fourthly. On those of a timorous spirit; who were affrighted with their own fancies of the pope's terribleness, and, being captivated unto him by their own fear, they ransomed themselves at what price he pleased. Lastly. On pious princes; whose blind zeal, and misled devotion, thought nothing too precious for him: in which form we rank this Edward the Elder, then king of England. And it is worth our observing, that, in point of power and profit, what the popes once get they ever hold, being as good at keeping as catching; so that what one got by encroaching, his successor prescribed that encroachment for a title, which whether it will hold good in matter of right, it is not for a historian to dispute.

* *Archiv. Cant. in Regist. Priorat. Eccles. Cant.* fol. 3, b. † In his Answer to the Lord Coke's Reports, cap. 6, p. 136.

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3. *The Pope pleased, and England absolved again.*

But, to return to our story: We are glad to see Malmesbury so merry, who calleth this passage of the pope's interdicting England, *jocundum memoratu*, "pleasant to be reported," because it ended so well. For Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury, posted to Rome, bringing with him *honorifica munera*, (such ushers will make one way through the thickest crowd to the pope's presence,) informing his Holiness that Edward, king of England, in a late-summoned synod, had founded some new, and supplied all old, vacant bishoprics. Pacified herewith, the pope turned his curse into a blessing, and ratified their elections. The worst is, a learned pen tells me,* that in this story there is an inextricable error in point of chronology, which will not suffer pope Formosus and this king Edward the Elder to meet together. And Baronius makes the mistake worse, by endeavouring to mend it. I have so much wariness, as not to enter into that labyrinth out of which I cannot return; but leave the doubt to the pope's Datary to clear, proper to him, as versed in such matters. The same pen informs me,† that the sole way to reconcile the difference is, to read "pope Leo V." instead of pope Formosus: which, for quietness, I am content to do; the rather, because such a roaring curse best beseems the mouth of *a lion*.

4. *Vacant Bishoprics supplied, and new erected.*

Hear now the names of the seven bishops which Plegmund consecrated in one day: a great day's work,—and a good one, if all were fit for the function. Fridstan, bishop of Winchester, a learned and holy man: Werstan, of Sherborne; Kenulfe, of Dorchester; Beornege, [Beornock,] of Selsey; Athelme, of Wells; Eadulfe, of Crediton in Devon; and Athelstan, in Cornwall, of St. Petrock's [or Padstow]. These three last Western bishoprics were in this council newly erected. But St. Petrock's had never long any settled seat, being much in motion, translated from Bodmin in Cornwall, (upon the wasting of it by the Danes,) to St. Germain's in the same county, and afterward united to Crediton in Devonshire. This bishopric was founded principally for the reduction of the rebellious Cornish to the Romish rites; who as they used the language, so they imitated the lives and doctrine, of the ancient Britons, neither hitherto nor long after submitting themselves to the see apostolic.

5. *King Edward in a new Synod confirms his Father's Constitutions.* A.D. 906.

A synod was called at Intingford; where Edward the Elder, and Guthrum king of the Danes, in that part of England which formerly

* SIR HENRY SPELMAN *in Conciliis*, p. 389. † *Idem, ibidem.*

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belonged to the East Angles, only confirmed the same ecclesiastical constitutions * which Alfred, Edward's father, with the said Guthrum, had made before. Here the curious palates of our age will complain of *crambe*,—that two kings, with their clergy, should meet together only *actum agere*, "to do what was done to their hands." But whilst some count all councils idle, which do not add or alter; others will commend their discretion, who can discern what is well-ordered already, approve their policy in enjoining such things unto others, and principally praise their piety for practising them in themselves. And whosoever looks abroad into the world, with a judicious eye, will soon see, that there is not so much need of new laws, (the multitude whereof rather cumbers men's memories, than quickens their practice,) as an absolute necessity to enforce old laws, with a new and vigorous execution of them.

6. *Cambridge University repaired by King Edward. A.D.* 915.

And now king Edward, remembering the pious example of his father Alfred in founding of Oxford, began to repair and restore the university of Cambridge. For the Danes, who made all the sea-coasts of England their haunt, and kept the kingdom of the East Angles for their home, had banished all learning from that place; Apollo's harp being silenced by the drum of Mars, till this king's bounty brought learning back again thither, as by his following charter may appear:—

In nomine † D. Jesu Christi: Ego Edwardus, Dei gratiâ, rex Anglorum, divino compulsus amore, præcepto Joannis apostolicæ sedis episcopi, ac Pleigmundi Cantuar. archiepisc., consilio omnium sacerdotum et principum meæ dominationis, universa et singula privilegia, doctoribus et scholaribus Cantabrigiæ, necnon servientibus eorundem, (uti ab olim viguit indesinenter mater philosophiæ, et reperitur in præsenti fons clerimoniæ,) a me data, seu ab antecessoribus meis quomodolibet concessa, stabili jure grata et rata decerno durare, quamdiu vertigo poli circa terras atque æquora æthera syderum justo moderamine volvet. Datum in Grantecestriâ, anno ab Incarnatione D. 915. *venerabili fratri Frithstano, civitatis scholarium Cantabrig. cancellario, et doctori per suum, &c.*‡

The credit of this charter is questioned by some, because of the barbarous style thereof; as if an university were disgraced with honourable privileges granted unto it in base Latin. But know, that age was so poor in learning, it could not go to the cost of good

* LAMBERT in his "Saxon Laws;" and SIR HENRY SPELMAN in his "Councils," p. 390. † *Charta extat in MS. codice qui Cantabrigiæ est in Aulâ Clarensi: ejusdem meminit* THO. RUDBURN, *necnon* JOH. ROSSUS. ‡ See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 408.—EDIT.

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language. Who can look to find a fair face in the hottest parts of Æthiopia? Those times were ignorant: and as it is observed of the country-people born at the village of Carlton * in Leicestershire, that they have all (proceeding from some secret cause in their soil or water) a strange uncouth wharling † in their speech; so it was proper to the persons writing in this age to have a harsh, unpleasant, grating style, (and so much the sourer to critical ears, the more it is sweetened with an affected rhythm,) though a blemish, yet a badge of their genuine Deeds which were passed in those times.

7. *The Testimony of John Rouse concerning King Edward's repairing of Cambridge.*

Hear also what John Rouse, an excellent antiquary, furnished by king Edward IV. with privacy and pension, to collect the monuments of this land, allegeth to this purpose; who, being bred in Oxford, and having written a book in confutation of those who deduce the foundation of this university from Cantaber, may be presumed will allow Cambridge no more than what in right is due unto her. He, speaking of king Edward ‡ the Elder, out of an ancient table and chronicle of Hyde abbey by Winchester, which himself, by the favour of the abbot, perused, reporteth of the restoration of decayed Cambridge at this time, in manner as followeth:—

Propterea ad clerimoniam augmentandam, sicut pater suus Oxoniam, sic ipse ab antiquo cum cæteris studiis generalibus suspensam, desolatam, et destructam Cantabrigiam, iterum ad primam gloriam erexit: necnon ibi aulas studientium, et doctorum magistrorumque cathedras et sedilia, ut dilectissimus cleri nutritor, amator, et defensor, suis sumptibus erigi et fabricari præcepit. Ab Oxoniâ namque universitate, quam pater suus nobilis rex erexerat, magistros artium quas liberales vocamus, pariter in sacrâ theologiâ doctores, advocavit, ibique ad legendum formaliter et docendum invitavit.—Joh. Rossus in lib. de Regibus.

"Therefore, for the augmentation of clerk-like learning, as his father had done to Oxford, so he again raised up Cambridge to her first glory, which, for a long time, with other general schools, had been suspended, desolate, and destroyed: as also, like a most loving nourisher of the clergy, he commanded that halls for students, chairs and seats of doctors and masters, should there be erected and built on his own proper charges: for he called from Oxford university, which his noble father the king had erected, masters of those arts

* CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Leicestershire, p. 517. † This is a provincial word from the Saxon, signifying to stutter in the pronunciation of the letter R.—EDIT. ‡ BALÆUS, cent. viii. num. 53.

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which we call *liberal*, together with doctors in holy divinity, and invited them there formally to read and teach."

8. *Cambridge represented in a three-fold Estate.*

Have we here Cambridge presented in a threefold condition. First. What she had been long before king Edward's time; fairly flourishing with learning. Secondly. In what case he found her; desolate and decayed. Then the cup of Cambridge was at the bottom, her breasts dry, and her sun in an eclipse. She was, saith Rouse, "suspended," not by the power of any pope's keys, (as the word may import,) but by the force of Pagan swords, who here interrupted the exercise of Acts and public lectures; as in Spain, Germany, and other foreign parts, places appointed for learning had shared in the like calamity. Thirdly. In what condition Edward left her; under whom, as under "the father of the Act," Cambridge itself did then *commence* and take a new "degree." Happy this Edward, who like a wealthy landlord had two nurseries of choice fruit; so that if the one, by any sad accident, chanced to fail, he could supply it from the other, without being beholden to his neighbours. This was the love betwixt the two sisters;—what either had, neither could want; and Oxford, which lent now, borrowed another time, as in due place shall appear. If the same author* elsewhere calleth this king Edward "founder of Cambridge," it is by an easy and obvious error, because a total repairer doth amount to a partial founder. Nor doth Cambridge regret thereat; seeing grateful expressions, which had rather transgress in the excess, than the defect, may in courtesy call their mender their "maker."

9. *The principal Laws enacted in the Council at Greatlea.* 1 Athelstan. *A.D.* 924.

Athelstan, his son, succeeded king Edward, being much devoted to St. John of Beverley; on whose church he bestowed a freed-stool, with large privileges belonging thereunto. Many councils were kept in this king's reign, at Exeter, Feversham, Thunderfield, and London, all of them of uncertain date, But one held at Grately is of greatest account for the laws therein enacted; the principal here ensuing:—

(1.) "That the king's officers should truly pay tithes, out of his demesnes, as well of his quick cattle, as dead commodities.

(2.) "That cyricsceat (that is, first-fruits of seeds) be duly paid to God in his church.

(3.) "That the king's officers maintain one poor-body in the

* In his Catalogue of the Earls of Warwick.

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king's villages; and in case none be found therein, fetch him from other places."—Christ saith, "The poor you have always with you." The church in general is well stocked with them, though some particular parish may want such as are in want. If any would know the bill of fare allowed these poor people, it was monthly a measure of meal, *una perna*, a gammon of bacon, a ram worth a groat, four cheeses, and thirty pence on Easter-Wednesday to buy them clothes.

(4.) "That moneyers, wilfully corrupting the coin, and found guilty, have their hands cut off, and nailed to the mint-house."—Every borough was allowed one mint therein; but, beside these, Hastings had one; Cirencester, one; Shaftesbury, two; Wareham, two; Exeter,* two; Hampton, two; Lewes, two; Rochester, three; Winchester, six; Canterbury, seven; (namely, for the king, four; for the archbishop, two; for the abbot, one;) London, eight. Most of these places were anciently in the West-Saxon kingdom; to whom the English monarchs were most favourable, in doubling their privilege of coinage, but single in other places of greater capacity.

(5.) "That such who were tried by ordeal, should ceremoniously be prepared thereunto with the solemn manner of managing that trial.

(6.) "That no buying or selling be on the Lord's day."—This took not full effect for many years after; for Henry I.† granted to Battle Abbey a market to be kept on that day, lately (at the motion of Anthony marquis Montacute) by Act of Parliament removed to another day.

(7.) "That one convicted of perjury shall be trusted no more on his oath, nor be buried in holy earth, except restored by the bishop on his penance.

(8.) "That witches, confessing themselves to have killed any, be put to death."—Such as were suspected, and denied the fact, might be tried by ordeal; which was done either by fire, whereof hereafter, or by water. Of the latter, *mergatur una ulna et dimidia in fune;* which I thus understand: "Let the party be tied to a rope, and drenched an ell-and-half above his own height." And this is the first footstep we find of swimming of witches; for which no law, save custom, at this day; and that whether just in itself, and satisfactory, as a means proportionable for the discovery of the truth, is not my work to determine.

Whosoever desires to have more exact information of this council may repair to sir Henry Spelman,‡ where he may receive plentiful satisfaction.

* So in the Saxon Manuscript, though *in libro Jornalensi* by mistake *Oxonia* is put for *Exonia*. † CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Sussex. ‡ In his "Councils," p. 396, *et sequentibus*.

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10. *Dignities and Degrees amongst the Saxons.*

Only I must not omit one passage in this council, acquainting us with the heraldry of that age, and the distances and degrees of persons, collected from their *weers* or *weer-gilds*, that is, "taxes and valuations;" it being truly to be said in that age,—

Quantum quisque sud nummorum servat in arcâ,
Tantum habet et fidei ———

"Every one's testimony in law-cases, in courts, was credited according to his wealth."

(1.) *Ceorles*, (whence our northern word "carles," and common word "churls,") being country-clowns, whose weer-gild was two hundred shillings, or ten pounds; the same with "villains," who held land in villanage of others. These, if by blessing on their industry they rose so high as to have five hides of land of their own, with a place in the king's court, and some other privileges now hardly to be understood, were advanced to be thanes.*

(2.) The weer-gild or value of a thane was six times as much as a churl or a villain, namely, twelve times a hundred shillings, therefore termed "a twelve-hind-man;" whose oath in law was equivalent to six oaths of churls or villains; as a shilling passing in payment countervaileth six two-pences. Note, that if a *masseer*, or "merchant," pass the Great Sea thrice, (understand the Mediterranean, not the Narrow Seas betwixt us and France,) and not in the notion of a servant, but on his own account, he then was dignified with the reputation of a thane. These thanes were of two sorts: "Meset thanes," priests qualified to say mass; and "Worrould thanes," that is, secular or temporal thanes.

(3.) Of the first, if a scholar made such proficiency in his studies that he took Holy Orders, he was reverently respected, and (though not valued as a worrould thane in rates and taxes) amends were to be made for any wrongs done unto him, equal to a thane; and in case he should be killed, the penalty thereof was the higher, the more Orders the person had taken. Observe by the way, (so far as we can understand the Saxon laws,) that manslaughter was not then

* Dr. William Howel says, "The mulcts or fines of our Saxon ancestors were either greater or lesser. The greater took away all or much of their substance, being the same with that which we call 'the valuation of the head,' by them called *were*; which word originally signifieth 'a man,' and this 'valuation or payment' secondarily, or by way of translation. The lesser sort of mulcts they call *wite*; which differed from *were*, both in this, that it was less, as also in that it was uncertain; whereas the other was settled and constant. The first [*were*] answers to the word *redemption*, or, as it is now used in English, *ransom*; and the last [*wite*] to *fine* and *amercement* properly. Thus 'the valuation of heads' they called *were*, the payment whereof they termed *were-gild*." See the sense in which *witereden* is used in the Latin charter of Ethelwulf, quoted in a preceding page, 168.—Edit.

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punished with death, but might be redeemed by the proportionable payment of a sum of money, according to the quality of the person slain; part thereof payable to the king, part to his kindred, part to the country thereabouts.

But the further prosecution hereof (where the footsteps are almost outworn with time) we leave to more expert antiquaries; who will tell you, that *alderman* in that age was equal to our modern "earl," who with bishops was of the same valuation; also, that *comes* in that age sounded as much as "duke" in ours, archbishops going along with them in all considerable equipage.

11, 12. *Dunstan's first coming into Favour at the Court, A.D. 933; banished thence on Suspicion of Magic. A.D. 935.*

Now began St. Dunstan to appear in court, born at Glastonbury, of noble parentage,—as almost what saint in this age was not honourably extracted?—nephew both to Elphegus bishop of Winchester and Athelm archbishop of Canterbury, yea, kinsman remote to king Athelstan himself; and being thus highly related, he could not miss of preferment. His eminencies were painting and graving, (two qualities disposing him to be very useful for saint-worshipping, either for pictures or images,) an excellent musician, (preaching in those days could not be heard for singing in churches,) and an admirable worker in brass and iron. These accomplishments commended him at court to be acceptable to company; and for some time he continued with the king in great reputation.

But it is given to that bowl which lies next to the mark, to have most take aim to remove it. Eminency occasions envy, which made Dunstan's enemies endeavour to depress him. He is accused to the king for a magician, and upon that account banished the court. It was brought as evidence against him, that he made his harp not only to have motion, but make music of itself; which no *white art* could perform.

> "St. Dunstan's harp fast by the wall
> Upon a pin did hang-a:
> The harp itself, with ly and all,
> Untoucht by hand did twang-a."

For our part, let Dunstan's harp hang there still on a double suspicion twisted together: First. Whether this story thereof were true or false: Secondly. If true, whether done by magic or miracle. Sure I am, as good a harper and a better saint than Dunstan was, hath no such miracle reported of him, even David himself; who with his harp praised God, pleased men, frighted devils, 1 Sam.

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xvi. 23; yet took pains with his own right hand to play, Psalm cxxxvii. 5, not lazily commanding music by miracle to be made on his instrument.

13, 14. *He retires unto his Cell-prison at Glastonbury, A.D. 937; takes a Devil by the Nose, A.D. 938.*

Banished from court, Dunstan returns to Glastonbury, and there falls a-puffing and blowing in his forge. Here he made himself a cell, or rather a *little-ease*, being but four foot long, two and a half broad, (enough to cripple his joints with the cramp, who could not lie along therein,) whilst the height thereof was according to the stature of a man. Wisely and virtuously he would not confine himself upwards, that the scantness of the earthly dimensions in his cell (breadth and length) might be enlarged in the height thereof, and liberty left for the ascending of his meditations. But it matters not how little the prison be, if a man, with Dunstan, be his own gaoler, to go in and out at pleasure. Leave we him at the furnace in smithery-work, (excelling "Alexander the coppersmith" therein,) whilst we find such monks as wrote his Life at another forge, whence they coined many impudent miracles, pretended done by Dunstan, and this among the rest:—

Dunstan was in his vocation making some iron trinkets, when a Proteus-devil appeared unto him, changing into shapes, but fixing himself at last into the form of a fair woman. Strange, that satan (so subtile in making his temptations most taking) should prefer this form; belike, shrewdly guessing at Dunstan's temper, that a fair woman might work upon him, and Vulcan might love a Venus. Dunstan, perceiving it, plucked his tongs glowing-hot out of the fire, and with them kept him (or her, shall I say?) there a long time by the nose roaring and bellowing; till at last he broke loose, by what accident it is not told unto us.

15. *This false Miracle canvassed.*

I have better employment than to spend precious time in confuting such follies; but give me leave to admire at these new arms against satan. "Take the shield of faith," saith the apostle, "wherewith ye may quench all the fiery darts of the wicked," Ephes. vi. 16. Dunstan found a new way by himself, with fiery tongs to do the deed. But let us a little examine this miracle. The devil himself, we know, is a spirit, and so impassible of material fire. Now, if it were a real body he assumed, the snake could slip off his skin at pleasure, and not be tied to it, much less tormented with it. Besides, did Dunstan willingly or unwillingly let the devil go? If willingly, mercy to so malicious an enemy, incapable

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of being amended, was cruelty to himself; if unwillingly, was it Dunstan's fire or his faith that failed him, that he could hold out against him no longer? But away with all suspicions and queries! None need to doubt of the truth thereof, finding it in a sign painted in Fleet-street near Temple-bar.

16. *Aelfgine, Dunstan's bountiful Friend.*

During Dunstan's abode in his cell, he had, to his great comfort and contentment, the company of a good lady, Aelfgine by name, living fast by. No preacher but Dunstan would please her, being so ravished with his society that she would needs build a little cell for herself hard by him. In process of time this lady died, and by her last will left Christ to be the heir, and Dunstan the executor, of her estate. Enabled with the accession thereof, joined to his paternal possessions, which were very great, and now fallen into his hands, Dunstan erected the abbey of Glastonbury, and became himself first abbot thereof.* He built also and endowed many other monasteries, filling them with Benedictine monks, who began now to swarm in England, more than maggots in a hot May, so incredible was their increase.

17. *Re-called to Court, and re-banished thence.* 1 Edmund. *A.D.* 939, 940.

After the death of king Athelstan, Dunstan was recalled to court in the reign of king Edmund, Athelstan's brother, and flourished for a time in great favour. But who would build on the brittle bottom of princes' love? Soon after he falls into the king's disfavour; the old crime, of being a magician, (and a wanton with women to boot,) being laid to his charge. Surely, Dunstan, by looking on his own furnace, might learn thence, there was no smoke but some fire: either he was dishonest or undiscreet, which gave the ground-work to their general suspicion. Hereupon he is rebanished the court, and returned to his desired cell at Glastonbury; but within three days was solemnly brought back again to court, if the ensuing story may be believed.

18, 19. *King Edmund's miraculous Deliverance. Fie for shame, lying Monk!*

King Edmund was in an eager pursuit of a buck, on the top of a steep rock, whence no descent but destruction. Down falls the

* The following clause was added in the text:—"a title till his time unknown in England." But, in the "Appeal of injured Innocence," (p. 351,) Fuller says, "I request such as have my 'Church History' to delete these words; for I profess I know not by what casualty these words crept into my book, contrary to my intent."—EDIT.

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deer, and dogs after him, and are dashed to pieces. The king follows in full speed on an unruly horse, which he could not rein, and is on the brink of the brink of the precipice. Yet his prayers prove swifter than his horse; he but *ran*, whilst they did *fly* to heaven. He is sensible of his sin in banishing Dunstan, confesseth it with sorrow, vows amendment, promiseth to restore and prefer him. Instantly the horse stops in his full career, and his rider is wonderfully preserved.

Thus far a *strong* faith may believe of the story; but it must be a *wild* one which gives credit to the remainder. *Cervus et canes reviviscunt*,* saith the impudent monk, "The deer and dogs revive again." I remember not in scripture that God ever revived a brute beast; partly, because such mean subjects are beneath the majesty of a miracle; and partly, because, as the apostle saith, Brute beasts are "made to be taken and destroyed," 2 Peter ii. 12. Well then might the monk have knocked off, when he had done well in saving the man and horse; and might have left the dogs and deer to have remained dead on the place; the deer especially, were it but to make venison-pasties, to feast the courtiers at the solemnizing of their lord and master's so miraculous deliverance.

20—24. *King Edred a high Patron of Dunstan.* (1 Edred. *A.D.* 946.) *But King Edwin his professed Enemy;* (1 Edwin, *A.D.* 954;) *who, though wronged by the Monks, was a worthy Prince. He banisheth Dunstan, and dieth heart-broken with Grief. A.D.* 956.

Dunstan, returning to court, was in higher favour than ever before. Nor was his interest any whit abated by the untimely death of King Edmund, (slain by one Leoff, a thief,) seeing his brother Edred, succeeding to the crown, continued and increased his kindness to him. Under him Dunstan was the "do-all" at court, being the king's treasurer, chancellor, counsellor, confessor,—all things. Bishoprics were bountifully proffered him, pick and choose where he please; but none were honoured with his acceptance: whether because he accounted himself too high for the place, and would not stoop to the employment; or because he esteemed the place too high for him, unable conscientiously to discharge it in the midst of so many avocations. Meantime monasteries were every where erected, (king Edred devoutly resigning all his treasure to Dunstan's disposal,) secular priests being thrust out of their convents, and monks substituted in their rooms.

* Roff. Histor., Matt. West., Johannes Capgrave, Osbernus.

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But, after Edred's death, the case was altered with Dunstan, falling into disgrace with king Edwin his successor. This king, on his coronation-day, was said to be incestuously embracing both mother and daughter; when Dunstan, boldly coming into his bed-chamber, after bitter reproofs, stoutly fetched him thence, and brought him forth into the company of his noblemen. A heroic act, if true, done with a John-Baptist spirit; and no wonder if Herod and Herodias, I mean, this incestuous king and his concubines, were highly offended with Dunstan for the same.

But good men and grave authors give no belief herein, conceiving king Edwin (how bad soever charactered by the monks, his malicious enemies) to have been a worthy prince. In witness whereof they produce the words of Henry Huntingdon,* a learned man, but no monk, thus describing him: *Edwin non illaudabiliter regni infulam tenuit.* Et rursus: *Edwin rex, anno regni sui quinto, cum in principio regnum ejus decentissimè floreret, prospera et lætabunda exordia mors immatura perrupit.*

"Edwin was not undeserving of praise in managing the sceptre of this land." And again: "King Edwin, in the fifth year of his reign, when his kingdom began at first most decently to flourish, had his prosperous and pleasant beginnings broken off with untimely death."

This testimony considered, makes many men think better of king Edwin, and worse of Dunstan, as guilty of some uncivil intrusion into the king's chamber, for which he justly incurred his royal displeasure.

Hereupon Dunstan is banished by king Edwin, not as before from England to England, from the court to his cell at Glastonbury; but is utterly expelled the kingdom, and flieth into Flanders; where his friends say that his fame prepared his welcome, and the governor of Ghent most solemnly entertained him. Meantime, all the monks in England of Dunstan's plantation were rooted up, and secular priests set in their places. But soon after happened many commotions in England, especially in Mercia and Northumberland. The monks which write the story of these rebellions conceive it unfit to impart to posterity the cause thereof; which makes wise men to suspect, that Dunstan, (who could blow coals elsewhere as well as in his furnace,) though at distance, *virtually* (or rather *viciously*) present had a finger, yea, a hand therein. Heart-broken with these rebellions, king Edwin died in the flower of his age.

* *Hist.* lib. v. p. 357.

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24. *Dunstan recalled by King Edgar, and takes a double Bishopric.* 1 Edgar. *A.D.* 959.

Edgar succeeds him, and recalls Dunstan home, receiving him with all possible affection. Yea, now Dunstan's stomach was come down, and he could digest a bishopric, which his abstemiousness formerly refused. And one bishopric drew down another: Worcester and London, not successively, but both a-breast, went down his conscience. Yea, never age afforded more pluralist bishops. In this king's reign Letine [Leofwyn] held Lincoln and Leicester;* Oswald (a great monk-monger, of whom hereafter) held York and Worcester; and Aldulph, his successor in both churches, did the like, pardoned, yea, praised for the same: though Woolstan (because no favourer of monks) is reproved for the like plurality. Thus two men, though doing the same thing, do not the same thing. Bigamy of bishoprics goes by favour; and it is condemnable in one, what is commendable in another. Odo Severus, archbishop of Canterbury, being ceremoniously to consecrate Dunstan bishop of Worcester, used all the formalities fashionable at the consecration of an archbishop:† and being reproved for the same, he answered for himself, that he foresaw that Dunstan, instantly after his death, would be archbishop of Canterbury. And, therefore, (a compendious way to spare pains,) he only by a provident prolepsis antedated his consecration. Surely, whosoever had seen the decrepit age of Odo, the affection of king Edgar to Dunstan, the affection of Dunstan to dignity, needed no extraordinary prophetical spirit to presage that (on the supposition of Dunstan's surviving him) he should succeed him in the archbishopric of Canterbury.

25. *Oswald's Law to eject secular Priests.*

Yea, king Edgar was so wholly Dunstanized, that he gave over his soul, body, and estate to be ordered by him and two more, then the triumvirate who ruled England, namely, Ethelwald bishop of Winchester, and Oswald bishop of Worcester. This Oswald was the man who procured, by the king's authority, the ejection of all secular priests out of Worcester, and the placing of monks in their room; which Act was called "Oswald's law" in that age. They might, if it pleased them, have styled it "Edgar's law;" the legislative power being then more in the king than in the bishop. This "Oswald's law" afterwards enlarged itself over all England, secular priests being thrown out, and monks every where fixed in their rooms; till king Henry VIII.'s law outed "Oswald's law," and ejected those drones out of their habitations.

* *Vide Antiq. Britan.* p. 83. † *Idem, ibidem.*

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26, 27. *Dunstan's disciplining of King Edgar; and Carriage towards an incestuous Count. A.D. 969.*

King Edgar violated the chastity of a nun at Wilton. Dunstan, getting notice thereof, refused at the king's request to give him his hand, because he had defiled a "daughter of God," as he termed her. Edgar, hereby made sensible of his sin, with sorrow confessed it; and Dunstan (now archbishop of Canterbury) enjoined him seven years' penance for the same. Monks endeavour to enforce a mock parallel betwixt David and Edgar, Nathan and Dunstan, herein. Sure I am, on David's profession of his repentance, Nathan presently pronounced pardon: "The Lord also hath put away thy sin; thou shalt not die," 2 Sam. xii. 13; consigning him to be punished by God the principal; (using an undutiful son, treacherous servants, and rebellious subjects to be the instruments thereof;) but imposing no voluntary penance, that David should by will-worship undertake on himself. All that I will add is this,—if Dunstan did septenary penance, to expiate every mortal sin (to use their own terms) he committed, he must have been a Methuselah, extremely aged, before the day of his death.

More commendable was Dunstan's carriage towards an English count, who lived incestuously with his own kinswoman. Dunstan admonished him once, twice, thrice; nothing prevailed: whereupon he proceeded to excommunicate him. The count slighted his excommunication, conceiving his head too high for church-censures to reach it. King Edgar, falsely informed, desires Dunstan to absolve him, and is denied. Yea, the pope sends to him to the same purpose, and Dunstan persists in his refusal.* At last the count, conquered with Dunstan's constancy, and the sense of his own sin, came into a national council at Canterbury, where Dunstan sate president, (active therein to substitute monks in the places of secular priests,) on his bare feet, with a bundle of rods, tendering himself to Dunstan's chastisement. This wrought on Dunstan's mild nature, scarce refraining from tears; who presently absolved him.

28. *Observations thereon.*

Three things herein are remarkable. First. That bribes in the court of Rome may purchase a malefactor to be innocent. Secondly. That the pope himself is not so infallible, but that his key may miss the lock, and he be mistaken in matter of absolution. Thirdly. That men ought not so with blind obedience to obey his pretended Holiness; but that if (with Dunstan here)

* OSBERN. *in Vitâ Dunstani.*

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they see just cause to the contrary, it is no mortal sin to disobey his commands.

29. *Edgar's Canons, why by us here not related.*

The apprenticeship of Edgar's penance long since expired, he flourished in all monarchical lustre; sole founder of many, co-founder of more, benefactor to most, abbeys in England. And as he gave new cases to most monasteries, (repairing their outward buildings,) so he gave new linings to all, substituting monks instead of the secular priests, whom he expelled. Many ecclesiastical canons were by him ordained, which, at large, are presented in sir Henry Spelman, and which I have neither list nor leisure to recount in this my History. Our women have a proverb, "It is a sad burden to carry a dead man's child;" and, surely, an historian hath no heart to take much pains (which herein are pains indeed) to exemplify dead canons; (dead and buried long since, as most relating to monkery;) this age, wherein we live, being little fond of antiquity, to know those things which were antiquated so many years since.

30. *Edgar a most triumphant King.*

Now, though the devotion of king Edgar may be condemned to be biassed to superstition, yet, because the sincerity of his heart sought to advance God's honour, according to the light in those dark days, he appears one of the most puissant princes that ever England enjoyed, both in church and commonwealth. I have read in a most fair and authentic gilded manuscript,* wherein he styleth himself "God's vicar in England, for the ordering ecclesiastical matters;" a title which at this day the pope will hardly vouchsafe to any Christian princes. His reign was blessed with peace and prosperity, both by land and sea; insomuch that, in a royal frolic, eight petty kings rowed him over the river Dee near to Chester; namely, five princes of Wales, (whereof Hoel-Dha was the principal,) Kened, [Kunade or Kineld,] king of Scotland; Malcomb, king of Cumberland; and Mac-huse, a great sea-robber, who may pass for the prince of pirates.†

* Extant in the precious library of sir Thomas Cotton. † Of this worthy, and of his strange title, the very learned DR. WILLIAM HOWEL gives us the following information, in his "Institution of General History:"—"Maccusius, by Florent of Worcester and Hoveden, is termed 'a king of very many islands.' Matthew of Westminster calls him 'king of Man and very many other islands.' And Malmesbury calls him 'an arch-pirate;' by which word *a robber* is not to be understood, but, as Asserius and others of that age use it, *one skilled in sea-affairs*, or *a sea-man*, so called from *pira*, which in the Attic tongue signifies *craft* or *art* [*πεῖρα, the knowledge which is the result of experience*]. But afterward it came to be applicable only to such as, without any justice, infest the seas.

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31—33. *A national Council in Wales. A.D. 970. The merry Laws made therein, confirmed by the Pope. A.D. 971.*

This Hoel-Dha, contemporary with king Edgar, was he that held a national council for all Wales, at a place called *Ty-guin*, or "the White-house," (because built of white hurdles, to make it more beautiful,) regulated after this manner: Out of every Hundred in Wales he chose six laymen, with whom he joined all the eminent ecclesiastical persons (accounted a hundred and forty) in his dominions. Out of those he chose eleven laymen and one clergyman, (but such-an-one as who alone by himself might pass virtually for eleven,) Blangoridus by name, to enact what laws they pleased, which, after the impression of royal assent upon them, should be observed by that nation. One might suspect this council, thus overpowered with laics therein, who pinch on the priests' side; whereas we find the canons therein wholly made in favour of the clergy; enacting this among the rest, "That the presence of a priest and a judge constitute a legal court," as the two persons only in the quorum thereof.

But methinks the laws therein enacted (which a learned antiquary * presents us at large) fall far short of the gravity of a council; except any will excuse it, from the age thereof. What we count light and trivial might be esteemed serious and solid in those days. Besides, the laws discover in them a conceited affectation of the number of three. In three cases a wife may legally leave her husband: First. If he hath a leprosy. Secondly. If he hath a stinking breath. Thirdly. And if he be unable to give her "due benevolence." In three cases it was lawful for a man to kiss his neighbour's wife: First. At a banquet. Secondly. At the Welsh play called Guare-raffau. And, Thirdly, when he comes from a far journey, by way of salutation. If a man and his wife were to part asunder, they were to divide their goods betwixt them, so that she was to have the shéep; he, the hogs;—she, the milk and milk-vessels, with all the dishes save one; he, all the beer and barrels, with the axe, saw, &c.

But how silly soever these canons seem to our modern critics, they were then conceived of such weight and worth, that king Hoel-

Not long after, the governor of a ship of pirates came to be called 'a pilot,' from *pile*, the name of a ship in the ancient Gallic language, some remainders whereof still continue among the Franks. After the insolency of these northern rovers and Pagans grew so great, all the maritime towns throughout Christendom might well be sensible of their danger, and the means of their deliverance; as, to express their common faith, and, next, their common refuge under God, on one side of their coin they stamped *a cross*, and on the reverse *a ship*; which gave original to that (though much-practised yet) little-understood custom of casting and naming *cross* and *pile* to this day."—EDIT.

* SIR HENRY SPELMAN in his "Councils," p. 411.

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Dha, with his archbishop of St. David's, the bishops of Bangor, Landaff, and St. Asaph, are said to have taken a journey to Rome, and procured the pope's confirmation to them. Nor find I aught else of this synod, save that the close thereof presents us with a list of seven episcopal seats then in Wales: (1.) St. David's, (2.) Ismael, (3.) Degenian, (4.) Ussyll, (5.) Teylaw, (6.) Teuledauc, (7.) Kenew.* I am not Welshman enough to point at these places, and to show you where they be at this day; which we leave to some skilful antiquary of their own nation.† Only we find that whereas the churches were burdened with some payments out of them, two of the bishops' seats, Ussyll and Kenew, were freed from the same. And this satisfactory reason is rendered of their exemption, *quia terris carent*, "because they had no lands belonging unto them."

34. *A Council at Winchester, with a miraculous Voice in it.* 1 Edward the Martyr. *A.D. 974.*

King Edgar was peaceably gathered to his fathers, leaving his crown to Edward his son; and his son, because under age, to the tuition of Dunstan. In this king's reign three councils were successively called, to determine the differences between monks and secular priests. The first was at Winchester; where the priests, being outed of their convents, earnestly pressed for restitution, and sought by arguments to clear their innocence, and prove their title to their ancient possessions. The council seemed somewhat inclinable to favour unto them; when presently a voice, as coming from a crucifix behind Dunstan, is reported to be heard, saying, *Absit*

* Query, Whether Bangor, Landaff, and St. Asaph be not comprised under these.

† Such a "skilful antiquary" was DR. WILLIAM HOWEL, from whose "Institution of General History," I make the following quotation, not only to elucidate the text, but also as an instance of the great confusion both in many dates and names at that dark period and for some ages afterwards:—"This king Ludwal is by others called Hunwal, Hurval, or Houil; no name having more various reading; and is thought to have been the same with *Howel-Dha*, or 'the good,' that great king of the Welsh, so famous for the laws he made to govern his subjects. Perceiving them out of all order for want of laws, he summoned together out of every *kennel* or 'hundred' of his kingdom, both laymen that were eminent for authority and knowledge, as also ecclesiastics, to a place called *Guin* upon *Taff-yn-Dead*, a house he had caused to be built of white or pilled rods for his use when he came to hunt in the parts of Demetia, whereupon it was called by the name of *Ty Guyn*. There the king and they continued all the Lent, fasting, and praying for a good issue of their meeting. Of those that now met he chose twelve of the laity, and a very learned clerk called Blangondus, to make a draught and preparative for their business. Camden will have this assembly held in the year 914; a certain manuscript, written long ago, about the year 920; the History of Wales, after or about 940; so great is the disagreement of writers; which seems to hint, that three several assemblies were held, if so long the reign of this Howel continued. The Book of Landaff makes him later, the contemporary of king Edgar, who began not his reign till the year 969."—EDIT.

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hoc ut fiat! Absit hoc ut fiat! Judicastis benè; mutaretis non benè. "God forbid it should be done! God forbid it should be done! Ye have judged it well, and should change it ill." Whether these words were spoken in Latin or English, authors leave us unresolved. Monks equal this (for the truth thereof) to the "still small voice" to Elijah, 1 Kings xix. 12; whilst others suspect some forgery; the rather, because it is reported to come "as from a crucifix:" they fear some secret falsehood in the fountain, because visible superstition was the cistern thereof. However, this voice proved for the present the casting voice to the secular priests, who thereby were overborne in their cause, and so was the council dissolved.

35. *Secular Priests strive still. A.D. 977.*

Yet still the secular priests did struggle, refusing to be finally concluded with this transient airy oracle. "To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word," &c., Isaiah viii. 20. They had no warrant to rely on such a vocal decision, from which they appealed to the scripture itself. A second council is called at Kirtlington, now Katlage, in Cambridgeshire, the barony of the right honourable the lord North; but nothing to purpose effected therein. Dunstan, say the monks, still answered his name; that is, *Dun*, "a rocky mountain," and *Stain*, "a stone," (but, whether "a precious stone," or "a rock of offence," let others decide,) persisting unmovable in his resolution; nor was any thing performed in this council, but that, by the authority thereof, people were sent on pilgrimage to St. Mary at Abingdon.

36, 37. *A portentous Council at Calne. Several Censures on this sad Accident.*

The same year a third council was called at Calne in Wiltshire. Hither repaired priests and monks, with their full forces, to try the last conclusion in the controversy betwixt them. The former, next the equity of the cause, relied most on the ability of their champion, one Beornelm, a Scottish bishop; who, with no less eloquence than strength, with scripture and reason defended their cause: when, behold, on a sudden, the beams brake in the room where they were assembled, and most of the secular priests were slain, and buried under the ruins thereof. All were affrighted, many maimed; only the place whereon Dunstan sate, either, as some say, remained firm, or fell in such sort, that the timber (the sword to kill others) proved the shield to preserve him from danger.

Some behold this story as a notable untruth; others suspect the

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devil therein, not for a liar, but a murderer, and this massacre procured by compact with him: a third sort conceived that Dunstan, who had so much of a smith, had here something of a carpenter, in him, and some device used by him about pinning and propping of the room. It renders it the more suspicious, because he dissuaded king Edward from being present there, pretending his want of age; though he was present in the last council; and, surely, he was never the younger for living some months since the same assembly. If truly performed, Dunstan appears happier herein than Samson himself, who could not so sever his foes, but both must die together. Sure I am, no ingenuous papist now-a-days will make any uncharitable inference from such an accident; especially since the fall of Black Friars, 1623, enough to make all good men turn the censuring of others into a humble silence, and pious adoring of Divine Providence.*

38, 39. *Seculars outed, and Monks advanced. Priests hardly dealt with.*

But the monks made great advantage of this accident, conceiving that Heaven had confirmed their cause, as lately by *word* at Winchester, so now by *work* in this council at Calne. Hereupon secular priests are every where outed, and monks substituted in their room. Indeed, these latter, in civil respect, were beheld as more beneficial to their convents; because secular priests did marry, and at their deaths did *condere testamenta*, "make their wills," and bequeathed their goods to their wives and children; whilst monks, having no issue which they durst own, made their monastery heir of all they had. It was also objected against the priests, that, by their looseness and laziness, left at large in their lives, they had caused the general declination of piety at this time; whilst it was presumed of the monks, that, by the strict rules of observance to which they were tied, they would repair the ruins of religion in all places.

It appears not what provision was made for these priests when ejected; and they seem to have had hard measure, to be dispossessed of their civil right. Except any will say, "It was no injury to them to lose their places so soon, but a great favour that they enjoyed them so long, living hitherto on the free bounty of their founders, and now at the full dispose of the church and state." Little can be said in excuse of the priests, and less in commendation of the monks; who, though they swept clean at the first, as new besoms, yet afterwards left more dust behind them of their own

* See vol. iii. p. 310, of this "Church-History."—EDIT.

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bringing in than their predecessors had done. Thus the hive of the church was no whit bettered by putting out *drones*, and placing *wasps* in their room. Yea, whereas formerly corruptions came into the church at the wicket, now the broad gates were opened for their entrance; monkery making the way for ignorance and superstition to overspread the whole world.

40, 41. *The prodigious Prodigality in building and endowing of Abbeys. Caution to our Age.*

Another humour of the former age (to make one digression for all) still continued, and increased, venting itself in the fair foundations and stately structures of so many monasteries. So that one, beholding their greatness, (being cor-rivals with some towns in receipt and extent,) would admire that they could be so neat; and, considering their neatness, must wonder they could be so great; and, lastly, accounting their number, will make all three the object of his amazement: especially, seeing many of these were founded in the Saxon heptarchy, when seven kings put together did spell but one in effect. So that it may seem a miracle, what invisible Indies those petty princes were masters of, building such structures which impoverish posterity to repair them. For although some of these monasteries were the fruit of many ages, long in ripening, at several times, by sundry persons, all whose parcels and additions met at last in some tolerable uniformity; yet most of them were begun and finished, absolute and entire, by one founder alone. And although we allow, that in those days artificers were procured, and materials purchased, at easy rates; yet, there being then scarceness of coin,—as a little money would then buy much ware, so much ware must first in exchange be given to provide that little money,—all things being audited proportionably, the wonder still remains as great as before. But here we see with what eagerness those designs are undertaken and pursued, which proceed from blind zeal; every finger being more than a hand to build, when they thought merit was annexed to their performances. O, with what might and main did they mount their walls, both day and night! erroneously conceiving, that their souls were advantaged to heaven, when taking the rise from the top of a steeple of their own erection!

But it will not be amiss to mind our forgetful age, that, seeing devotion (now better-informed) long since hath desisted to express itself in such pompous buildings, she must find some other means and manner to evidence and declare her sincerity. Except any will say, that there is less heat required, where more light is granted: and that our practice of piety should be diminished, because our

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knowledge thereof is increased. God, no doubt, doth justly expect that religion should testify her thankfulness to him, by some eminent way and works; and where the fountain of piety is full, it will find itself a vent to flow in, though not through the former channels of superstition.

42. *King Edward murdered, aliàs martyred.* *A.D.* 979.

King Edward went to give his mother-in-law at Corfe-Castle a respectful visit, when by her contrivance he was barbarously murdered, so as to pave the way for her son Ethelred's succession to the crown. But king Edward, by losing his life, got the title of "a martyr," so constantly called in our Chronicles. Take the term in a large acceptation, otherwise, restrictively, it signifies such an one as suffers for the testimony of the truth, But, seeing this Edward was cruelly murdered, and is said after death to work miracles; let him, by the courtesy of the church, pass for a martyr, not knowing any act or order to the contrary, to deny such a title unto him.

43. *King Ethelred prognosticated unsuccessful.* 1 Ethelred. (*By cognomen* "the Unready.")

Ethelred, Edward's half-brother, succeeded him in the throne: one with whom Dunstan had a quarrel from his cradle, because, when an infant, he left more water in the font than he found there, at his baptizing. Happy Dunstan himself, if guilty of no greater fault, which could be no sin, nor properly a slovenliness, in an infant, if he did as an infant! Yet *from such his addition*, Dunstan prognosticated *an inundation of Danes* would ensue in this island; which, accordingly, came to pass. But Ethelred is more to be condemned for the blood he shed when a man; it being vehemently suspected that he was accessary, with his mother, to the murdering of his brother Edward.

44. *Dunstan's Corpse wrongfully claimed by the Convent of Glastonbury.* *A.D.* 987.

But Dunstan survived not to see his prediction take effect; for he was happily prevented by death, and buried on the south side of the high-altar in the church at Canterbury; where his tomb was famous for some time, till Thomas Becket eclipsed the same; seeing saints, like new besoms, sweep clean at the first, and afterwards are clean swept out by newer saints who succeed them. Yea, Dunstan's grave grew so obscure at Canterbury, that the monks of Glastonbury, taking heart thereat, and advantaged by John Capgrave's report, that, *anno* 1012, Dunstan's corpse was trans-

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lated thither, pretended his burial, and built him a shrine in their convent. Men and money met at Glastonbury on this mistake; and their convent got more by this eight-feet length of ground, (the supposed tomb of Dunstan,) than eight hundred acres of the best land [which] they possessed elsewhere. Whereupon William Wareham, archbishop of Canterbury, to try the truth, and to prevent farther fraud herein, caused a solemn search to be made in the cathedral of Canterbury after Dunstan's corpse, in the place [where] tradition reported him to be interred.

45, 46. *A Night Hue-and-Cry made after his Corpse: Discovered, with the Manner of the Interment thereof.*

Four of the friars, fittest for the work, (to wit, of stronger bodies than brains,) undertook to make this scrutiny, *anno* 1508, the 22nd of April. Great caution was used, that all should be done *semotis laicis*, "no laymen being present;" whether because their eyes were too profane to behold so holy an object, or too prying to discover the default, if the search succeeded not. In the night they so plied their work, that ere morning they discovered Dunstan's coffin, and rested the day following from more digging; as well they might, having taken so much pains, and gained so much profit by their endeavours.

Next night they on afresh; and, with main force, plucked up the ponderous coffin upon the pavement. A coffin built, as one may say, three stories high: the outermost of wood, but almost made iron with the multitude of nails therein; within that, another of plain lead; within that, a third of wrought lead, wherein the bones of Dunstan lay in his pontifical vests,* with this inscription in a plate, *Hic requiescit Sanctus Dunstanus archi-episcopus.* Some lumps of flesh were found, which were said to smell very sweet,—the relics, perchance, of some spices which embalmed him; and all done in the presence of many worthy witnesses: amongst whom, Cuthbert Tunstal was one, then the archbishop's chancellor, afterward bishop of Durham. Hereupon the archbishop sent his mandate to the abbot and convent of Glastonbury, henceforward to desist from any jactitation of Dunstan's corpse, and abusing people with such pretences: a fault most frequent in that convent, challenging almost the monopoly of all English saints; witness that impudent lie of the rhyming monk, writing thus of Glastonbury:—

Hic tumulus sanctus, hic scala poli celebratur;
Vix luit Inferni pœnas hic qui tumulatur.

* *Archiva Eccles. Cant.* exemplified by my good friend MR. WILL. SOMNER in his Description of Cant. *in Appendice Script.* 12.

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But, who is rather to be believed?—St. Peter, that saith, "The righteous shall scarcely be saved?" 1 Peter iv. 18; or this monk, affirming, that "whoso is buried at Glastonbury shall scarcely be damned?"

47, 48. *Priests and Monks alternately cast out.* A.D. 988. *The Danes re-invade England.* A.D. 989.

After the death of Dunstan their patron, the monks (not much befriended by king Ethelred) were cast out of the convent of Canterbury, or rather cast out themselves by their misdemeanours. "Man in honour hath no understanding," &c. Psalm xlix. 20. They waxed so wanton with possessing the places of secular priests, that a monk,* himself of Canterbury, confesseth, *Monachi propter eorum insolentiam sedibus pulsi, et clerici introducti:* "Monks for their insolency were driven out of their seats, and secular clerks brought into their room." Thus was it often, "in dock, out nettle," as they could strengthen their parties. For Siricius, the next archbishop of Canterbury, endeavoured the re-expulsion of the priests; which by Alfricus his successor was effected.

But, soon after, the Danes revenged the quarrel of the secular priests; and, by a firm ejection, outed the monks before they were well warm in their nests. Their fury fell more on convents than castles; whether, because the former were in that age more numerous; (castles afterwards were increased by William the Conqueror;) or because their prey and plunder were presumed the richest, and easiest to be gotten; or because the Danes, then generally Pagans, principally spited places of religion. A relapse is far more dangerous than a simple disease; as here it proved in the Danes. England for these last sixty years had been cured of and cleared from their cruelty, which now returned more terrible than ever before.

49. *The Unreadiness of King Ethelred advantageth the Danes.* A.D. 990.

These Danes were also advantaged by the unactiveness of king Ethelred, therefore surnamed "the Unready" in our Chronicles. The clock of his consultations and executions was always set some hours too late, vainly striving with much industry to redress what a little providence might seasonably have prevented. Now, when this *unready* king met with the Danes, his *over-ready* enemies, no wonder if lamentable was the event thereof. The best thing I find recorded of this king Ethelred is, that in his days began the trial

* Will. Thorn, cited by *Ant. Brit.* p. 90.

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of causes by a jury of twelve men to be chosen out of the vicinage, of like quality, as near as may be suited, to the persons concerned therein. Hereby men have most fair-play for their lives; and let it be the desires of all honest hearts, that, whilst we pluck off the badges of all Norman slavery, we part not with the livery of our old Saxon liberty.

50. *A dear Peace bought of the Danes.* *A.D.* 991.

In this sad condition king Ethelred hearkened to the persuasions of Siricius, archbishop of Canterbury, and with ten thousand pounds purchased a present peace with the Danes. Indeed, it was conformable to the calling of a churchman to procure peace, having not only scripture precepts therein, "Seek peace, and pursue it," Psalm xxxiv. 14; but also precedents for the same, when gracious Hezekiah with a present pacified Sennacherib, to desist from invading him, 2 Kings xviii. 14. However, this archbishop generally suffered in his reputation, condemned of all, for counselling of what was, First, DISHONOURABLE: That an entire nation, being at home in their own land, should purchase a peace from foreigners, fewer in number, and fetching their recruits and warlike provisions from a far country: let them be paid in due coin, not silver, but steel. Secondly, UNPROFITABLE: If once the Danes got but the trick to make the English bleed money to buy peace, they would never leave them till they had sucked out their heart-blood, and exhausted the whole treasure of the land.

51. *Multitudes of Monasteries caused the Danish Invasion.* *A.D.* 994.

Indeed, one may safely affirm, that the multitude of monasteries invited the invasion, and facilitated the conquest of the Danes over England; and that in a double respect: First. Because not only the *fruit* of the king's exchequer (I mean, ready money) was spent by this king's predecessors on founding of monasteries; but also the *root* thereof (his demesne lands) plucked up, and parted with, to endow the same: whereby the sinews of war were wanting, to make effectual opposition against foreign enemies. Secondly. Because England had at this time more flesh or fat than bones, wherein the strength of a body consists: more monks than military men. For instance: Holy Island, near Northumberland, is sufficiently known, for the position thereof, an advantageous landing-place, especially in relation to Denmark. This place was presently forsaken of the fearful monks, frighted with the approach of the Danes; and Aldhunus, the bishop thereof, removed his cathedral and convent to Durham, an inland place of more safety. Now, had there been

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a castle in the place of this monastery, to secure the same with fighters instead of feeders, men-of-arms instead of men of bellies, therein, probably they might have stopped the Danish invasion at the first inlet thereof; England then as much wanting martial men, as since * it hath surfeited with too many of them.

52. *The Cruelty of the returning Danes. A.D. 995.*

The Danes, having received and spent their money, invaded England afresh, according to all wise men's expectation. It is as easy for armed might to pick a quarrel, as it is hard for naked innocence to make resistance. The deluge of their cruelty overran the realm; whose sword made no more difference betwixt the ages, sexes, and conditions of people, than the fire (which they cast on houses) made distinction in the timber thereof, whether it was elm, oak, or ash; the fierceness of the one killing, the fury of the other consuming, all it met with. Indeed, in some small skirmishes the English got the better, but all to no purpose. There is a place in Hertfordshire called Danes-end, where the inhabitants by tradition report, (uncertain of the exact date thereof,) that a fatal blow in a battle was given to the Danes thereabouts. But, alas! this Danes-*end* was but Danes-*beginning*; they quickly recovered themselves as many, and mighty in the field; and it seemed an endless end to endeavour their utter extirpation. Thus the century sets with little mirth, and the next is likely to arise with more mourning.

SECTION VI.

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

BALDWINO HAMEY, MEDICINÆ DOCTORI LITERATISSIMO, MÆCENATI SUO DIGNISSIMO.

CONQUERUNTUR nostrates novissimo hoc decennio, novam rerum faciem indui; nec mutata solùm, sed et inversa esse omnia. Hujus indicia plurima proferunt, tristia sanè ac dolenda; dominos nimirùm servis postpositos, dum alii e servis domini repentè prodierint.

At, ad metamorphosin hanc probandam, argumentum

* Namely, in the wars between York and Lancaster.

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suppetit mihi ipsi lætum et memoratu jucundum. Solent enim ægroti, si quando medicum adeant, manus afferre plenas, referre vacuas. At ipse e contrà te sæpe accessi et æger et inops; decessi integer et benè nummatus. Quoties enim opus hoc nostrum radicitùs exaruisset, si non imbre munificentiæ tuæ fuisset irrigatum!

1, 2. *Murder of the Danes in a Church. A.D.* 1002. *Canterbury sacked: Alphage killed by the Danes. A.D.* 1011. *Believe what you list. More Cruelty. A.D.* 1012.

THIS century began (as children generally are born) with crying; partly for a massacre made by the English on the Danes, but chiefly for the cruelty committed by the Danes on the English. Concerning the former: Certain Danes fled into a church at Oxford, hoping the sanctity thereof (according to the devout principles of that age) would secure them; and probably such pity might have inclined them to Christianity. Whereas, by command from king Ethelred, they were all burned in the place;* whose blood remained not long unrevenged. The Danish fury fell (if not first) fiercest on the city of Canterbury, with fire and sword, destroying eight thousand people therein: and such authors as quadruple that number, surely take in not only the vicinage, but all Kent, to make up their account. Ealphegus the archbishop of Canterbury, commonly called Alphage, was then slain, and since sainted; a church nigh Cripplegate in London being consecrated to his memory.

A monk of Canterbury † reports, that the abbey of St. Augustine was saved on this occasion: A Danish soldier stealing the pall from the tomb of St. Augustine, it stuck so close under his arm-pits, that it could not be parted from his skin, until he had publicly made confession of his fault. *Ultio raptorem rapuit*, saith the author. And hereupon the Danes, of invaders, turned defenders of that monastery. But others ‡ conceive, if it found extraordinary favour, their money (not this miracle) procured it. Sure I am, when Achan stole the Babylonish garment, he was left at large to discovery by lot, Joshua vii. 18, and no miracle detected him. Next year a nameless bishop of London was sacrificed to their fury, used worse than the task-masters of Israel, (on whose back the number of bricks wanting were only scored in blows, Exodus v. 14,) being killed outright, for want of present pay of the tribute § promised unto them.

† HEN. HUNTINGDON, MATTH. WESTMINSTER. † THORN in his "Description of Canterbury." ‡ See WILL. SOMNER in his "Antiquities of Canterbury," p. 56. § HEN. HUNTINGDON, ROG. HOVEDEN.

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3. *The Valour of Cambridgeshire-men.*

Cambridge and Oxford both of them deeply tasted of this bitter cup at the same time. True it is, some two years since, when the rest of the East Angles cowardly fled away, *homines comitatûs Cantabrigiæ viriliter obstiterunt, unde Anglis regnantibus laus Cantabrigiensis provinciæ splendidè florebat.** Hence it is that I have read, (though unable at the instant to produce my author,) that Cambridgeshire-men claim an ancient (now antiquated) privilege, to lead the van in all battles.† But valour at last little befriended them; the Danes burning Cambridge to ashes, and harassing the country round about.

4. *Two English Kings at once. Edmund Ironside treacherously slain.* 1 Edmund Ironside. *A.D.* 1016.

Here let state-historians inform the reader of intestine wars betwixt Edmund Ironside, (so called for his hardy enduring all troubles,) king of England, *defender*, and Canutus the Dane, *invader*, of this land; till at last, after a personal duel fought, the land was equally divided betwixt them: a division wherewith both *seemed*, neither *were*, well-pleased; seeing the least *whole* head cannot be fitted with the biggest *half*-crown; all or none was their desire. Canutus at last, with his silver hand, was too hard for the other's Iron Side; who, by his promised bribes, prevailed with one Edrick to kill this his cor-rival; which being performed, he was fairly advanced with a halter.‡ It would spoil the trade of all traitors, if such coin only were current in paying their rewards.

5, 6. *Canutus's Cruelty converted into Charity.* 1 Canute. *A.D.* 1017—31. *He goeth to Rome. Returneth, improved in Devotion.* *A.D.* 1033

Canutus, or Knot, the Dane, (from whom a bird in Lincolnshire is so called, wherewith his palate § was much pleased,) bathed himself in English blood; whom, at this distance of time, we may safely term "a tyrant," so many murders and massacres were by him committed. For his religion: As yet he was a mongrel betwixt a Pagan and a Christian; though, at last, the latter prevailed, especially after his pilgrimage to Rome. In his passage thither, he went through France; where, understanding that the people paid deep taxes, he disbursed so much of his own money in their behalf, that he brought their taxes || to be abated to one half: ¶ an act of pity in

* *Chronicon.* JO. BROMPTON, p. 887. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 410.—EDIT. ‡ Others say, he was beheaded. § DRAYTON'S *Poly-olbion*, p. 112. || RODULPHUS DE DICETO, column. 468. ¶ JOHANNES BROMPTON, *in Legibus Canuti*, column. 912.

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a prince, without precedent, done to foreigners. It is vain for the English to wish the like courtesy from the king of France; partly because England lies not in their way to Rome, partly because they are fuller of compliments than courtesy.

Coming to Rome, Canutus turned convert, changing his condition with the climate, showing there many expressions of devotion. Much he gave to the pope; and something he gained from him, namely, an immunity for archbishops from their excessive charges about their pall; and some other favours he obtained for his subjects. After his return into his own country, he laid out all the remainder of his days in acts of charity, in founding or enriching of religious houses, and two especially, St. Bene't's in the Holm in Norfolk, and Hyde Abbey near Winchester.

7—9. *The paramount Cross of England for richness. King Canutus's Humility. A.D.* 1035. *Commands the Sea; but in vain. His Sermon thereon. His Laws, why omitted.*

To this latter he gave a cross so costly for the metal, and curious for the making, that one year's revenues * of his crown was expended on the same. But the cross of this cross was,—that, about the reign of king Henry VI., it was burnt † down with the whole monastery, in a fire which was very suspicious to have been kindled by intentional malice. This Canutus, towards the latter end of his reign, never wore a crown; resigning up the same to the image of our Saviour: he was also famous for a particular act of humility done by him on this occasion.

A parasite (and sooner will a hot May want flies, than a king's court such flatterers) sought to puff-up king Canutus with an opinion of his puissance; as if, because England and Norway, therefore Æolus and Neptune, must obey him. In confuting of whose falsehood, Canutus commanded his chair of state to be set on the sea-shore, nigh Southampton, and settled himself thereon. Then he imperiously ‡ commanded the waves (as a fence which walled that land belonging unto him) to observe their due distance, not presuming to approach him. The surly waves were so far from obeying, they heard him not; who listened only to the proclamation of a higher Monarch,—"Hither shalt thou come, and no further," Job xxxviii. 11; and made bold to give the king's feet so coarse a kiss, as wetted him up to the knees.

On this accident, king Canutus made an excellent sermon: First. Adoring the infinite power of God, sole Commander of the winds and waves. Secondly. Confessing the frailty of all flesh, unable to

* CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Hampshire. † *Idem, ibidem.* ‡ HEN. HUNTINGDON *in Vitâ Canuti.*

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stop the least drop of the sea. Thirdly. Confuting the profaneness of flatterers, fixing an infinite power in a finite creature. As for the laws made by king Canutus, we have purposely omitted them: not so much because many, large, and ordinarily extant; but chiefly because, most, of civil concernment.

10. *Harold Harefoot succeeded him; then Hardy Canutus.* 1 Harold Harefoot. *A.D.* 1036. 1 Hardy Canute. *A.D.* 1040.

Two of his sons succeeded him, more known by their handsome surnames, than any other desert. First. His base son, (taking advantage of his brother's absence,) called, from his swiftness, Harold Harefoot,—belike, another Asahel in nimbleness, 2 Sam. ii. 18; but hare's-*heart* had better befitted his nature, so cowardly his disposition. Then, his legitimate son, called Hardy Canute, more truly *Bloody* Canute, eminent for his cruelty. With him expired the Danish royal line in England, leaving no issue behind him, and opening an opportunity for the banished son of king Ethelred to recover the crown, whose ensuing reign is richly worth our description. Mean time it is worth our observing, in how few years the Danish greatness shrank to nothing; and from formidable became inconsiderable, yea, contemptible. Indeed, Canutus was one of extraordinary worth; and the wheel, once moved, will for a time turn of itself. Had Harold his son (by what way it skilled not) been one of a tolerable disposition, he might have traded in reputation on the stock of his father's memory. But being so very mean, (considerable only in cruelty,) his father's worth did him the disadvantage to render his unworthiness the more conspicuous. Besides, when Hardy Canute his brother succeeded him, and, though better born, showed himself no better bred in his inhuman carriage, it caused not only a nauseation, in the people of England, of Danish kings, but also an appetite, yea, a longing, after their true and due sovereign.

11, 12. *Edward the Confessor becomes King of England. The Original of our Common Laws.* 1 Edward the Confessor. *A.D.* 1042.

Edward the Confessor, youngest son of king Ethelred, (his elder brethren being slain, and their children fled away,) came to be king of England. I understand not the ceremony which I read was used to this Edward, whilst as yet (saith a monkish author,* properly enough in his own language) "he was contained in the weak cloisters of his mother's womb;" at which time the peers of

* Father JEROME PORTER, in "the Flowers of the Lives of the Saints," p. 2.

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the land sware allegiance unto *him* or *her* (the sex as yet being unknown) before he was born. Indeed, I find that Varranes's child was crowned king whilst yet in his mother's body, *applicatâ ad uterum coronâ.** But what solemnity soever was done to this *Hans-in-kelder*,† it did not afterwards embolden him to the anticipation of the crown,—attending till it descended upon him.‡

A worthy king, no less pious to God, than just to man. For, whereas formerly there were manifold laws in the land,—made, some by the Britons, others by the Danes, others by the English, —swelling to an unmeasurable number, to the great mischief of his subjects; he caused some few of the best to be selected, and the rest, as captious and unnecessary, to be rejected. Hence, say some, they were called "the common laws,"§ as calculated for the common good, and no private person's advantage.

13. *No hostile Danes appear in England.*

It is admirable how the Danes in this king's reign were vanished away. They who formerly could scarce be numbered in England they were so many, could now scarce be numbered they were so few, and those living quietly with their English neighbours. As for foreign invading Danes in this king's reign, as I cannot see them, so I will not seek them, glad of their room and riddance. Indeed, once I meet with an assay of them in a navy bound to infest England; but their king being casually drowned as he entered his own fleet, put an end to their hopes, and our fears for that design.

14, 15. *The manner of Ordeal by Fire. A.D.* 1046. *Queen Emma's miraculous Purgation.*

Emma, king Edward's mother, being suspected too familiar with Alwin bishop of Winchester, under the colour of devotion, put herself to be tried by ordeal; whereof this the manner: Nine ploughshares, glowing-hot, were laid on the ground, one foot distant from another; the party suspected was to be brought blindfolded, and bare-footed to pass over them. If he chanced to step in the intervals, or on the hot iron unhurt, he was pronounced "innocent," otherwise condemned for an offender. An unjust law, wherein the triers had no precept, the tried no promise. Must innocence be ruined as often as malice would wrong it, if miracle would not rescue it? This was not a way to try man, but tempt God: as just a trying by fire, as that of

* AGATHIAS, lib. iv. † A Dutch phrase, "Jack-in-the-cellar," for "a child in the womb." See a similar application of this epithet to St. David, p. 61.—EDIT. ‡ See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 411.—EDIT. § See *ibid*, p. 412.—EDIT.

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our modern witches by water. This trial queen Emma admirably underwent, not sensible of the ploughshares till past them, saying to such as led her, "O, when shall I come to the place of my purgation?"

By what power this was performed, I will not dispute; finding amongst the Heathens a city Feronia,* twenty miles from Rome, under Mount Soracte; where the inhabitants, possessed with a spirit of a deity therein worshipped, usually walked upon burning coals, without any harm. Only I wonder, that bishop Alwin (equally suspected and equally innocent with Emma) should not proffer himself to the like trial. But, perchance, the prudent prelate remembered, that such barbarous customs, though kept up amongst the common people, were forbidden by the ancient canons, as also by the letter of pope Stephen V., which about the year eight hundred eighty and seven he wrote to Humbert, bishop of Mentz. And now Emma, who went willingly on this sad errand, did the business for them both, and cleared their credits. The church of Winchester got well hereby; namely, nine manors, which queen Emma bestowed thereon, in commemoration of her deliverance.

16, 17. *A Wife no Wife. Yet, was there not a Cause?*

King Edward the Confessor was married to the devout lady Edith; his wife in mind, but not in body; in consent, not act; being only (as my author saith) an Abishag to the king. Strange! that two persons, if loving each other in the prime of their years, should light on so happy a temper as mutually to warm, not to heat, one another; which the wise men in our age will account difficult, and the wanton impossible. Such will say, if this was true, that king Edward passed as great a trial as queen Emma his mother; and that his ordeal was as hard, as hers was painful.

Was it not pity but the world should have more of the breed of them who were so godly a couple? Let baseness be barren, and cruelty childless. Pious persons deserve a double portion in that charter of fruitfulness, "Multiply and increase," Gen. i. 28. Yea, the English crown now wanting an heir, and, for default thereof, likely to fall to foreigners, might (I will not say have tempted, but) have moved king Edward to the knowledge of his wife. But whilst papists cry up this his incredible continency, others easily unwonder the same, by imputing it partly to his impotence, afflicted with an infirmity; partly to the distaste of his wife, whom he married only for conveniency; and to the distrust of her

* STRABONIS *Geographia*, lib. v., *et* PLIN. lib. vii. cap. 2.

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chastity, on suspicion whereof he confined her to the monastery of Whore-well* (as I take it) in Hampshire.

18. *The good Daughter of a bad Father.*

But grant queen Edith a chaste woman, as she is generally believed; daughter she was to a wicked father, earl Godwin by name; whence the proverb:—

Sicut spina rosam, genuit Godwinus Editham:

"From prickly stock as springs a rose,
So Edith from earl Godwin grows:"

little ill being written of the daughter, and no good of the father. Indeed, king Edward was father-in-law-ridden, who feared earl Godwin rather than trusted him, as who with a long train of his power could sweep many dependents after him. This Godwin, like those sands near Kent which bear his name, never spared what he could spoil, but swallowed all which came within his compass to devour. Two instances whereof, because both belonging to church-matters, we will relate.

19, 20. *Godwin's Device to get Berkeley Nunnery. Another Trick to gain the Manor of Boseham.*

He cast a covetous eye on the fair nunnery of Berkeley in Gloucestershire, and thus contrived it for himself: He left there a handsome young man, really or seemingly sick, for their charity to recover; who quickly grows well and wanton. He is toying, tempting, taking; such fire and flax quickly make a flame. The sisters lose their chastity, and, without taking wife in the way, are ready to make mothers. The young man, if sick, returns to earl Godwin in health, leaving the healthful nuns sick behind him. The fame hereof fills the country, flies to court, is complained of by earl Godwin to the king. Officers are sent to inquire, they return it to be true, the nuns are turned out, their house and lands forfeited, both bestowed on earl Godwin; surprised weakness being put out, and designed wickedness placed in the room thereof. Surely, king Edward knew nothing of Godwin's deceit herein; otherwise it was unjust, that the whores should be punished, and the principal pander rewarded.

At another time he had a mind to the rich manor of Boseham in Sussex, and complimented it out of Robert archbishop of Canterbury, in this manner: Coming to the archbishop, he saith, *Da*

* "Horwell," says MILLS, in his "Catalogue of Honour."—EDIT.

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mihi Basium, that is, "Give me a buss," or "a kiss,"—an usual favour from such a prelate. The archbishop returns, *Do tibi Basium*, kissing him therewith: a *holy* kiss (perchance) as given, but a *crafty* one as taken; for Godwin presently posts to Boseham, and takes possession thereof. And though here was neither real intention in him who passed it away, nor valuable consideration to him, but a mere circumvention; yet such was Godwin's power, and the archbishop's poorness of spirit, that he quietly enjoyed it. Nor have I aught else to observe either of Berkeley or Boseham, but that both these rich and ancient manors, (earl Godwin's brace of cheats,) and distant a hundred miles each from other, are now both met in the right honourable George Berkeley, (as heir-apparent thereof,) the paramount Mæcenas of my studies; whose ancestors as they were long since justly possessed of them, so I doubt not but their posterity will long comfortably enjoy them.

21. *A Miracle reported done by King Edward.* *A.D.* 1046.

The monks that wrote this king Edward's Life had too heavy a hand in over-spicing it with miracles; which hath made the relation too hot for the mouth of any moderate belief. A poor cripple chanced to come to him, one who might have stocked a whole hospital with his own maladies. It was questionable, whether the difficulty of his crawling caused more pain, or the deformity thereof more shame unto him. The sight of him made all tender beholders cripples by sympathy, commiserating his sad condition. But, it seems, this weak wretch had a strong fancy and bold face, who durst desire the king himself to carry him on his back into the church, on assurance, as he said, that thereby he should be recovered. The good king grants this desire; and this royal porter bears him into the church, where so strange an alteration is said to happen: *Qui venit quadrupes decessit bipes*: "He that came on all four, departed straight and upright."

22. *Westminster Church rebuilt by him.* *A.D.* 1061.

The church into which the king carried the cripple was St. Peter's in Westminster, built by him on this occasion:—King Edward had made a vow to visit the relics of St. Peter in Rome; and, because his subjects could not safely spare him out of his own country, the pope dispensed with him for the performance thereof. Now, although he went not to St. Peter, St. Peter came to him, and in several apparitions advised him to build him a church in the place now called Westminster, then Thornie, because desolate, and

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overgrown with thorns and briers. Nor is it any news, that populous cities, at this present, were anciently woods and bushy plots. What else was Jerusalem itself in the days of Abraham, but a Thornie, when, in the midst thereof, on Mount Moriah, "a ram was caught by the horns in a thicket?" Gen. xxii. 13. This church many years before had been dedicated to, and, as the monks say, consecrated by, St. Peter, till destroyed by the Danes: king Edward raised it from the ruins, endowing it with large privileges and rich possessions.

23. *A Ring said to be sent from St. John to King Edward.*

Next to St. Peter, our Edward's darling, he is said to be most in favour with St. John the apostle, who is reported to have appeared unto him in the shape of a begging pilgrim. The king, not having, at the present, money to supply his wants, plucked off his ring from his finger, and bestowed it upon him. This very ring, some years after, St. John sent him back again by two pilgrims out of Palestine; but withal telling him, that he should die within six months after: a message more welcome than the ring to such a mortified man. If any doubt of the truth thereof, it is but riding to Havering in Essex, so called, as they say,* from this ring, where, no doubt, the inhabitants will give any sufficient satisfaction therein.

24. *A Vision worth observing.*

Amongst the many visions in this king's reign, one I will not omit, because seeming to have somewhat more than mere monk therein. One, being inquisitive what should become of England after king Edward's death, received this answer: "The kingdom of England belongeth to God himself, who will provide it a king at his pleasure." Indeed, England is God's on several titles. First. As a country: "The earth is his, and the fulness thereof." Secondly. As an island; which are God's demesnes, which he keeps in his own hand of his daily providence. Thirdly. As a kingdom, on which he hath bestowed miraculous deliverances. Seeing, then, England is his own, we know who said, "Is it not lawful to do what I will with mine own?" Matt. xx. 15. May He dispose of his own to his own glory, and the good of his own servants!

25. *King Edward's Contempt of Wealth.*

Amongst the many resplendent virtues in king Edward, contempt of wealth was not the least, whereof some bring in this for an

* CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Essex.

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instance:—The king lay on a pallet surrounded with curtains; by him stood a chest of silver, which Hugolin, his treasurer, (called away on some sudden occasion,) had left open. In comes a thievish courtier, takes away as much money as he could carry, and disposeth thereof. Then cometh he the second time for a new burden, little suspecting that the unseen king saw him all the while, and, having laden himself, departed. Some add, he returned the third time. "Be content," quoth the king, "with what you have, lest, if Hugolin come in and catch you, he take it all from you." Soon after the treasurer returning, and fretting for loss of the money, "Let him have it quietly," said the king, "he needeth it more than we do:" words which spake him a better man than king, as accessary to his own robbing; who, if pleased to have made this pilfering fellow to have tasted of the whip for his pains, had marred a pretty *jest*, but made a better *earnest* therein.

26. *King Edward's Wardrobe put into the Regalia.*

Posterity conceived so great an opinion of king Edward's piety, that his clothes were deposited amongst the regalia, and solemnly worn by our English kings on their coronation; never counting themselves so fine, as when invested with his robes; the sanctity of Edward, the first wearer, excusing, yea, adorning, the modern antiqueness of his apparel. Amongst these is the rod or sceptre, with a dove on the top thereof, the emblem of peace; because in his reign England enjoyed halcyon days, free from Danish invasions; as also his crown, chair, staff, tunic, close pall, Tuisni hosen, sandals, spurs, gloves, &c.* Expect not from me a comment on these several clothes, or reason for the wearing of them. In general, it was to mind our kings, when habited with his clothes, to be clothed with the habit of his virtuous endowments; as, when putting on the gloves of this Confessor, their hands ought to be like his, in moderate taking of taxes from their subjects. Indeed, impositions, once raised, are seldom remitted; pretended necessities being always found out for their continuance. But our Edward released to his subjects the grievous burden of Dane-gelt, paid to his predecessors; conceiving it fit, now the Danes were departed, that the gelt or tax should go after them. But now, Edward's staff is broken, chair overturned, clothes rent, and crown melted; our present age esteeming them the relics of superstition.

27. *No Confessor, in the Strictness of the Word.*

And yet, all things being cast up, I confess I understand not how the name "Confessor" is proper to king Edward, in the strict

* See MILLS's "Catalogue of Honour," p. 59.

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acceptance thereof. For a confessor is one actually persecuted for the testimony of the truth, and prepared to lose his life for the same. He is a martyr in bullion, wanting only the stamp of a violent death to be impressed upon him. Now, a great part of our Edward's life was led by him in peace and plenty; nothing bounding his abundance but his own moderation, and, for twenty years together, having no visible foe to offend him. And although in his youth he lived in Normandy, in a middle condition, betwixt an exile and a traveller, flying thither for fear of the Danes; yet such his sufferings were of civil concernment, not directly relating to conscience, though at distance reducible thereunto. But seeing, in the titles of great persons, it is better to give too much than too little; a Confessor we found him, and a Confessor we leave him.

28. *Stigand, the vicious Archbishop of Canterbury.*

Our eyes have been so intent in beholding the virtues of this king, we have been little at leisure to take notice of the archbishops of Canterbury during his reign. Know, then, that about ten years since, Robert archbishop of Canterbury, who succeeded Eadsin therein, fearing some hard measure from earl Godwin, (notwithstanding he had been contentedly kissed out of his manor of Boseham,) conveyed himself away beyond the seas, to his monastery in Normandy, whence he came first into England. After whose departure, Stigand, bishop of Winchester, intruded himself into that see, eminent only for vice and sordid covetousness.

29. *King Edward's ecclesiastical Constitutions.*

As for the ecclesiastical laws made by this king in his reign, it will be enough to affix their principal titles.

(1.) That every clerk and scholar should quietly enjoy their goods and possessions.

(2.) What solemn festivals people may come and go of, without any lawsuits to disturb them.

(3.) That in all courts where the bishop's proctor doth appear, his case is first to be heard and determined.

(4.) That guilty folk, flying to the church, shall there have protection, not to be reprehended by any, but by the bishop and his ministers.

(5.) That tithes be paid to the church, of sheep, pigs, bees, and the like.

(6.) How the ordeal was to be ordered for the trial of guilty persons by fire and water.

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(7.) That Peter-pence, or Rome-scot, be faithfully paid to the pope.

But I lose time, and refer the reader to read these constitutions at large, being three-and-twenty in number, in the worthy work of that no less learned than religious knight, sir Henry Spelman.*

30—35. *How the Kings of England come to cure the King's Evil. Several Opinions of the Causes thereof. Others count it Superstition. Many make the Cure miraculous. The ingenuous Confession of a Catholic. Queen Elizabeth, why displeased with the People in Gloucestershire.*

And now the full time was come, wherein good king Edward exchanged this life for a better; (January 4th, 1066;) who as he was famous for many personal miracles, so he is reported to have entailed (by heaven's concert) an hereditary virtue on his successors, the kings of England, (only with this condition,—that they continue constant in Christianity,) to cure the king's evil.† This disease, known to the Greeks by the name of χοιράδες, termed by Latins *struma* and *scrophulæ*, hath its cause from phlegm; its chief and common outward residence in or near the neck and throat, where it expresseth itself in knobs and kernels, pregnant oftentimes with corrupted blood, and other putrified matter, which, on the breaking of those bunches, floweth forth, equally offensive to sight, smell, and touch. And yet this noisome disease is happily healed by the hands of the kings of England stroking the sore; and if any doubt of the truth thereof, they may be remitted to their own eyes for farther confirmation. But there is a sort of men, who, to avoid the censure of over-easy credulity, and purchase the repute of prudent austerity, justly incur the censure of affected frowardness; it being neither manners nor discretion in them, in matters notoriously known, to give daily experience the lie by the backwardness of their belief.

But whence this cure proceeds, is much controverted amongst the learned. Some recount it in the number of those ἀναπόδειχτα, whose reason cannot be demonstrated. For as in vicious commonwealths bastards are frequent, who, being reputed *filii populi*, have no particular father; so man's ignorance increaseth the number of occult qualities, (which I might call "chances in nature,") where the effect is beheld, but cannot be certainly referred to any immediate and proper cause thereof. Others impute it to the power of fancy, and an exalted imagination.‡ For when the poor

* In his "Councils," p. 619. † PRIMROSIUS *De Vulgat. Error. cap. ultimo.*
‡ FERRERIUS, *Method.* lib. ii. cap. 11, *De Homeric. Curat.*—See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 412.—EDIT.

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patient (who, perchance, seldom heard of and never saw a king before) shall behold his royal hand dabbling in a puddle of putrefaction, and, with a charitable confidence, rubbing, smoothing, chafing those loathsome kernels; which I may call "clouds of corruption," dissolved oft-times into a feculent shower;—I say, when the sick man shall see a hand so humble of an arm so high, such condescension in a king, to stroke that sore at which meaner persons would stop their nostrils, shut their eyes, or turn their faces; this raiseth, erecteth, enthroneth the patient's fancy, summoning his spirits to assist nature with their utmost might, to encounter the disease with greater advantage. And who will look into the legend of the miracles of imagination, shall find many strange and almost incredible things thereby really effected.

Other learned men, and particularly Gaspar Peucerus,* though acquitting this cure from diabolical conjuration, yet tax it as guilty of superstition. With him all such do side as quarrel at the ceremonies and circumstances used at the healing of this malady: either displeased at the second gospel read, (consisting of the first nine verses of the Gospel of St. John,) as wholly improper, and nothing relating to the occasion;† or unresolved of the efficacy of the gold pendent about the patient's neck; (whether partly completing, or a bare compliment of, the cure;) or secretly unsatisfied, what manner and measure of belief is required; (according to the model whereof health is observed to come sooner or later;) or openly offended with "the sign of the cross,"‡ which was used to be made by the royal hands on the place infected. All which exceptions fall to the ground, when it shall be avowed, that, notwithstanding the omission of such ceremonies, (as requisite rather to the solemnity than substance of the cure,) the bare hands of our kings (without the gloves, as I may term it, of the aforesaid circumstances) have effected the healing of this disease.

Hereupon some make it a clear miracle, and immediately own God's finger in the king's hand: That when the art of the physician is posed, the industry of the surgeon tired out, the experience of both at a loss, when all human means cry "craven;" then that wound made by the hand of God is cured by the hand of his vicegerent. Hath Heaven endued vegetables (the worst and weakest of living creatures) with cordial qualities? Yea, hath it bestowed precious properties on dull and inanimate waters, stones, and minerals, insomuch that such are condemned for silly or sullen, for stupid or stubborn, as doubt thereof? And shall we be so narrow-hearted as not to conceive it possible, that Christian men, the noblest of cor-

* *Lib. De Incantamentis.* † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 413. —EDIT. ‡ GU. TUCKER *in Charismate*, cap. vii. p. 96.

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poreal creatures; kings, the most eminent of all Christian men; kings of Britain, the first-fruits of all Christian kings, should receive that peculiar privilege and sanative power, whereof daily instances are presented unto us? See here the vast difference betwixt papists and protestants! How do the former court those miracles which fly from them; and often, in default of real ones, are glad and greedy to hug and embrace empty shadows of things falsely reported to be done, or fondly reputed to be miracles! Whereas many protestants, on the contrary, (as in the matter in hand,) are scrupulous in accepting miracles truly tendered unto them. But although our religion, firmly founded on, and safely fenced with, the scriptures, needs no miracles to confirm or countenance the truth thereof; yet when they are by the hand of Heaven cast into our scales, not to make our doctrine weight, but as *superpondium*, or an overplus freely bestowed, sure, they may safely without sin be received; not to say, can scarce be refused, without (at least) some suspicion of neglect and ingratitude to the goodness of God.

Nor will it be amiss here to relate a passage which happened about the midst of the reign of queen Elizabeth, after pope Pius did let fly his excommunication against her. There was a stiff Roman Catholic, (as they delight to term themselves,) otherwise a man well-accomplished, and of an ingenuous disposition, who, being cast into prison, (I conceive for his religion,) was there visited in a high degree with the king's evil. And having with great pain and expense, but no success, long used the advice of physicians, at last he humbly addressed himself unto the queen's majesty; by whom, with God's help, he was completely cured. And being demanded, "What news?" "I perceive," said he, "now at last, by plain experience, that the excommunication denounced by the pope against her majesty is in very deed of none effect, seeing God hath blessed her with so great and miraculous a virtue."*

This mention of queen Elizabeth (there is a magnetic virtue in stories, for one to attract another) minds me of a passage in the beginning of her reign. Making her progress into Gloucestershire, people affected with this disease did in uncivil crowds press in upon her, insomuch that her majesty, betwixt anger, grief, and compassion, let fall words to this effect: "Alas! poor people! I cannot, I cannot cure you. It is God alone that can do it." Which words some interpreted (contrary to her intent and practice, continuing such cures till the day of her death) an utter renouncing and disclaiming of any instrumental efficacy in herself. Whereas she only removed her subjects' eyes from gazing on her, to look up to

* Gu. Tucker *in Charismata*, cap. vi. p. 92.

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heaven. For men's minds naturally are so dull and heavy, that, instead of travelling with their thanks to God, (the Cause of all cures,) they lazily take up their lodging more than half-way on this side, mistaking the dealer for the giver of their recovery. It follows not, therefore, that the queen refused to heal their bodies, because careful in the first place to cure their souls of this dangerous mistake: a princess, who as she was a most exact demander of her due, (observed seldom or never to forgive her greatest favourites what they owed her,) so did she most punctually pay her engagements to others, as to all men, so most especially to God, loath that he should lose any honour due unto him by her unjust detaining thereof.

36—38. *The Kings of France cure the King's Evil. Laurentius falsely denies the Kings of England Power in curing the King's Evil. The indifferent Opinion.*

The kings of France share also with those of England in this miraculous cure. And Laurentius reports, that when Francis I., king of France, was kept prisoner in Spain, he, notwithstanding his exile and restraint, daily cured infinite multitudes of people of that disease; according to this epigram:—

Hispanos inter sanat rex chæradas, estque
Captivus Superis gratus, ut antè fuit.

"The captive king the evil cures in Spain:
Dear, as before, he doth to God remain."

So it seemeth his medicinal quality is affixed not to his prosperity, but person; so that during his durance he was fully free to exercise the same.

Thus far we patiently hear and sufficiently credit this author; but can no longer afford him either belief or attention when he presumeth to tell us, that the kings of England never cured the king's evil,*—a virtue appropriated only to his majesty of France. Only he confesseth, that long ago some of our English kings of the Anjouan race, descended from Geoffry Plantagenet, did heal the falling sickness with certain consecrated annulets,—a custom long since disused. Thus he seeks to deprive our princes of their patrimonial virtue, and to make them reparations (instead of their sanative power, whereof they are peaceably possessed to them and their heirs, holding it of God in chief) with assigning them an old lease, where the title at the best was litigious, and the term long ago expired. But the reader may be pleased to take notice, that

* *De Mirabili Strumarum Curatione*, cap. 2.

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this Laurentius was physician-in-ordinary to king Henry IV. of France, and so had his judgment herein bowed awry with so weighty a relation; flattery being so catching a disease, wherewith the best doctors of physic may sometimes be infected. To cry quits with him, Dr. Tucker, chaplain to queen Elizabeth, in a treatise he wrote of this subject, denieth the kings of France ever originally cured this evil, but *per aliquam propaginem*,* "by a sprig of right," derived from the primitive power of our English kings, under whose jurisdiction most of the French provinces were once subjected.

Between these two authors, violent in opposition, haply we may find the truth, whose constant dwelling-place is pleasantly seated in a moderate vale, betwixt two swelling extremes. For it plainly appeareth, by uncontrollable arguments and evidences, that both the crowns of England and France have for many years been invested with this miraculous gift; yet so, that our English kings are the elder brothers in the possession thereof. For if St. Lewis, king of France, (who was contemporary with our king Henry III.,) was the first of that royal race which healed this evil,† his cradle was more than one hundred and sixty years after the coffin of our Edward the Confessor: from whom, as is aforesaid, our kings derive this sovereign power by constant succession. But, methinks, my book in this discourse begins to bunch or swell out; and some will censure this digression for a *struma*, or "tedious exuberancy," beyond the just proportion of our History; wherefore, no more hereof: only I will conclude with two prayers; extending the first to all good people,—that Divine Providence would be pleased to preserve them from this painful and loathsome disease. The second I shall confine to myself alone, (not knowing how it will suit with the consciences and judgments of others,) yet so as not excluding any who are disposed to join with me in my petition; namely,—that if it be the will of God to visit me (whose body hath the seeds of all sickness, and soul of all sins) with the aforesaid malady, I may have the favour to be touched of his majesty, the happiness to be healed by him, and the thankfulness to be grateful to God the author, and God's image the instrument, of my recovery. I will only add this short story, and then proceed: A little before these wars began, a minister (not over-loyally affected) was accused, and was like to have been troubled for this passage in his sermon, that "oppression was *the king's evil*." But, being called to answer it before the commissioners, he expounded his own words, that he meant oppression was the king's evil, not that the king caused it,

* In his *Charismate*, cap. vi. p. 84. † So witnesseth ANDREW CHASNE, a French author, and others.

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but only cured it, and alone in this land could remedy and redress the same.

39. *Harold usurpeth the Crown.* 1 Harold. *A.D.* 1066.

King Edward dying childless, caused by his affected chastity, left the land at a loss for an heir in a direct line, and opened a door to the ambition of collateral pretenders. Indeed, the undoubted right lay in Edgar Atheling, son to Edward the Outlaw, grandchild to Edmund Ironside, king of England. But he, being tender in age, and, as it seems, soft in temper, and of a foreign garb because of his education in Hungary, (his most potent alliance in Germany, out of distance to send him seasonable assistance,) was passed by, by the English nobility. These chose Harold to be king, whose title to the crown is not worth our deriving of it, much less his relying on it.* But having endeared martialists by his valour, engaged courtiers by his bounty, and obliged all sorts of people by his affability, he was advanced to the crown by those who more considered his ability to defend than his right to deserve it.

40. *William Duke of Normandy twisteth many weak Titles together.*

William duke of Normandy was competitor with Harold; who, supplying in number what he wanted in strength of his titles, claimed the crown by alliance, adoption, and donation, from Edward the Confessor; though he was as unable to give and bequeath, as William, being a bastard, in the strictness of Saxon laws, was uncapable to receive it. But his sword was stronger than his titles, and the sins of the English more forcible than either, to deliver that nation (now grown, as authors observe, intolerably vicious) into his subjection. So that, in a pitched field, he overcame and killed king Harold, with the prime of the English nobility; (a just punishment on their perjury, for their deserting their lawful prince;) and such as survived were forced either to hold the stirrup, or lackey by the side, of many a mean-born Norman mounted to places of profit and honour. This was the fifth time wherein the South of this island was conquered: First. By Romans. Secondly. By Picts and Scots. Thirdly. By Saxons. Fourthly. By the Danes. And, Fifthly, By the Normans.† This mindeth me of the prophet Elisha's speech to Joash king of Israel: "Thou shouldest have smitten five or six times; then hadst thou smitten Syria till thou hadst consumed it," 2 Kings xiii. 19. (It seemeth five *may*, but six *must*, dispatch a people.) God

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 415.—EDIT. † See *Ibid* p. 416.—EDIT.

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hath already smitten this island five times with a rod of foreign invasion; let us beware the sixth time, (that final, fatal number,) for fear it prove the last, and utter confusion and destruction of our nation.

41. *William rebateth his conquering Sword with Composition.*

Thus king William came in by conquest; though, in the latter part of his reign, growing more mild and moderate, he twisted his right of victory with composition. As such who have ravished a woman against her will, endeavour afterwards to make her reparation by wooing and wedding her, whom formerly they had wronged; so with love to cover their lust, by the most excusable way of marriage; so king William, though he had forced this land, yet afterwards, not so much out of remorse as policy, (to suppress frequent tumults, and procure security to himself and successors,) is said to have closed with the Commons in a fair way of agreement, restoring many ancient privileges unto them. Thus, though conquest was more honourable for his credit, composition was comfortable for his conscience, and accounted most safe for his posterity. Witness that judicial sentence which king William in open court pronounced against himself, adjudging the lord of Sharnborn in Norfolk,* being an Englishman, true owner of that manor; contrary to that grant wherein he had formerly bestowed it on one Warren, a Norman. Herein the Conqueror confessed himself conquered, submitting his arbitrary power and pleasure to be regulated by justice, and the ancient rights of Englishmen.

42. *A Breviate of the Doctrine of England in these Ages before the Norman Conquest.*

But what impression the Norman victories made on the state, let politicians observe. What change it produced in the laws, we leave to the learned of that faculty to prosecute; whilst that which renders the conquest to consideration in our church-story is, the manifest change of religion from what formerly was publicly professed in England. To make this mutation in its due time more conspicuous, we will here conclude this book with a brief character of the principal doctrines generally taught and believed by the English, in these four last centuries, before tainted with any Norman infection. For though we must confess and bemoan, that corruptions crept into the church by degrees, and divine worship began to be clogged with superstitious ceremonies; yet that the doctrine remained still sound and entire, in most material points, will appear

* CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Norfolk.

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by an induction of the dominative controversies, wherein we differ from the church of Rome.

SCRIPTURE GENERALLY READ.—For such as were with the holy bishop Aidan, *sive attonsi, sive laici*,* "either clergy or laity," were tied to exercise themselves in reading the holy word, and learning of psalms.

THE ORIGINAL PREFERRED.—For Ricemarch, a Briton,† a right learned and godly clerk, son to Sulgen, bishop of St. David's, flourishing in this age, made this epigram on those who translated the psalter out of the Greek, so taking it at the second-hand, and not drawing it immediately out of the first vessel :—

Ebræis nablam custodit litera signis,
Pro captu quam quisque suo sermone Latino
Edidit, innumeros linguâ variante libellos,
Ebræumque jubar suffuscat nube Latinâ.
Nam tepefacta ferum dant tertia labra saporem.
Sed sacer Hieronymus, Ebræo fonte repletus,
Lucidius nudat verum, brevisque ministrat.‡

"This harp the holy Hebrew text doth tender,
Which, to their power, whilst every one doth render
In Latin tongue with many variations,
He clouds the Hebrew rays with his translations.
Thus liquors, when twice shifted out, and pour'd
In a third vessel, are both cool'd and sour'd.
But holy Jerome truth to light doth bring
Briefer and fuller, fetch'd from the Hebrew spring."

NO PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD, IN THE MODERN NOTION OF PAPISTS.—For, though we find prayers for the dead, yet they were not in the nature of propitiation for their sins, or to procure relaxation from their sufferings; but were only an honourable commemoration of their memories, and a sacrifice of thanksgiving for their salvation. Thus St. Cuthbert, after he had seen the soul of one Hadwaldus "carried by angels into heaven," § did celebrate obsequies of prayers in his behalf.

PURGATORY, THOUGH NEWLY HATCHED, NOT YET FLEDGED.—For, although there are frequent visions and revelations in this age pretended, thereon to build purgatory, which had no foundation in scripture; yet the architects of that fanciful fabric had not so handsomely contrived it, as it stands at this day in the Romish belief. For Bede,‖ out of the vision of Furseus, relateth certain great fires above the air, appointed to "examine every one according

* BEDÆ, *Eccles. Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 5. † CARADOC. in "Chron. of Cambridge."
‡ MS. in the library of the learned bishop, William Bedel, and cited by the archbishop of Armagh, in "the Religion of the ancient Irish," p. 9. § BEDE *in Vitâ Cuthberti*, cap. 34. ‖ Lib. iii. cap. 19.

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to the merits of his work," differing from the papist's purgatory; which Bellarmine, by the common consent of the schoolmen, determineth to be within the bowels of the earth. Thus nothing can be invented and perfected at once!

COMMUNION UNDER BOTH KINDS.—For, Bede * relateth, that one Hildmer, an officer of Egfride king of Northumberland, entreated our Cuthbert to send a priest that might minister the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood unto his wife, that then lay a-dying. And Cuthbert himself, immediately before his own departure out of this life, received the communion of the Lord's body and blood. And, lest any should fondly hope to decline so pregnant an instance, by the novel conceit of concomitancy, (a distinction that could not speak, because it was not born in that age,) it is punctually noted, that he distinctly received the cup:—

Pocula degustat vitæ, Christique supinum
Sanguine munit iter.†————

"His voyage steep the easier to climb up,
Christ's blood he drank out of life's healthful cup."

So that the eucharist was then administered entire, and not maimed, as it is by papists at this day; serving it as Hanun the Ammonite did the clothes and beards of David's ambassadors, 2 Sam. x. 4, cutting it off at the middle. And, though the word "mass" was frequent in that age, generally expressing all Divine service; yet was it not known to be offered as a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead.

43. *The Author's Engagement to the Archbishop of Armagh, and Conclusion of this second Book.*

But if any desire farther information herein, let him repair to the worthy work which James the right learned and pious archbishop of Armagh hath written of "the Religion professed by the ancient Irish and British." From whom I have borrowed many a note, though not always thanking him in the margin, by citing his name; and, therefore, now must make one general acknowledgment of my engagement. In cities we see, that such as sell by retail, though of less credit, are of great use, especially to poor people, in parcelling out pennyworths of commodities to them, whose purses cannot extend to buy by wholesale from the merchant. Conceive I, in like manner, my pains will not be altogether unprofitable, who in this History have fetched my wares from the storehouse of that reverend prelate, the Cape-merchant of all learning; and here, in little rem-

* *De Vitâ Cuthberti, prosâ*, cap. 15. † *Idem in Vitâ Cuthberti, carmine*, cap. 36.

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nants, deliver them out to petty country-chapmen, who hitherto have not had the hap, or happiness, to understand the original treasuries whence they are taken. And, clean through this work, in point of chronology, I have with implicit faith followed his computation,* setting my watch by his dial, knowing his dial to be set by the sun, and account most exactly calculated, according to the critical truth of time. Long may he live for the glory of God, and good of his church! for whereas many learned men, though they be deep abysses of knowledge, yet, like the Caspian Sea, receiving all, and having no out-let, are loath to impart aught to others; this bright sun is as bountiful to deal abroad his beams, as such dark dales as myself are glad and delighted to receive them.

SECTION VII.

SEVERAL COPIES OF BATTLE-ABBEY ROLL.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIR SIMON ARCHER, OF TANWORTH, IN WARWICKSHIRE.

SOME report, that the toad, before her death, sucks up, if not prevented with sudden surprisal, the precious stone (as yet but a jelly) in her head, grudging mankind the good thereof. Such generally the envy of antiquaries,—preferring that their rarities should die with them, and be buried in their graves, rather than others receive any benefit thereby.

You cross the current of common corruption; it being questionable whether you be more skilful in knowing, careful in keeping, or courteous in communicating, your curious collections in that kind.

Justly, therefore, have I dedicated these several copies of Battle-Abbey Roll unto you: First. Because I have received one of the most authentic of them from your own hand: Secondly. Because your ancient name chargeth through and through most of these catalogues. Yea, as

* In his book, *De Brit. Eccl. Primord.*

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the Archers came over with the Conqueror, so the Conqueror may be said to come over with the Archers, (therefore placed in a list by themselves,) because their valour achieved the greatest part of his victory.

The Design propounded and asserted.

PERUSING the worthy pains of grave and godly Mr. Fox, in his Book of Martyrs, I find him, in the reign of William I., exemplifying a double catalogue of such eminent persons as came over at the Conquest. Now, seeing so reverend a writer accounted the inserting thereof no deviation from his Church-History, we presume accordingly, by way of recreation of the reader, to present him with a larger list of those names, with some brief notes thereupon.

Imposing of Names denotes Dominion.

Here will I premise nothing about the ancient original of names, which argued the undoubted dominion of him who first gave them, over those on whom they were imposed. Thus Eve named Cain, Gen. iv. 1; to show the command, even of the mother, over the eldest (and therefore over all her) children. Adam named Eve: "She shall be called Woman," Gen. ii. 23; to signify the husband's sovereignty over his wife. God named Adam: "Let us make Adam," Gen. i. 26, or man; to denote his power and authority over man. And God named himself: "I AM hath sent me unto you," Exod. iii. 14; importing his absolute and independent being in and from himself. But, waving what may be said of the beginning of names, we shall digest what we conceive necessary for our present purpose, into the following propositions.

Fixed Surnames not long before the Conquest.

The first is: "Surnames were fixed in families, in England, at or about the Conquest." I say, "fixed." Formerly, though men had surnames, yet their sons did not, as I may say, follow suit with their fathers; the name descended not hereditarily on the family. *At, or about*—Forty years under or over will break no squares. It began somewhat sooner, in the Confessor's time, fetched out of France, but not universally settled till some hundred years after. When men therefore tell us, how their surnames have been fastened on their families, some centuries of years before the Conquest, we hear them say so. His chronology was no better than his heraldry who boasted that his ancestors had given the three gun-holes (which indeed were the three annulets) for their arms these thousand years, when guns themselves had not been extant three hundred years in

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Europe. The same solecism, in effect, is committed by such who pretend to the antiquity of surnames, before the same were settled *in rerum naturâ*.

Surnames late in (because not needful to) Kings.

The second: "Kings had fixed surnames later than common people." Our four first Norman kings had no surnames, Henry II. being the first of the Plantagenists. Wonder not that a genteel fashion should come later into the court than into the country, and last to the crown itself. For, names being made to distinguish men, they were more necessary for common people, whose obscurities would be lost in a multitude, were they not found out by the sign of their surnames, having no other eminency whereby they might be differenced. But princes, being comparatively few in respect of private persons, are sufficiently discovered by their own lustre, and sovereignty may be said to be a surname to itself; and therefore kings, not of necessity, but mere pleasure, have accepted additions to their Christian-names.

Many of the Normans most noble by Birth.

The third: "Many who came over out of Normandy were noble in their native country:" especially such who are styled from their places, as *le Sire de Soteville*, *le Sire de Margneville*, *le Sire de Tancarville*, &c. whereby we understand them lords and owners of such manors, towns, and castles from whence they took their denomination. However, this particle, *de* such a place, when without *le Sire* going before it, doth not always give livery and seizin, and presently put the person so named into possession of the place; sometimes barely importing that he was born there, and not owner thereof.

Yet some not so much as Gentlemen.

The fourth: "All that came over with the Conqueror were not gentlemen until they came over with the Conqueror." For, instantly upon their victory, their flesh was refined, blood clarified, spirits elevated to a higher purity and perfection. Many a peasant in Normandy commenced "Monsieur" by coming over into England; where they quickly got goods to their gentry, lands to their goods, and those of the most honourable tenure *in capite* itself. What Richard III. said, no less spitefully than falsely, of the Woodviles, (brethren to the wife of his brother, king Edward IV., by whom they were advanced,) that "many were made noble who formerly were not worth a noble," was most true of some of the Norman soldiery, suddenly starting up "honourable" from mean

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originals. These cruelly insulted over the Saxon ancient gentry, whom they found in England. Thus, on the new casting of a die, when ace is on the top, sise must needs be at the bottom.

Many of the neighbouring Nations under the Notion of Normans.

The fifth: "Beside native Normans, many of the neighbouring countries engaged in England's invasion:" As Flemings, whom Baldwin earl of Flanders, and father-in-law unto the Conqueror, sent to aid him: Walloons, with many from Picardy, Britany, Anjou, and the very heart of France. Thus, when a fair of honour and profit is proclaimed, chapmen will flock from all parts unto it. Some will wonder, that any would be such wilful losers as to exchange France for England,—a garden for a field. Was not this degrading of their souls in point of pleasure, going backward from wine to ale, from wheat to oats, then the general bread-corn of England? Besides, coming Northward, they left the sun on their backs; the sun, who is a comfortable usher to go before, but bad train-bearer to come behind one. But let such know, that England in itself is an excellent country, too good for the unthankful people who live therein; and such foreigners, who seemingly slight, secretly love and like the plenty and profit thereof. But, grant England far short of France in goodness, yet such adventurers hoped to achieve to themselves a better condition in a worse country. Many a younger brother came over hither, in hope here to find an elder brothership, and accordingly procured an inheritance to him and his posterity. As for the great French nobility, store was no sore unto them: such pluralists retained still their old patrimonies in France, with the additions of their new possessions in England.

W Names Walloons.

The sixth: "Names coming over with the Conquest, beginning with W, were not out of France, but the vicinage thereof." As the Britons disclaim X, the Latins Y, (save when the badge of a Greek word Latinized,) so the French disown W. When we find it, therefore, the initial letter of a name, (whereof many occur in the ensuing catalogue,) it argueth the same Walloon, or Almain [German]. Yea, I am credibly informed, that some of the English here, wearied with Harold's usurpation, fled over into Normandy to fetch-in the Conqueror; so that, when king William entered, they returned into England. And this particularly hath been avouched of the noble family of the Wakes, who were here before the Conquest, yet found among the Norman invaders.

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The twilight Credit of Battle-Abbey Roll.

The seventh: "Battle-Abbey Roll is the best extant catalogue of Norman gentry, if a true copy thereof could be procured."

1. *Battle-Abbey Roll*—Because hung up in that abbey, as fixed to the frechold thereof; where the names of such as came over with the Conquest were recorded.

2. *Best extant*—Otherwise, industry, with honesty, leisure, and liberty to peruse Doomsday-book, might collect one more perfect, out of impartial records, which neither fear nor flatter. Such a catalogue were to be believed on its word, before Battle-Roll on its oath.

3. Yet that Abbey Roll deserved credit, *if a true copy might be procured*—One asked, which was the best St. Augustine; to whom this answer was given, (generally true of all ancient authors,) "Even that Augustine which is least corrected." For corrections commonly are corruptive, as following the fancy and humour of the corrector. Battle-Abbey Roll hath been practised upon with all the figures of diction,—*Prothesis*, *Aphæresis*, &c. some names therein being augmented, subtracted, extended, contracted, lengthened, curtailed. The same scruple, therefore, which troubleth sophisters,—Whether Jason's weather-beaten ship, so often clouted and patched with new boards, were the same numerically with the first,—may be propounded of Battle-Abbey Roll,—Whether that extant with us, after so many alterations, be individually the same with the original. See what a deadly gash our great antiquary * gives to the credit thereof: "Whosoever considereth it well shall find it to be forged, and those names to be inserted which the time in every age favoured, and were never mentioned in that authentical record."

Objection.—Then it is of no Credit.

OBJECTION.—"If such be the depraving of Battle-Abbey Roll, then no credit at all is due unto it. Let it be pilloried for a mere cheat, and be suffered no longer to go about, to deceive the honest reader thereof; seeing we cannot hear the true tone of names therein, monks have so set them to the tune of their present benefactors, and minions of the age they lived in."

Answer.—How Credit thereunto is to be cautioned.

ANSWER.—Though there be much adulteration therein, yet I conceive the main bulk and body thereof uncorrupted. As they therefore over-value this Roll, who make it the Grammar of French

* CAMDEN in his "Remains," p. 152.

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gentry, the herald's Institutes, and of canonical credit amongst them; so such too much decry the same who deny all trust thereunto. Yea, we may confidently rely on this Roll, where we find a concurrence of ancient English historians therewith; and this will appear in the generality of names which that Roll presenteth unto us.

We find in our English chroniclers two printed copies (a manuscript thereof worth mentioning I have not met with) of Battle-Abbey Roll; wherein such various lections, they agree neither in number, order, nor spelling of the names; which, though generally digested in an alphabetical way, are neither of them exactly ordered according to the same. But behold both.

FROM HOLINSHED. (Pp. 3—5.)

Aumarle, Aincourt, Audeley, Angilliam, Argentoun, Arundell, Abell, Auverne, Aunwers, Angiers, Angenoun, Archere, Anvay, Aspervile, Albevile, Andevile, Amoverduile, Arcy, Akeny, Albeny, Aybevare, Amay, Aspermound, Amerenges.—24.

Bertram, Buttecourt, Brehus, Byseg, Bardolfe, Basset, Bigot, Bohun, Bailif, Bondevile, Brabason, Baskervile, Bures, Bounilayne, Bois, Botelere, Bourcher, Brabaion, Berners, Braibuf, Braude, Bronce, Burgh, Bushy, Banet, Blondell, Breton, Bluet, Baious, Browne, Beke, Bickard, Banastre, Baloun, Beauchamp, Bray, Bandy, Bracy, Boundes, Bascoun, Broilem, Brolevy, Burnell, Bellet, Baudewin, Beaumont, Burdon, Bertevilay, Barre, Bussevile, Blunt, Beaupere, Bevill, Bardvedor, Brette, Barrett, Bonret, Bainard, Barnivale, Bonett, Barry, Bryan, Bodin, Bertevile, Bertin, Berenevile, Bellewe, Bevery, Busshell, Boranvile, Browe, Belevers, Buffard, Botelere, Bonveier, Botevile, Bellire, Bastard, Bainard, Brasard, Beelhelm, Braine, Brent, Braunch, Belesuz, Blundell, Burdet, Bagot, Beauvise, Belemis, Bisin, Bernon, Boels, Belefroun, Brutz, Barchamp.—96.

Camois, Camvile, Chawent, Chauncy, Conderay, Colvile, Chamberlaine, Chamburnoun, Comin, Columber, Cribet, Creuquere, Corbin, Corbett, Chaundos, Chaworth, Cleremaus, Clarell, Chopis, Chaunduit, Chantelow, Chamberay, Cressy, Curtenay, Conestable, Cholmely, Champney, Chawnos, Comivile, Champaine, Carevile, Carbonelle, Charles, Cherberge, Chawnes, Chaumont, Caperoun, Cheine, Curson, Coville, Chaiters, Cheines, Cateray, Cherecourt, Cammile, Clerenay, Curly, Cuily, Clineds, Chaundos, Courteney, Clifford.—52.

Denaville, Dercy, Dive, Dispencere, Daubeny, Daniell, Denise and Druell, Devaus, Davers, Dodingsels, Darell, Delaber, Delapole, Delalinde, Delahill, Delaware, Delavache, Dakeny, Dauntre,

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Desny, Dabernoune, Damry, Daveros, Davonge, Duilby, Delavere, Delahoid, Durange, Delee, Delaund, Delaward, Delaplanch, Damnot, Danway, Dehense, Devile, Disard, Doiville, Durant, Drury, Dabitot, Dunsterville, Dunchampe, Dambelton.—44.

Estrange, Estutevile, Engaine, Estriels, Esturney.—5.

Ferrerers, Folville, Fitz Water, Fitz Marmaduke, Flevez, Filberd, Fitz Roger, Favecourt, Ferrers, Fitz Philip, Filiot, Furniveus, Furnivaus, Fitz Otes, Fitz William, Fitz Roand, Fitz Pain, Fitz Auger, Fitz Aleyn, Fitz Rauff, Fitz Brown, Fouke, Frevil, Front de Boef, Facunberge, Fort, Frisell, Fitz Simon, Fitz Fouk, Filioll, Fitz Thomas, Fitz Morice, Fitz Hugh, Fitz Henry, Fitz Waren, Fitz Rainold, Flamvile, Formay, Fitz Eustach, Fitz Laurence, Formibaud, Frisound, Finere and Fitz Robert, Furnivale, Fitz Geffrey, Fitz Herbert, Fitz Peres, Fichet, Fitz Rewes, Fitz Fitz, Fitz John, Fleschampe.—53.

Gurnay, Gressy, Graunson, Gracy, Georges, Gower, Gaugy, Goband, Gray, Gaunson, Golofre, Gobion, Grensy, Graunt, Greile, Grevet, Gurry, Gurley, Grammori, Gernoun, Grendon, Gurdon, Gines, Grivel, Grenevile, Glatevile, Gurney, Giffard, Goverges, Gamages.—30.

Haunteney, Haunsard, Hastings, Hanlay, Haurell, Husee, Hercy, Herioun, Herne, Harecourt, Henoure, Hovell, Hamelin, Harewell, Hardell, Haket, Hamound, Harcord.—18.

Iarden, Iay, Ieniels, Ierconvise, Ianvile, Iaspervile.—6.

Kaunt, Karre, Karrowe, Koine, Kimaronne, Kiriell, Kancey, Kenelre.—8.

Loveny, Lacy, Linneby, Latomer, Loveday, Lovell, Lemare, Levetot, Lucy, Luny, Logevile, Longespes, Loverace, Longechampe, Lascales, Lacy, Lovan, Leded, Luse, Loterell, Loruge, Longevale, Loy, Lorancourt, Loians, Limers, Longepay, Laumale, Lane, Lovetot.—30.

Mohant, Mowne, Maundevile, Marmilon, Moribray, Morvile, Miriell, Manlay, Malebraunch, Malemaine, Mortimere, Mortimaine, Muse, Marteine, Mountbother, Mountsoler, Malevile, Malet, Mounteney, Monfichet, Maleherbe, Mare, Musegros, Musard, Moine, Montravers, Merke, Murres, Mortivale, Monchenesy, Mallory, Marny, Mountagu, Mountfort, Maule, Monhermon, Musett, Menevile, Mantevenat, Manfe, Menpincoy, Maine, Mainard, Morell, Mainell, Maleluse, Memorous, Morreis, Morleian, Maine, Malevere, Mandut, Mountmarten, Mantelet, Miners, Mauclerke, Maunchenel, Movet, Meintenore, Meletak, Manvile, Manlay, Maulard, Mainard, Menere, Martinast, Mare, Mainwaring, Matelay, Malemis, Maleheire, Moren, Melun, Marceans, Maiell, Morton.—76.

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Noers, Nevile, Newmarch, Norbet, Norice, Newborough, Neiremet, Neile, Normavile, Neofmarch, Nermitz, Nembrutz. —12.

Otevel, Olibet, Olifant, Osenel, Oisel, Olifard, Orinal, Oriol. —8.

Pigot, Pery, Perepount, Pershale, Power, Painel, Perche, Pavey, Peurell, Perot, Picard, Pinkenie, Pomeray, Pounce, Pavely, Paifrere, Plukenet, Phuars, Punchardoun, Pinchard, Placy, Pugoy, Patefinc, Place, Pampilioun, Percelay, Perere, Pekeny, Poterell, Peukeny, Peccel, Pinel, Putril, Petivol, Preaus, Pantolf, Peito, Penecord, Prendirlegast, Percivale.—39.

Quincy, Quintiny.—2.

Ros, Ridell, Rivers, Rivell, Rous, Rushell, Raband, Ronde, Rie, Rokell, Risers, Randvile, Roselin, Rastoke, Rinvill, Rougere, Rait, Ripere, Rigny, Richemound, Rochford, Raimond.—22.

Souch, Shevile, Seucheus, Senclere, Sent Quintin, Sent Omere, Sent Amond, Sent Legere, Somervile, Siward, Saunsovere, Sanford, Sanctes, Savay, Saulay, Sules, Sorell, Somerey, Sent John, Sent George, Sent Les, Sesse, Salvin, Say, Solers, Saulay, Sent Albin, Sent Martin, Sourdemale, Seguin, Sent Barbe, Sent Vile, Souremount, Soreglise, Sandvile, Sauncey, Sirewast, Sent Cheverol, Sent More, Sent Scudemore.—40.

Toget, Tercy, Tuchet, Tracy, Trousbut, Trainel, Taket, Trussel, Trison, Talbot, Touny, Traies, Tollemach, Tolous, Tanny, Touke, Tibtote, Turbevile, Turvile, Tomy, Taverner, Trenchevile, Trenchelion, Tankervile, Tirel, Trivet, Tolet, Travers, Tardevile, Turbarvile, Tinevile, Torel, Tortechappel, Trusbote, Treverel, Tenwis, Totelles.—37.

Vere, Vernoun, Vescy, Verdoune, Valence, Verdeire, Vavasour, Vendore, Verlay, Valenger, Venables, Venoure, Vilan, Verland, Valers, Veirny, Vavurvile, Veniels, Verrere, Uschere, Veffay, Vanay, Vian, Vernoys, Urnal, Unket, Urnaful, Vasderol, Vaberon, Valinford, Venicorde, Valive, Viville, Vancorde, Valenges.—35.

Wardebois, Ward, Wafre, Wake, Wareine, Wate, Watelin, Watevile, Wely, Werdonel, Wespaile, Wivell.—12.

The total sum of all in Ralph Holinshed, 629.

From Stow. (Pp. 105—107.)

Aumeic, Audley, Angilliam, Argentoun, Arundell, Avenant, Abell, Awgers, Angenoun, Archer, Aspervile, Amonerduil, Arey, Albeny, Akeny, Asperemound.—16.

Bertram, Butrecourt, Bræhus, Byseg, Bardolf, Basset, Bohun, Baylife, Bondevile, Barbason, Beer, Bures, Bonylayne, Barbayon,

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Berners, Braybuf, Brand, Bonvile, Burgh, Busshy, Blundell, Breton, Belasyse, Bowser, Bayons, Bulmere, Broune, Beke, Bowlers, Banistre, Belomy, Belknape, Beachamp, Bandy, Broyleby, Burnell, Belot, Beufort, Baudewine, Burdon, Bertevyley, Barre, Bussevile, Blunt, Beawper, Bret, Barret, Barnevale, Barry, Bodyt, Bertevile, Bertine, Belew, Bushell, Beleneers, Buffard, Boteler, Botvile, Brasard, Belhelme, Braunch, Bolesur, Blundel, Burdet, Bagot, Beaupount, Bools, Belefroun, Barchampe. —69.

Camos, Canville, Chawent, Chancy, Couderay, Colvile, Chamberlain, Chambernoune, Cribet, Corbine, Corbet, Coniers, Chaundos, Coucy, Chaworth, Claremaus, Clarel, Camuine, Chaunduyt, Clarevays, Chantilowe, Colet, Cressy, Courtenay, Constable, Chaucer, Cholmelay, Cornevile, Champeney, Carew, Chawnos, Clarvaile, Champaine, Carbonel, Charles, Chareberge, Chawnes, Chawmont, Cheyn, Cursen, Conell, Chayters, Cheynes, Cateray, Cherecourt, Chaunvile, Clereney, Curley, Clifford.—49.

Deanvile, Dercy, Dine, Dispencer, Daniel, Denyse, Druel, Devause, Davers, Doningsels, Darel, De la Bere, De la Pole, De la Lind, De la Hill, De la Ware, De la Watch, Dakeny, Dauntry, Desny, Dabernoun, Damry, Daveros, De la Vere, De Liele, De la Ward, De la Plance, Danway, De Hewse, Disard, Durant, Drury. —32.

Estrange, Escutavile, Escriols, Engain, Evers, Esturney.—6.

Folvile, Fitzwatter, Fitz-Marmaduke, Fibert, Fitz-Roger, Fitz-Robert, Fanecourt, Fitz-Philip, Fitz-William, Fitz-Pain, Fitz-Alyne, Fitz-Ralfe, Fitz-Broun, Foke, Frevile, Faconbridge, Frissel, Filioll, Fitz-Thomas, Fitz-Morice, Fitz-Hugh, Fitz-Warren, Faunvile, Formay, Formiband, Frison, Finer, Fitz-Urcy, Furnivall, Fitz-Herbert, Fitz-John.—31.

Gargrave, Granson, Gracy, Glaunvile, Gouer, Gascoyne, Gray, Golofer, Grauns, Gurly, Gurdon, Gamages, Gaunt.—13.

Hansard, Hastinges, Haulay, Husie, Herne, Hamelyn, Harewell, Hardell, Hecket, Hamound, Harcourd.—11.

Iarden, Iay, Ianvile, Iaspervile.—4.

Karre, Karron, Kyriell.—3.

Lestrange, Levony, Latomere, Loveday, Logenton, Levell, Le Scrope, Lemare, Litterile, Lucy, Lislay or Liele, Longspes, Longschampe, Lastels, Lind-Sey, Loterell, Lindsey, Longvaile, Le Vawse, Loy, Lave, Le Dispenser.—22.

Marmilou, Moribray, Morvile, Manley, Malebranch, Malemaine, Muschampe, Musgrave, Menilebillers, Mortmain, Muse, Mountbocher, Malevile, Marteine, Mountney, Maleherbe, Musegross, Musard, Mautravers, Merke, Murres, Montague, Mantalent,

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Mandute, Manle, Malory, Merny, Muffet, Menpincoy, Mainard, Morell, Morley, Mountmartin, Myners, Mauley, Mainwaring, Mantell, Mayel, Morton.—39.

Nevile, Neumarch, Norton, Norbet, Norece, Newborough, Neele, Normanvile.—8.

Otenel, Olibet, Olifaunt, Oysel, Oliford, Oryol.—6.

Pigot, Percy, Perecount, Pershale, Power, Paynel, Peche, Peverel, Perot, Picard, Pudsey, Pimeray, Pounsey, Punchardon, Pynchard, Placy, Patine, Pampilion, Poterel, Pekeney, Pervinke, Penicord.—22.

Quincy, Quintine.—2.

Rose, Ridle, Rynel, Rous, Russel, Rond, Richmond, Rochford, Reymond.—9.

Seuche, Seint Quintine, Seint Omer, Seint Amond, Seint Leger, Somervile, Sanford, Somery, Seint George, Seint Les, Savine, Seint Glo, Seint Albine, Seint Barbe, Sandevile, Seint More, Seint Scudemore.—17.

Towrs, Toget, Talybois, Tuchet, Truslot, Trusbut, Traynel, Taket, Talbot, Tanny, Tibtote, Trussel, Turbevile, Turvile, Totet, Tavers, Torel, Tirel, Totels, Taverner.—20.

Valence, Vancord, Vavasour, Vender, Verder, Verdon, Vere, Vernoune, Venables, Venoure, Verland, Verlay, Vernois, Verny, Vilan, Umframvile, Unket, Urnall.—18.

Wake, Walenger, Warde, Wardebus, Waren, Wate, Wateline, Watevile, Woly, Wyvel.—10.

The total sum of all in John Stow, 407.

Beside this Roll of Battle Abbey, there is another extant, not (as this) alphabetically modelled, the work of some monk well at leisure; but loose, without any literal order; an argument, in my opinion, of the more native purity thereof, (less soiled with partial fingers,) as not so much tampered with by art and industry. It is reputed by many to be the muster-roll of such principal soldiers as embarked with duke William at St. Valeries; and it is said, that, after the fight ended, this list was called over, and all persons solemnly summoned to answer to their names therein; though many made no *vous-avez*, as either sick of their wounds, or slain outright amongst the six thousand and odd, who lost their lives on the place. Were we assured hereof, we would prefer this before the former Roll, believing a French muster-master, rather than any English monk, (though the abbot of Battle himself,) as not so subject to the suspicion of flattery herein. This catalogue is taken out of Guilliam Tayleur, a Norman chronicler of good credit. But the worst is, we want Tayleur's French original; and, I fear, it hath

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passed through some botcher's hands, before it came to us. For there be three editions thereof in our English historians, which, like the feet of a badger, fall out of unequal length, (if the reader be pleased to measure them,) so different the number of names therein. However, because this catalogue may conduce to the supplying of defects, clearing of doubts, and amending of faults in that former, we here present the several copies thereof.

Fox's Acts and Monuments. (Pp. 182, 183.)

Odo bishop of Bayeux, Robert count de Mortaigne, (duke William's half-brethren,) Baudwin de Buillon, Roger count de Beaumont, surnamed "with the beard," Guillaume Malet, le sire de Monfort sur Rille, Guil. de Viexpont, Neel de S. Sauveur le viconte, le sire de Fougiers, Henry Seigneur de Ferieres, le sire Daubemare, Guil. sire de Romare, le sire de Lithehare, le sire de Touque, le sire de la Mare, le sire de Neauhou, le sire de Pirou, Rob. sire de Beaufou, le sire Danou, le sire de Soteville, le sire de Margneville, le sire de Tancarville, Eustace Dambleville, le sire de Magneville, le sire de Grantmesnil, Guil. Crespin, le sire de S. Martin, Guil. de Moulins, le sire de Puis, Geoffray sire de Mayenne, Auffroy de Bohon, Auffroy and Maugier de Cartrait, Guil. de Garennes, Hue de Gournay sire de Bray, le conte Hue de Gournay, Euguemont de l' Aigle, le viconte de Touars, Rich. Dauverenchin, le sire de Biars, le sire de Solligny, le Bouteiller Daubigny, le sire de Maire, le sire de Vitry, le sire de Lacy, le sire du val Dary, le sire de Tracy, Hue sire de Montfort, le sire de Piquegny, Hamon de Kayeu, le sire Despinay, le sire de Port, le sire de Torcy, le sire de Iort, le sire de Riviers, Guil. Moyonne; Raoul Tesson de Tingueleiz, Roger Marmion, Raoul de Guel, Avenel des Byars, Paennel du Monstier Hubert, Rob. Bertran le Tort, le sire de Seulle, le sire de Dorival, le sire de Breval, le sire de S. Iehan, le sire de Bris, le sire du Homme, le sire de Sauchoy, le sire de Cailly, le sire de Semilly, le sire de Tilly, le sire de Romelli, Mar de Basqueville, le sire de Preaulx, le sire de Gonis, le sire de Sainceaulx, le sire de Moulloy, le sire de Monceaulx; the archers du val de Reul, and of Bretheul, and of many other places; le sire de S. Saen, i. de S. Sydonio, le sire de la Kiviere, le sire de Salnarville, le sire de Rony, Eude de Beaugieu, le sire de Oblie, le sire de Sacie, le sire de Nassie, le Visquaius de Chaymes, le sire du Sap, le sire de Glos, le sire de Mine, le sire de Glanville, le sire de Breencon, le Vidam de Partay, Raoul de Morimont, Pierre de Bailleul sire de Fiscamp, le sire de Beausault, le sire de Tillieres, le sire de Pacy, le seneschal de Torcy, le sire de Gacy, le sire Doully, le sire de Sacy, le sire de Vacy, le sire de Tourneeur, le

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sire de Praeres, Guil. de Coulombieres, Hue sire de Bollebec, Rich. sire Dorbec, le sire de Bonneboz, le sire de Tresgoz, le sire de Montfiquet, Hue le Bigot de Maletot, le sire de la Haye, le sire de Brecy, le sire de Mombray, le sire de Saye, le sire de la Ferte, Boutevillain, Troussebout, Guillaume Patric de la Laund, Hue de Mortemer, le sire Danvillers, le sire Donnebaut, le sire de S. Cler, Rob. le filz Herneys Duc d' Orleans, le sire de Harecourt, le sire de Crevecœur, le sire de Deyncourt, le sire de Brimetot, le sire de Combray, le sire Daunay, le sire de Fontenay, le conte Deureux, le sire de Rebelchil, Alain Fergant conte de Bretaigne, le sire de S. Vallery, le conte Deu, Gaultier Giffard conte de Longueville, le sire Destouteyille, le conte Thomas Daubmalle, Guil. conte de Hoymes and Darques, le sire de Bereville, le sire de Breante, le sire de Freanville, le sire de Pavilly, le sire de Clere, Toustan du Bec, le sire de Maugny, Roger de Montgomery, Amaury de Touars.—153.

HOLINSHED'S CHRONICLE. (Pp. 2, 3.)

Odo bishop of Bayeulx, Robert earl of Mortaing, Roger earl of Beaumont surnamed a la Barbe, Guillaume Mallet seig. de Montfort, Henry seign. de Ferrers, Guil. d' Aubellemare seig. de Fougieres, Guil. de Roumare seig. de Lithare, le seig. de Touque, le seig. de la Mare, Neel le viconte, Guil. de Vepont, le seig. de Magneville, le seig. de Grosmenil, le seig. de S. Martin, le seig. de Puis, Guil. Crespin, Guil. de Moyenne, Guil. Desmoullins, Guil. Desgarennes, Hue de Gourney *aliàs* Genevay, le seig. de Bray, le seig. de Govy, le seig. de Laigle, le seig. de Tovarts, le seig. de Aurenchin, le seig. de Vitrey, le seig. de Trassy *aliàs* Tracy, le seig. de Picquigny, le seig. d' Espinay, Osmond seig. du Pont, le seig. de Estoutevile, le seig. de Torchy, le seig. de Barnabost, le seig. de Breval, le seig. de Seeulme, le seig. de Houme, le seig. de Souchoy, le seig. de Cally, le seig. de la Rivere, Euldes de Beavieu, le seig. de Roumilly, le seig. de Glotz, le seig. du Sap, le seig. de Vanville, le seig. Branchou, le seig. Balleul, le seig. de Beausault, le seig. de Telleres, le seig. de Senlys, le seig. de Bacqueville, le seig. de Preaulx, le seig. de Iovy, le seig. de Longueville, le seig. de Aquigny, le seig. de Passy, le seig. de Tournay, le seig. de Colombieres, le seig. de Bollebec, le seig. de Garensieres, le seig. de Longveile, le seig. de Houdetot, le seig. de Malletot, le seig. de la Haie Malerbe, le seig. de Porch Pinche, le seig. de Ivetot, the earl of Tanquervile, the earle d' Eu, the earl d' Arques, the earl of Anjou, the earl of Nevers, le seig. de Rouvile, le prince de Alemaigne, le seig. de Pavilly, le seig. de S. Cler, le seig. d' Espinay, le seig. de Bremetot, Alain Fergant

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earl of Britaigne, le seig. de la Ferte, Rob. fils Hervays duc de Orleans, le seig. de la Lande, le seig. de Mortimer, le seig. de Clare, le seig. de Magny, le seig. de Fontnay, Roger de Montgomery, Amaury de Touars, le seig. de Hacquevile, le seig. de Neanshou, le seig. de Perou, Robert de Beaufou, le seig. Meauvon, le seig. de Sotevile, Eustace de Hamblevile, Geoffray Bournom, le seig. de Blainvile, le seig. de Maunevile, Geoffray de Moiénne, Auffray and Mauger de Carteny, le seig. de Freanvile, le seig. de Moubray, le seig. de Iafitay, Guil. Patais seig. de la Lande, Eulde de Mortimer, Hue earl of Gournay, Egremont de Laigle, Richard d' Aurinchin, le seig. de Bearts, le seig. de Soulligny, Bouteclier d' Aubigny, le seig. de Marcey, le seig. de Lachy, le seig. de Valdere, Eulde de Montfort, Henoyn de Cahieu, le seig. de Vimers, Guil. de Movion, Raoul Tesson de Tignolles, Anguerand earl of Hercourt, Roger Marmion, Raoul de Gaiel, Avenel de Viers, Pauvel du Montier Hubert, Rob. Bertraule Tort, le seig. de Seulle, le seig. Dorival, le seig. de la Hay, le seig. de S. John, le seig. de Saussy, le seig. de Brye, Richard Dollebec, le seig. du Monfiquet, le seig. de Bresey, le seig. de Semilly, le seig. de Tilly, le seig. de Preaux, le sieg. de Meuley, le seig. de Monceaux; the archers of Bretvile, the archers of Vaudrevile; le seig. de S. Sain, le seig. de Breansou, le seig. de Sassy, le seig. de Nassy, le Vidam de Chartres, le seig. de Ieanvile, le Vidam du Passais, Pierre du Bailleul seig. de Fescampe, le seneschal de Torchy, le seig. de Grissey, le seig. de Bassey, le seig. de Tourneur, Guil. de Colombieres, le seig. de Bonnebault, le seig. de Ennebault, le seig. de Danvillers, le seig. de Bervile, le seig. de Creveceur, le seig. de Breate, le seig. de Coutray, the earl of Eureux, le seig. de S. Valery, Thomas earl d' Aumale, the earl de Hiesmes.—167.

Stow's Chronicle. (Pp. 103, 104.)

Odo bishop of Bayon, Robert earl of Mortaigne, Bandonni de Buillon, Roger E. of Beamont with the beard, Guilliam Mallet, Guil. Fitz. Osberne, le sire de Montfort sus Rille, Guil de Vielz pont, Neel de Saint Saveur le vicont, le sire de Feugiers, Henry sire de Ferrers, le sire Dambemare, Guil. sire de Romare, le sire de Lichare, le sire de Tonque, le sire de la Mare, le sire de Nahabon, le sire de Piron, le sire de Beauson, le sire de Damnon, le sire de Soteville, le sire de Margneville, le sire de Tankerville, Eustace Dambleville, le sire de Magneville, le sire de Grimsville, Guil. Crespin, le sire de S. Martin, Guil. de Moulinous, le sire de Pins, Gieffray sire de Mayenne, Affroy de Behunt, Affroy and Mavigr. de Cartaict, Guil. de Garennes, Hue de Gournay sire de le Bray, le conte Hue de Dournay, Enguemount le Laigle, le vicont de

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Tovars, Rich. Donnemchin, le sire de Biars, le sire de Salligny, le Boutellier Daubegny, le sire de Marre, le sire de Victry, le sire de Lacy, le sire du vall Darie, le sire de Tracy, Hue sire de Montfort, le sire de Piqgny, Hamon de Brayen, le sire de Spinay, le sire de Port, le sire de Torchy, le sire de Iort, le sire de Rivers, Guil. Moyon, Raoul Tesson de Chignelois, Rogier Marmion, Raoul de Gael, Ave Neel de Biars, Parnel du Monstier, Bertram le Tort, Hubert Robert, le sire de Seukee, le sire de Dormal, le sire de Brenall, le sire de S. Jehan, le sire de Bois, le sire de Homme, le sire de Saussay, le sire de Cailly, le sire de Semilly, le sire de Tilly, le sire de Romely, Martell de Basquevill, le sire de Praux, le sire de Gonys, le sire de Sainteaulx, de Mullox.

These archers of the vale of Rueill, and of Bretviel, and of many other places:—Le sire de S. Saen, le sire de la Rimer, le sire de Salnarnille, le sire de Tony, Eude de Beaugien, le sire de Ollie, le sire de Sacy, le sire de Vassie, le Bisquams de Chaymes, le sire de Sap, le sire Duglosse, le sire de Nime, le sire de Blamville, le sire de Brencon, le Vidam de Partenay, Raoult de Mormont, Pierre de Bailleul, sire de Fescamp, le sire de Beaufault, le sire de Tillieres, le sire de Pacy, le seneschall de Torchy, le sire de Gacy, le sire de Doully, le sire de Sancy, le sire de Bacy, le sire de Tourneur, le sire de Praores, Guilliam de Colombieres, Hue sire de Bollebec, Richart sire Dorbec, le sire de Donnebos, le sire de Troisgros, le sire Mont Fiquet, Hue le Vigot *aliàs* Bigot de Maletot, le sire de la Haye, le sire de Bracy, le sire de Moubray, le sire de Say, le sire de Lasert, Bontevillam Tronsebours, Guilliam Patris de la Laud, Hue de Mortimer, le sire Donviller, le sire Donnebant, le sire de S. Cler, Robert le Fitz Herneys duke Dorlians, le sire de Harecourt, le sire Crevecure, le sire de Dancourt, le sire de Brunetot, le sire de Cambray, le sire Dauncy, le sire Fonteney, le counte Deureux, le sire de Roberchil, Alan sergent counte de Britaigne, le sire de sainct Wallery, le counte Deden, Gualtar Guisart counte de Logneville, le sire de Scouteville, le counte Thomas Danbinale, Guil. de Hoimes and Darques, le sire de Barrevile, le sire de Breante, le sire de Freanvile, le sire de Panilly, le sire de Clere, Tostamdubec, le sire de Mangny, Roger du Montgomery comes, Almary de Tovaers.—153.

There is still another catalogue, late in the possession of Thomas Scriven, Esq. I confess, *quantus author, tanta fides;* and the gentleman, long since dead, being generally unknown, some will question the authority thereof. But know, he was a good *promus-condus* of ancient records: *condus* in keeping them faithfully

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himself; and *promus*, in imparting them freely to others. This his catalogue is exemplified by John Stow in his "Chronicle;" of whom though a Cambridge comedian was pleased pleasantly to say, that "Mendacio now and then jogged on the elbow;" yet, indeed, he deserveth Camden's commendation* of "a famous chronicler," lacking learning rather than truth, seldom omitting what is, sometimes recording what is not, observable. But see the catalogue.

STOW'S CHRONICLE. (P. 107.)

Achard, Averenges, Aielard, Alard, Aubeney, Avenel, Asprevil, Audeny, Akein, Arcy, Amile, Aunmidvile, Abbevile, Andvile, Albemarke, Aubrey, Archer.—17.

Bastarde, Baignard, Barvile, Brassard, Berad, Boygnard, Barkarvile, Baret, Basset, Bars, Belet, Beil, Breit, Boneit, Bluet, Brachet, Buket, Biset, Blundet, Burdet, Blete, Barry, Berri, Bracy, Brenenile, Bounttuile, Butenile, Beamchampe, Burnel, Bussel, Beleice, Bonere, Bodler, Botiler, Bogod, Burle, Baul, Brenbe, Brus, Butelem, Bricourt, Brian, Boch, Bozim, Bion, Bailoil, Brocheris, Bardulfe, Bancan, Bussey, Beamvis, Bleis, Baventre.—53.

Camule, Carenile, Cardevile, Condrey, Cursey, Cautlon, Caily, Corbet, Clare, Curtais, Curthose, Chamlin, Costentin, Comthense, Cozmit, Chalenges, Chastlem, Courtueis, Chawers, Curty, Conun, Crioile, Charles, Chen, Chaucer, Chandos, Cunly, Curly, Crely, Colenile, Cabot, Charnel, Chamel, Charel, Cheinie.—35.

Darcy, Dunstervile, Douchampe, Despenser, Duredent, Drivall, Duket, Dreward, Delamare, Drunall, Dela, Deincourt.—12.

Eurous, Estotkirke.—2.

Faherburt, Fossard, Fresel, Frevile, Fressenile, Folenile, Firmunde, Fizgeffray, Firpers, Fitzwaters, Feskampe, Fizhu, Fizurs, Ferrer, Fornitall, Fineis, Fitzbrian, Frison, Ferers, Fohamble, Frignes, Fitzgariz, Formentin.—23.

Gangy, Greminle, Gieunile, Gornumile, Gemule, Gerard, Giffard, Gondrel, Gorger, Goner, Gigod, Gaibit, Giptot, Garin, Gunter, Gras, Grauntson, Gournay, Greis, Gamage, Gautere, Gorge.—22.

Hainule, Hantvile, Humchampe, Herebrace, Henile, Herenile, Havel, Hachet, Haket, Harvy, Hanesy, Hersy, Hai, Hasard, Hausard, Hasser, Hubert, Hamelin, Harecurte, Hus, Hense.—21.

Iardin.—1.

Kemes, Keines, Kusac, Kosin, Kamais.—5.

Laci, Liar, Lunecy, Luret, Lucy, Lidet, Linguenile, Levener, Licot, Lonecot, Lovell, Lescei, Lambert, Lenn, Limare, Lisle, La.—17.

* CAMDEN in Middlesex.

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Maignard, Maureward, Mountford, Mountague, Mountbray, Maundevile, Mortmer, Mansel, Maschy, Mungomer, Morvile, Meisy, Munty, Mounteni, Mulet, Mumfitchet, Martell, Morell, Musard, Maleit, Milere, Molevorer, Manturners, Moreiis, Muelent, Meigne, Menul, Manne, Maceis, Mabuom, Mortem, Manfey, Maresthall, Morley, Martinas, Murdacke, Metun, Mameisin, Morin, Mire, Morim.—41.

Neemarch, Nepunt.—2.

Orniall, Osevile, Orware.—3.

Passemer, Passenaunt, Picot, Poorvanger, Pers, Purcel, Pichard, Pypard, Pamel, Panel, Piterel, Penerel, Pleisy, Paveli, Pilet, Parly, Palet, Piket, Percy, Punchet, Pachet, Punis, Pandulfe, Pulem, Penir, Penne, Phanecourt, Pales, Prouz, Pirim, Peisim, Parteben, Puntfrait.—33.

Quinsi, Quatramart.—2.

Russel, Rydel, Roter, Rochell, Rooz, Richmount.—6.

Seintenile, Somery, Say, Suneli, Sorel, Seteplace, Spivenile, Saundernile, Sonule, Soler, Sourrile, Stutenile, Soleny, Spigurnel, Seintbrenel, Soylard, Swywar, Saucer, Sausaver, Seniler, Saintcler, Senittomer, Seintleger, Saundenal, Savage, Seintion, Saint-mareis, Saucei, Sal, Seignes, Seintlis, Seintmoris, Seintgorge, Seintiore, Seint-quintin, Seintmore, Sauntzire, Saintchy, Setuans, Seinte-royiz, Scinteleme.—41.

Toret, Tavit, Turpet, Tramel, Torchapel, Tonny, Trussel, Tuchet, Torevile, Trevet, Tirel, Trans, Talebot, Turbenile, Tracy, Trussebut, Toc, Tailpas, Truan, Tener, Tisiure, Tayleboys.—22.

Verer, Vilers, Vesty, Vinframile, Veily, Vaieus, Veisin, Vorill, Venur, Vavasue, Vaus.—11.

Widenile, Wimle, Wilby, Wadel, Ward, Wyschard, Waldeboef, Wastueis, Warem, Weirim.—10.

Yuoire.—1. Total 381.

To these six catalogues let me add one more; not that I am an affecter of a septenary number, but because confident it is the best and most authentic of all the rest. I find it in Mr. Fox;* but surely collected by some, more skilful than himself in this kind, out of several ancient chronicles. It containeth such persons who after the battle were advanced to seigniories in this land. It presenteth us only with the initial letters of their Christian names, save for the first seven therein. And although hereby we are left at an uncertainty, as whether G. signifieth "George" or "Gilbert," I. "James" or "John;" yet more than a conjecture may be made by observing what Christian name was predominant in their posterity.

* "Acts and Monuments," tom. i. p. 237.

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John de Maundevile, Adam Undevile, Bernard de Frevile, Rich. de Rochvile, Gilbert de Frankvile, Hugo de Dovile, Symond de Rotevile, R. de Evile, B. de Kneuvile, Hugo de Morvile, R. de Colevile, A. de Warvile, C. de Karvile, R. de Rotevile, S. de Stotevile, H. Bonum, I. Monum, W. de Vignoum, K. de Vispount, W. Bailbeof, S. de Baleyn, H. de Matreys, I. Aguleyne, G. Agilon, R. Chamburlayn, N. de Vendres, H. de Verdon, H. de Verto, C. de Vernon, H. Hardul, C. Cappan, W. de Camvile, I. de Cameres, R. de Rotes, R. de Boys, W. de Waren, T. de Wardboys, R. de Boys, W. de Audely, K. Dynham, R. de Vaures, G. de Vargenteen, I. de Hastings, G. de Hastank, L. de Burgee, R. de Butvileyn, H. de Malebranch, S. de Malemain, G. de Hautevile, H. Hauteyn, R. de Morteyn, R. de Mortimer, G. de Kanovile, E. de Columb, W. Paynel, C. Panner, H. Pontrel, I. de Rivers, T. de Revile, W. de Beauchamp, R. de Beaupale, E. de Ou, F. Lovel, S. de Troys, I. de Artel, I. de Montebrugge, H. de Mounteserel, W. Trussebut, W. Trussell, H. Byset, R. Basset, R. Molet, H. Malovile, G. Bonet, P. de Bonvile, S. de Rovile, N. de Norbeck, I. de Corneux, P. de Corbet, W. de Mountague, S. de Mountfychet, I. de Genevyle, H. Gyffard, I. de Say, T. Gilbard, R. de Chalons, S. de Chauward, H. Ferret, Hugo Pepard, I. de Harecourt, H. de Haunsard, I. de Lamare, P. de Mautrevers, G. de Ferron, R. de Ferrers, I. de D'esty, W. de Werders, H. de Bornevile, I. de Saintenys, S. de Syncler, R. de Gorges, E. de Gemere, W. de Feus, S. de Filberd, H. de Turbervile, R. Troblenuer, R. de Angon, T. de Morer, T. de Rotelet, H. de Spencer, R. de St. Quentin, I. de Saint Martin, G. de Custan, Saint Constantin, Saint Leger et Saint Med, M. de Cronu et de S. Viger, S. de Crayel, R. de Crenker, N. Meyvel, I. de Berners, S. de Chumly, E. de Charers, I. de Grey, W. de Grangers, S. de Grangers, S. Baubenyn, H. Vamgers, E. Bertram, R. Bygot, S. Treoly, I. Trigos, G. de Feues, H. Filiot, R. Taperyn, S. Talbot, H. Santsaver, T. de Samford, G. de Vandien, C. de Vautort, G. de Mountague, Tho. de Chambernon, S. de Montfort, R. de Fernevaulx, W. de Valence, T. Clarel, S. de Clervaus, P. de Aubermale, H. de Saint Arvant, E. de Auganuteys, S. de Gant, G. de Malearbe, H. Mandut, W. de Chesun, L. de Chandut, R. Filzurz, B. Vicount de Low, G. de Cantemere, T. de Cantlow, R. Breaunce, T. de Broxeboof, S. de Bolebec, B. Mol de Boef, I. de Muelis, R. de Brus, S. de Brewes, I. de Lille, T. de Bellile, I. de Watervile, G. de Nevile, R. de Neuburgh, H. de Burgoyne, G. de Bourgh, S. de Lymoges, L. de Lyben, W. de Helyoun, W. de Hildrebron, R. de Loges, S. de Saint Low, I. de Maubank,

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P. de Saint Malow, R. de Leofern, I. de Lovotot, G. de Dabbevile, H. de Appetot, W. de Percy, H. de Lacy, G. de Quincy, E. Tracy, R. de la Souche, V. de Somery, I. de Saint John, T. de Saint Gory, P. de Boyly, R. de Saint Valery, P. de Pinkeny, S. de Pavely, G. de Monthaut, T. de Mountchesy, R. de Lymozy, G. de Lucy, I. de Artois, N. de Arty, P. de Grenvile, I. de Greys, V. de Cresty, F. de Courcy, T. de Lamar, H. de Lymastz, I. de Moubray, G. de Morley, S. de Gorney, R. de Courtenay, P. de Gourney, R. de Cony, I. de la Huse, R. de la Huse, V. de Longevile, P. Longespy, I. Pouchardon, R. de la Pomercy, I. de Pountz, R. de Pontlargé, R. Estraunge, Tho. Savage.—224.

I presume the reader sufficiently wearied with so many dull, prose catalogues; and now we will refresh him a little with an old song, as I find their names metrically composed, in the Chronicle of John Brompton the abbot. Indeed, the rhymes may be said to make themselves; such is the like cadency of many Norman names; and if the verses do but chime and tink in the close, it is enough to the purpose.

John Brompton's Catalogue.

Vous que desyrez assaver
Les nons de grauntz de la mer,
Que vindrent Od le conquerour,
William Bastard de graunt vi-
goure;
Lours surnons issi nous denys,
Com je les trova en escris.
Car des propres nons force ny a,
Purce qillis sont chaunges sa et la;
Come de Edmond en Edwarde,
De Baldwyn en Barnard,
De Godwyn en Godard,
De Elys en Edwin:
Et issint de toutz autrez nons,
Come ils sont levez du fons.
Purce lour surnons que sont usez,
Et ne sont pas sovent chaungez,
Vous ay escript; ore escotez,
Si vous oier lez voylletz.

Maundevyle *et* Daundevyle,
Ounfravyle *et* Downefrevyle,
Bolvyle *et* Baskarvyle,
Evyle *et* Clevyle,
Morevyle *et* Colevyle,
Warbevyle *et* Carvyle,
Botevyle *et* Sotevyle,
Deverous *et* Cavervyle;

Mooun *et* Boun,
Vipoun *et* Vinoun,
Baylon *et* Bayloun,
Maris *et* Marmyoun,
Agulis *et* Aguloun,
Chaumberleyn *et* Chaumbersoun,
Vere *et* Vernoun,
Verdyers *et* Verdoun,
Cryel *et* Caroun,
Dummer *et* Dammoun;

Hastyng *et* Cammois,
Bardelfe, Botes, *et* Boys,
Warenne *et* Wardeboys,
Rodes *et* Deverois;

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Auris *et* Argenten,
Botetour *et* Botevelyn,
Malebouch *et* Malemeyn,
Hautevyle *et* Hauteyn,
Danvey *et* Dyveyn,
Malure *et* Malvesyn;

Morten *et* Mortimer,
Braunz *et* Columber,
Seynt Denis *et* Seynt Cler,
Seint Aubyn *et* Seynt Omer,
Seynt Fylbert, Fyens, *et* Gomer,
Turbevyle *et* Turbemer,
Gorges *et* Spenser,
Brus *et* Boteler;

Crevequel *et* Seynt Quinteyn,
Deverouge *et* Seynt Martin;

Seynt Mor *et* Seynt Leger,
Seynt Vigor *et* Seynt Per;]

Avynel *et* Paynell,
Payvere *et* Peverell,
Rivers *et* Rivel,
Beauchamp *et* Beaupel,
Lou *et* Lovell,
Ros *et* Druell,
Mountabours *et* Mountsorell,
Trussebot *et* Trussell,
Bergos *et* Burnell,
Bra *et* Boterell;

Biset *et* Basset,
Malevyle *et* Malet,
Bonevyle *et* Bonet,
Nervyle *et* Narbet,
Coynale *et* Corbet,
Mountayn *et* Mounfychet;

Geynevyle *et* Gyffard,
Say *et* Seward,
Chary *et* Chaward,
Pyryton *et* Pypard,

Harecourt *et* Haunsard,
Musegrave *et* Musard;

Mare *et* Mautravers,
Fernz *et* Ferers,
Bernevyle *et* Berners,
Cheyne *et* Chalers,
Daundon *et* Daungers,
Vessi, Gray, *et* Graungers;

Bertram *et* Bygod,
Traylliz *et* Tragod;

Penbri *et* Pypotte,
Freyn *et* Folyot,
Dapisoun *et* Talbote;

Sanzaver *et* Saunford,
Vadu *et* Vatorte,
Montagu *et* Mounford;

Forneus *et* Fornyvaus,
Valens, Yle, *et* Vaus,
Clarel *et* Claraus;

Aubevyle *et* Seint Amauns,
Agantez *et* Dragans;

Malerbe *et* Maudut,
Brewes *et* Chaudut;

Fizowres *et* Fiz de Lou,
Cantemor *et* Cantelou;

Braybuffe *et* Huldbynse,
Bolebeke *et* Molyns;

Moleton *et* Besyle,
Richford *et* Desevyle,
Watervyle *et* Dayvyle,
Nebors *et* Nevyle;

Hynoys, Burs, Burgenon,
Ylebon, Hyldebrond, Holyon;

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Loges *et* Seint Lou,
Maubank *et* Seint Malou;

Wake *et* Wakevyle,
Coudree *et* Knevyle;

Scales *et* Clermount,
Beauvys *et* Beamount;

Mouns *et* Mountchampe,
Nowers *et* Nowchampe;

Percy, Crus, *et* Lacy,
Quincy *et* Tracy;

Stokes *et* Somery,
Seynt Johan *et* Seynt Jay,

Greyle *et* Seynt Walry,
Pynkeney *et* Panely,
Mohant *et* Mountchensy,
Loveyn *et* Lucy,
Artoys *et* Arcy,
Grevyle *et* Courcy,
Arras *et* Cressy;

Merle *et* Moubray,
Gornay *et* Courtnay,
Haustlayng *et* Tornay,
Husee *et* Husay,
Pounchardon *et* Pomeray,
Longevyle *et* Longespay;

Peyns *et* Pountlarge,
Straunge *et* Sauvage—247.

Pass we now from poetry to painting, seeing great the affinity betwixt them, fancy being predominant in both. Present we here the reader with the names and arms of forty soldiers of king William the Conqueror, matched with as many monks; but how, and on what occasion, the ensuing writing will acquaint us:—

"In the time of Thurston, our abbot of Ely, born of worshipful parentage in the village of Wichford near Ely, king Harold, son of Godwin, and together with him all the states of England almost, were slain by the soldiers of William duke of Normandy, nephew to St. Edward the king, upon the feast of St. Calixt the pope, in the year of our Lord God one thousand-sixty-and-six.

"Whereupon Egelwine bishop of Durham, Egfride abbot of St. Alban's, the earl of Margary, and Edward Byarn, with sundry other chief of the land, together with their friends, laden with great treasures, fled unto us, desirous to withstand, so far as lay in them, the enterprise of the Bastard; by whose aid we withstood the tempestuous threats of the Normans seven years; until such time as Belase—who at that time was general of the king's army, and from whom the circuit of certain hills at the south end of Alderhithe-Causey, which at this day are corruptly called Belsar's-Hills, took their name, being cast up on purpose that the army in the night-time might lodge there safely—astonished us by the means of an huge number of boats gathered together upon a sudden. A council then being called, it seemed good to our captains in con-

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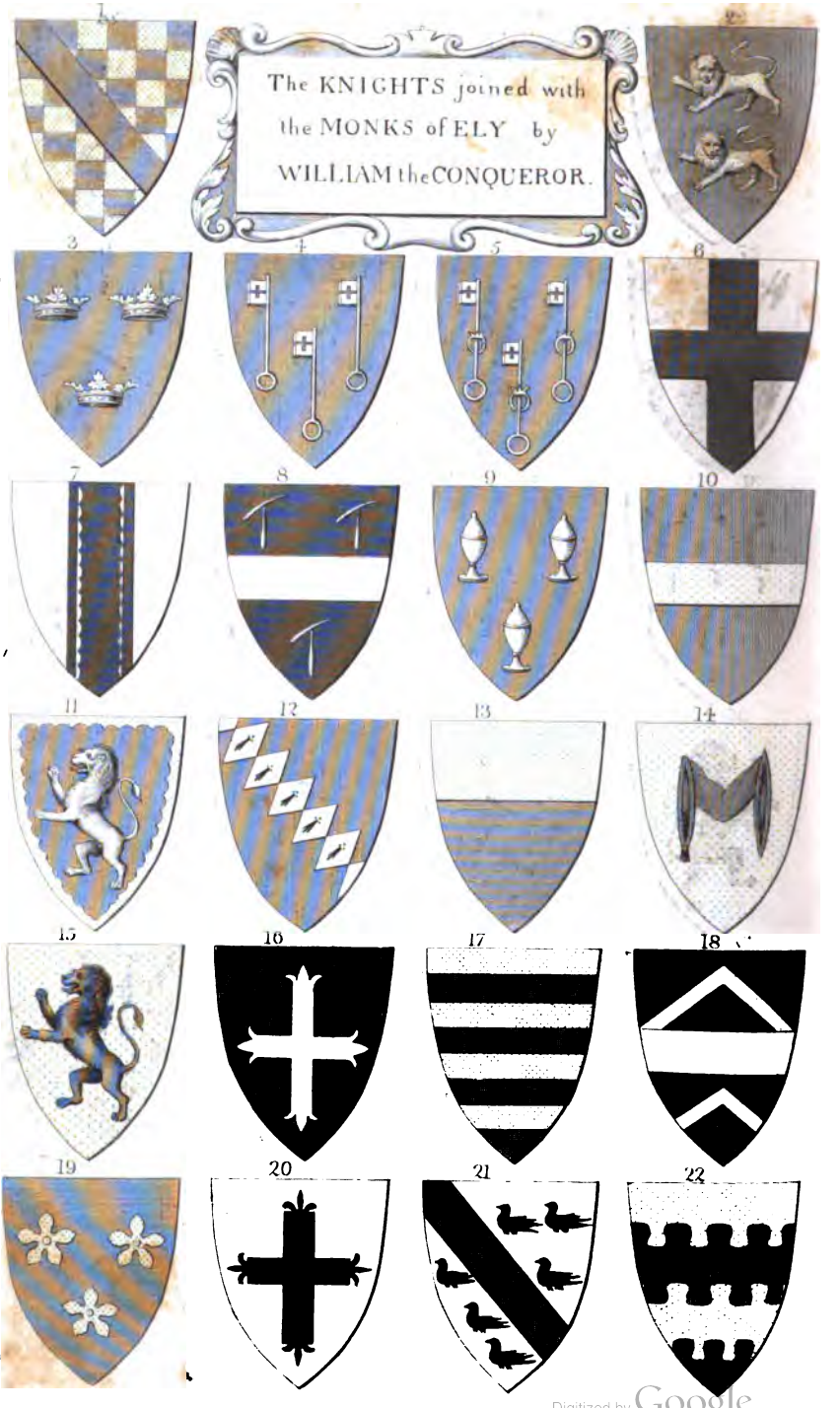
The KNIGHTS joined with the MONKS of ELY by WILLIAM the CONQUEROR.



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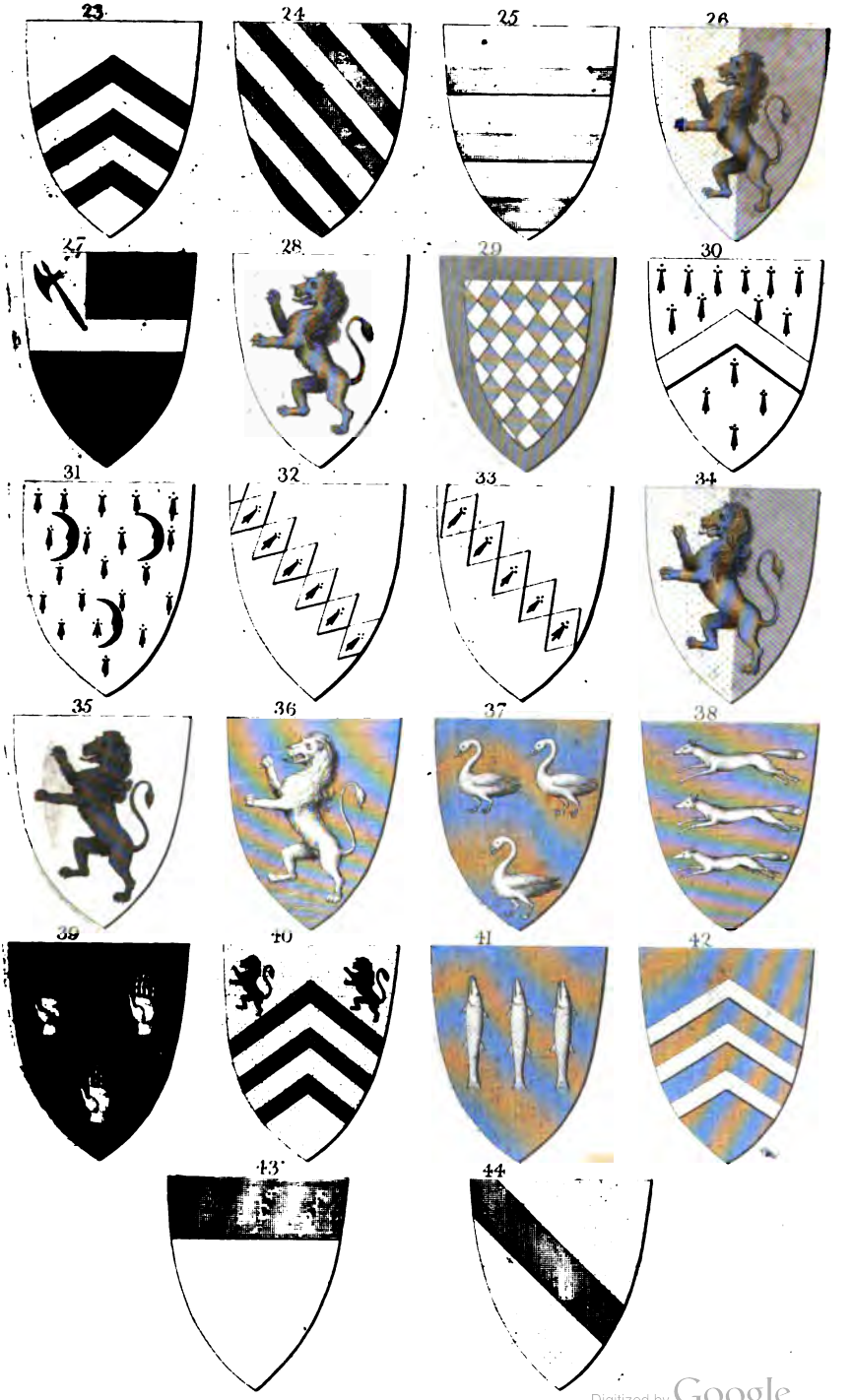

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venient time to crave the king's mercy. Whereupon certain were sent to the king's court, being then at Warwick, carrying with them to the king a mighty treasure, a competent price and satisfaction to pacify him concerning an unadvised attempt: wherewith the honourable king was appeased, yet with this covenant and condition,—that, so long as it pleased him, forty of the king's soldiers should be maintained at the charge of the monastery. For the king feared, lest that, whilst he bent his forces against the Scots not yet subdued, the Isle of Ely (being indeed a dreadful strength) should again revolt, to his great danger. The soldiers with their retinue are sent, they come and here abide. Whereof each one is delivered to some principal monk, as a captain to his lieutenant, or a guest to his host. Now the king decreed that Bertwolde, the butler, should minister food to the soldiers and monks jointly together, one with another, in the common-hall of the monastery. What need many words? These captains to their lieutenants, these guests to their hosts, these soldiers to their monks, were most welcome: for all of them entertained each one, each one entertained all, and every one mutually one another, with all duties of humanity. At the length, the fire of the civil war being quenched, and the king established according to his heart's desire, five years after, his severity in punishing being in godly manner pacified, it pleased the king to withdraw this yoke, wherewith the pride of the monks was now sufficiently abated. And the Conqueror reclaimed his soldiers, to punish the ungodly insolency of his son Robert, who at that time in outrageous manner kept riot in Normandy. But our monks (which is a wonder to report) did not only with tears bewail the departure of their dearest mates, the heroical soldiers and welcome guests; but howled out most fearfully, and beat their breasts as destitute of hope, after the manner of a new-married wife whose husband is violently taken away, at an unseasonable time, out of her sweet arms unto the wars. For they doubted lest that, being thus forsaken, they should be subject to the spoil; whereas they had lived securely at ease, with their armed guests, to whose trust they had committed themselves and their goods. They being now all ready for their journey, every one of our monks, many in number, investured in their copes, in dutiful manner accompanied these gentlemen departing, unto Hadenham, with songs, crosses, censers, processions, and all solemnity that might be used: and, returning home, took order that the arms of each soldier should be lively depainted upon the wall of the common-hall, where they took their repast together, to the perpetual memory of the customed kindness of their soldier-like guests; the which from time to time, from the predecessors to the successors,

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and from obscure antiquity to our posterity at this day, are curiously set forth to be viewed of all men, not without a pleasant delight, in such manner as they glitter and shine honourable in the margent of this table."

This writing was composed about the reign of king Henry VII.; but the arms set up in Ely-Hall, (as may appear by inserting the coat of Robert Orford, the fourteenth bishop of Ely,) about the year 1306; which hall was destroyed at the Dissolution. But another transcript of the arms of these knights being depicted on the wall of the dean's dining-room, was lately extant, whence our draught here presented was taken, (rather truly than neatly done, out of desire to conform to the original,) and communicated to me by that worthy knight and able antiquary, sir Simon Archer, of Warwickshire.

Some will wonder that Mr. Camden maketh no mention hereof, whose omniscience in these things may be presumed of. Yea, which is more, "there is," saith he,* "a rampire of mean height, but of very large compass, which they call Belsar's-Hills, of one Bellisar, I wot not who;" taking no notice of Belasis, the Norman general, who subdued Ely, and from whom our late-produced writing attesteth those hills to be so named. But, besides that *Camdenus non videt omnia*, great antiquaries are sometimes subject to fits of sullenness, and will not see what they do see, when resolved to take no notice thereof.

And, now we have presented the reader with eight several catalogues, (two of Holinshed's, two of Stow's, two of Mr. Fox's, one of Scriven's, one of friar Brompton's, beside the list of Ely knights,) I could wish a good herald would make a monogdoon, that is, "one out of eight," and alphabetically digest the same; also note what names are extant, and which, how, and when extinct.

By names which I call "extinct," understand *not existent in any signal and remarkable lustre proportionable to their former greatness*, though possibly some obscure under-boughs, truly derived thence, may still be in being. That worthy doctor† hath made many converts in physic to his seeming paradox, maintaining the circulation of the blood running round about the body of man. Nor is it less true, that gentle blood fetcheth a circuit in the body of a nation, running from yeomanry, through gentry, to nobility; and so, retrograde, returning through gentry to yeomanry again. My father hath told me, from the mouth of sir Robert Cotton, that that worthy knight met in a

* CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Cambridgeshire. † Dr. Hervey.

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morning a true and undoubted Plantagenet holding the plough in the country.

He might add arms to ancient names, where he could recover any certainty therein; for I am confident that hereditary arms are not so ancient as the Conquest, but fixed in families about the beginning of Henry III.; finding, before that time, the warlike devices of the sons not the same with the fancies of their fathers, and their grandchildren differing from both.

If any say that I have already gone too far in this subject, who am no herald by profession, but only Κήρυξ, *Præco*, "a crier" in the spiritual acceptation of the office; yea, that this savours of revenge, as if, because so many in this age invade my calling, I in requital have made incursion into other men's professions; like men that take "letters of mart," not caring whom they wrong, so they repair themselves for their former sustained or pretended losses: let such know that I adventure on heraldry, not as a calling, but as an accessory quality for recreation. And, in evidence of my loyalty to the kings of arms, I submit what here I have written to their censure and correction, who have obliged me unto them with their many and great civilities.

Only I will add some corollaries to this roll, and so conclude.

The prefixing of D' before Names.

COROLL. I.—When any name begins with a vowel, or an H, the prefixing of D' createth a (seeming) new name: as Arcy, D'Arcy; Aunvers, D'Aunvers; Haurel or Hairel, D'Hairel.

French Surnames discerned by their Terminations.

COROLL. II.—French surnames are generally discernible by their terminations.

In *age*, as Savage; *ard*, as Giffard; *champe*, as Beauchampe; *court*, as Harcourt; *cy*, as Darcy; *ell*, as Terrell; *er*, as Archer; *ers*, as Danvers; *eux*, as Devereux; *et*, as Barret; *lay*, as Cholmelay; *nay*, as Courtnay; *ot*, as Talbot; *vile*, as Nevile.

Some few names, whose endings are exceptions from these rules, are easily observed by reading, and known to be of French extraction.

Wivil closeth the Catalogue.

COROLL. III.—Wivil is the last name in most catalogues. First fixed at Stanton-Wivil in Leicestershire, where they continued in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of king Henry VI. on this token,—that William Wivil, being sworn and examined, did

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depose, that he could expend twenty pounds a-year of old rents besides all charges. Of this house was Robert de Wivil, bishop of Salisbury: one neither handsome nor learned, but eminent for his long life (forty-five years bishop there) and high spirit, that he would not suffer the castle of Sarum to be parted from his see, challenged by William Montacute earl of Salisbury, without putting it upon "trial of battle." Long since the Wivils here are extinct, bearing Gules, Frettey Vary, a Chief Or. But there is extant an ancient family of that name in the North, though different in arms, augmented in state and honour by matches with the heirs of Pigot, Scroope of Upsall, and Bointon; whereof sir Marmaduke Wivil, of Constable-Burton in Richmondshire, was created baronet by king James, whose grandchild Marmaduke baronet Wivil married the daughter of Coniers lord Darcy. And I am glad that I may auspiciously close, and conclude my catalogue with so worthy a gentleman; bearing Gules, three Cheveronels braced in Base, Gobonee Argent and Azure, a Chief Or.

The Family of the Walgraves.

COROLL. IV.—All names of gentry which by authentical records came over at the Conquest, are not expressed in any of these catalogues; as Saukvil, or Sackvil, and Walgrave; we finding two of that surname: One John Walgrave a Saxon, living at Walgrave in Northamptonshire, and possessed of that manor before the Conquest: The other a Walloon of that name, coming over with the Conqueror, and employed by him in many services. The latter of these, on the consent of the former that he should marry his only daughter, procured from the Conqueror a pardon for his father-in-law, that he might quietly enjoy his lands and livings, descending on this Walloon Walgrave after the other's death. Which pardon, legible in French, was, *anno* 1612, in the possession of the Walgraves, still * flourishing in Suffolk.

After the Conquest several Recruits of French in England.

COROLL. V.—Let none wonder, if some names of worshipful and honourable families, undoubtedly of French original, (but since the Conquest,) have not appeared in the aforesaid catalogues. For know, that after the Conquest, sundry Frenchmen of signal worth entered England at several times, chiefly, first, at the marriage of king Henry II. to queen Eleanor, who brought the dukedom of Aquitaine and earldom of Poictiers for her dowry. Secondly, at

* Attested by John Raven, Richmond Herald. See WEAVER'S "Funeral Monuments," p. 758.

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the marriage of Edward II. to Isabella, daughter to Philip the Fair king of France, when three thousand French came over with her, (complained of as a great grievance,) and many settled here. Not to speak of the conquests of king Edward III. and Henry V. in France, causing such an intercourse of the nations, that then England and France may be said to have borne counterchangeably each other's natives.

Tradesmen, not mentioned in this Roll, came over with them.

COROLL. VI.—Many will admire no mention of tradesmen in all these catalogues, being of absolute necessity both in war and peace. For soon would the head of the best Monsieur ache without a Capper; hands be tanned without a Glover; feet be foundered without a Tanner, Currier, Shoemaker; whole body be starved, cold, without Weaver, Fuller, Tailor; hungry, without Baker, Brewer, Cook; harbourless, without Mason, Smith, and Carpenter. Say not, "It was beneath the French gallantry to stoop to such mean employments, who found all these trades here amongst the English their vassals." For, besides that nothing is base which is honest, and necessary for human society, such as are acquainted with the French (both ancient and modern) finical humour, know they account our tailors botchers, shoemakers cobblers, cooks slovens, compared to the exactness of their fancy and palate; so that, certainly, such trades came over with them.

As appears by Doomsday-Book.

COROLL. VII.—But hear what our great antiquary * saith herein: "In that most authentical register, Doomsday-Book, in the Exchequer, ye shall have *Cocus*, *Aurifaber*, *Pictor*, *Pistor*, *Accipitrarius*, *Camerarius*, *Venator*, *Piscator*, *Medicus*; 'Cook, Goldsmith, Painter, Baker, Falconer, Chamberlain, Huntsman, Fisher, Leach,' Marshal, Porter, and others, which then held land *in capite*, and, without doubt, left these names to their posterity; albeit haply they are not mentioned in those tables of Battle Abbey of such as came in at the Conquest."

The sad Case of the English.

COROLL. VIII.—Now let me bespeak the reader's pity (though possibly his ingenuous sympathy hath given it before it was requested) for those poor Englishmen who were to find free-quarter for all these French. Where could their landlords lodge them? Or, rather, how could they long continue landlords, when such

* CAMDEN'S "Remains," p. 234.

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potent guests came to their houses? O the several ways which their necessities dictated unto them! Some fought, as the Kentish, who capitulated for their liberty. Some fled, as those in the North, into Scotland. Some hid themselves, as many, in middle England, in the Isle of Ely. Some, as those of Norfolk, traversed their title by law, and that with good success in the old age of king William the Conqueror. Most betook themselves to patience; which taught many a noble hand to work, foot to travel, tongue to entreat; even thanking them for their courtesy, who were pleased to restore a shiver of their own loaf, which they violently took from them.

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THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK III.

FROM THE COMING-IN OF THE NORMANS, UNTIL THE APPEARING OF JOHN WICLIFFE.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM,

LORD BEAUCHAMPE, &c.,

GRANDCHILD AND HEIR-APPARENT TO THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM, MARQUIS OF HERTFORD.

SOME there are who exact of every Christian, as a touchstone of their sincerity, to render an account of the exact time of their conversion, with the circumstances thereof,—how, when, and where performed. I must crave leave to enter myself a dissenter herein, conceiving such a demand unreasonable, as generally required essential to all true believers.

I confess, some may return a satisfactory answer thereunto; namely, such, whose souls, suddenly snatched out of error and viciousness, were immediately wrought upon, almost in an instant, by the Spirit of God. Thus, of those three thousand gained, on Many-Saints' Day, by St. Peter, at Jerusalem, with the preaching of one sermon, Acts ii. 41, each one might punctually and precisely tell the very moment of their true conversion; and, generally, THE WORSE men have been, THE BETTER they can point at the accurate date thereof.

And thus, as kings count their actions by the years of their reign, (bishops formerly of their consecration,) so these may use the style, "In the year of our conversion, first, or second," &c. And as Herod kept a festival of his natural birth-day, Matt. xiv. 6, such, if so pleased, may duly and truly observe an anniversary solemnity of their regeneration.

A privilege, not granted to all true believers: God,

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to show his power that he can, and pleasure that he will, vary the manner of men's conversion, (though going the same path by his word and Spirit,) useth a slower pace in the hearts of others, in whom grace is wrought *sensim sine sensu*, modelled by degrees; in such, no mortal man can assign the minutary juncture of time, when preparing grace (which cleared the ground) ended, and saving grace (which finished the fabric of conversion) did first begin.

Observable to this purpose are the words of our Saviour: "So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the ground; and should sleep, and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how," Mark iv. 26. That grace is sown, and is grown, men know; but when, and how, in the persons aforesaid, God knows.

Beside these adult converts, there are a second sort of Christians unable to discover the date of grace dawning in them; namely, such who, with Timothy, 2 Tim. i. 5, iii. 15, may be said to be good, time out of mind, sucking in grace with their milk, extracted from and educated under a pious parentage.

I hope and trust that your Honour may truly be ranked in this latter form,—that as many ancient deeds (written before the reign of king Henry III.) are commonly without any date; grace, in like manner, will arise so early in your heart, (advantaged by your godly birth and breeding,) that you shall not remember the beginning thereof.

However, to make sure work, it will be safest to examine yourself, (when arrived at age,) what eminent accessions and additions of grace you can remember, with the place and time when the same were effectually wrought in your soul, and what bosom-sin you have conquered. Especially take notice of your solemn reconciling to God, after repentance for some sin committed.

David, no doubt, in some sort may be said to be

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born good, God being his hope when in the womb, when on the breasts of his mother, Psalm xxii. 10; trusting in him, and taught by him, from his youth, Psalm lxxi. 5, 17. Now, though probably he could not remember his first and general conversion, he could recount his re-conversion, after his foul offences of adultery and murder, as by his penitential Psalm doth plainly appear.

Otherwise, such who boast themselves converted before memory, (by the privilege of their pious infancy,) if they can recover no memorials of their repentance after relapse, and produce no time nor tokens thereof, are so far from being good from their cradle, it is rather suspicious they will be bad to their coffin, if not labouring for a better spiritual estate.

And now, my lord, let me recommend to your childhood the reading of "the holy scriptures," as the apostle termeth them, 2 Tim. iii. 15: *Holy*—in the fountain, flowing from the Holy Spirit inditing them. *Holy*—in the conduit-pipe, derived through holy men penning them, 2 Peter i. 21. *Holy*—in the liquor, teaching and directing to holiness. *Holy*—in the cistern, working sanctity in such as worthily receive them, and "making them wise unto salvation."

Now, next to the study of the scriptures, history best becometh a gentleman, church-history a Christian, the British history an Englishman; all which qualifications, meeting eminently in your Honour, give me some comfortable assurance, that these my weak "endeavours" will not be unwelcome unto you; by perusing whereof, some profit may probably accrue to yourself, and more honour will certainly redound to

The meanest and unworthiest
of your lordship's servants,
THOMAS FULLER.

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THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK III.

SECTION I.

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

1. *The drunken English conquered by the Normans, and William foundeth Battle Abbey.* 2 William the Conqueror. *A. D.* 1067.

WILLIAM duke of Normandy, being thus arrived, (October 14th,) soon conquered Harold with an army of Normans, as far beneath the English in number as above them in temperance. For, the English, being revelling before, had in the morning their brains arrested for the arrearages of the indigested fumes of the former night, and were no better than drunk when they came to fight.* But these things belong to the historians of the state to relate; whilst it is proper to us to observe, that king William, to testify his gratitude to God for the victory, founded in that place Battle Abbey, endowing it with revenues, and large immunities. The abbot whereof,† being a baron of parliament, carried a pardon in his presence; who, casually coming to the place of execution, had power to save any malefactor. The Abbey-church was a place of safety for any felon or murderer; though such popish sanctuaries themselves, if accused as unlawful, can find no refuge in scripture-precepts or precedents for their justification, seeing the very horns of the altar, by Divine command, did push away those wilful offenders which fled unto them; and impunity, being the greatest motive to impiety, made their convent the centre of sinners. Here the monks flourished in all affluence; as the old world in the days of Noah, "they ate, they drank, they bought, they sold;" would I

* *Manè adhuc ebrii contra hostes incunctanter procedunt.*—M. PARIS. † CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Sussex.

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might add, "They married wives and were given in marriage," (for want whereof they did worse,) till in the days of king Henry VIII. they were all drowned in the general deluge of the Dissolution.

2. *William crowned by the Archbishop of York, whilst many of the English Clergy fly into Scotland.*

Now, it was proper to the place of Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, to perform the solemnities of king William's coronation; but he declined that employment, pretending William's unlawful title, and loath to pour the sacred oil on *his* head *whose* hands had shed so much innocent blood. The other, accounting himself to have a better title to the crown by conquest, than the archbishop had to his mitre by simony, disdained his service, and accepted the crown from the hands of Aldred, archbishop of York; who first required an oath of him, to defend the church, minister justice, and, amongst other things, to use Englishmen as favourably as Normans. Notwithstanding which oath, he made the Normans his darlings, and the English his drudges; insomuch as many English bishops and abbots, unable to comport themselves with his harshness, and conceiving it more credit and safety to go than to be driven away; fearing by degrees they should all be quarrelled out of their places, unwillingly-willing quitted their preferments, and fled into Scotland. Here king Malcolm Canmore (who had married Margaret, niece to Edward the Confessor) freely received them. He himself had formerly lived fourteen years in England; and now, of a grateful guest, became a bountiful host, and courteously harboured these exiles. And as, at this time, England began to turn France, imitating the language, garb, and manners thereof; so Scotland began now to turn England,—the families transplanted thither transporting the English customs, fashions, and civilities along with them.

3. *Doomsday-Book made.* *A.D.* 1068.

About this time, (October 2d,) Doomsday-Book was made, containing an exact survey of all the houses and land in the kingdom, unpartially done with rigorous severity. They omitted *nec lucum, nec lacum, nec locum,** so accurate they were in the very fractions of the land; and therefore it may seem a miracle, that the monks of Crowland should find a courtesy peculiar to themselves, (belike out of veneration to their convent,) that their lands were rated *nec ad spatium, nec ad prætium,*† "neither so much in

* INGULPHI *Historia*, fol. 516. † *Idem, ibid.*

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quantity, nor so high in value as indeed they were worth." This "Book of the General Survey of England," though now begun, did take up some years before it was completed.*

4. *Stigand deposed in a Council at Winchester.* *A.D.* 1070.

King William called a synod of his bishops at Winchester, wherein he was personally present, with two cardinals sent thither from Rome. Here Stigand archbishop of Canterbury was deposed, for several uncanonical exorbitances; and Lanfrank, a lordly Lombard, substituted in his room. Stigand lived some years after in a prison; and, which was worse, a prison lived in him,—being "straitened in his own bowels" towards himself. For, pretending poverty, he denied himself necessaries, being afterwards discovered to carry a key about his neck which opened to infinite treasure; so that none would lavish pity on him who starved in store, and was wilfully cruel to himself.

5. *The Pope's first Usurpation of the Crown of England.*

A learned lawyer hath observed,† that "the first encroachment of the bishop of Rome upon the liberties of the crown of England was made in the time of king William the Conqueror. For the Conqueror came in with the pope's banner, and under it won the battle, which got him the garland; and therefore the pope presumed he might boldly pluck some flowers from it, being partly gained by his countenance and blessing. Indeed, king William kindly entertained these legates, sent from Rome, so to sweeten the rank savour of his coming in by the sword, in the nostrils of religious men, pretending what he had gotten by power he would keep by a pious compliance with his Holiness. But especially he did serve the pope to be served by him; that so, with more ease and less envy, he might suppress the English clergy. But although this politic prince was courteous in his complimental addresses to the see apostolic, yet, withal, he was careful of the main chance—to keep the essentials of his crown; as, amongst others, by these four remarkable particulars may appear:—

6, 7. *Yet King William invested ecclesiastical Persons,* *A.D.* 1067; *and refuseth to do Fealty to the Pope.* *A.D.* 1078.

First. He retained the ancient custom of the Saxon kings,‡ investing bishops and abbots, by delivering them a ring and a staff; whereby, without more ado, they were put into plenary possession

* Florentius Wigorniensis *et* Higden make it finished *anno* 1078. † Sir John Davys, in his "Irish Reports," case of *Præmunire*, fol. 87, 89. ‡ *Annal. Eccl.* Lichfield MS. cited by Mr. Selden, in his notes on Eadmerus, p. 14.

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of the power and profit of their place. Yea, when archbishop Lanfrank—one so prevalent that he could persuade king William to any thing, (provided that the king himself thought it fitting,) —requested William to bestow on him the donation of the abbey of St. Augustine in Canterbury, the king refused, saying, that he would keep all pastoral staves in his own hand;* wiser herein than his successors, who parted with those staves, wherewith they themselves were beaten afterward.

Secondly. Being demanded to do fealty for his crown of England to Gregory VII., pope of Rome, he returned an answer as followeth:—*Excellentissimo sanctæ ecclesiæ pastori Gregorio, gratiâ Dei Anglorum rex, et dux Normannorum, Willielmus salutem cum amicitiâ. Hubertus legatus tuus, religiose pater, ad me veniens ex tuâ parte, me admonuit, quatenus tibi et successoribus tuis fidelitatem facerem, et de pecuniâ quam antecessores mei ad Romanam ecclesiam mittere solebant, melius cogitarem. Unum admisi, alterum non admisi. Fidelitatem facere nolui, nec volo, quia nec ego promisi; nec antecessores meos antecessoribus tuis id fecisse comperio. Pecunia, tribus fermè annis, in Galliis me agente, negligenter collecta est. Nunc verò, Divinâ misericordiâ me in regnum meum reverso, quod collectum per præfatum legatum mittitur; et quod reliquum est, per legatos Lanfranci, archiepiscopi fidelis nostri, cum opportunum fuerit, transmittetur. Orate pro nobis, et pro statu regni nostri, quia antecessores vestros dileximus, et vos præ omnibus sincerè diligere et obedienter audire desideramus.*† In English:—

"To Gregory the most excellent pastor of the holy church, William, by the grace of God, king of the English and duke of the Normans, wisheth health, and desireth his friendship.‡ Religious father, your legate Hubert coming unto me admonished me, in your behalf, inasmuch as I should do fealty to you and your successors; and that I should take better care for the payment of the money which my predecessors were wont to send to the church of Rome. One thing I have granted, the other I have not granted. Fealty I would not do, nor will I; because I neither promised it, neither do I find that my predecessors ever did it to your predecessors. The money, for almost three years, when I was abroad in France, hath been but negligently collected. But now, seeing by Divine mercy I am returned into my kingdom, what is gathered is sent by the aforesaid legate; and the arrears which remain shall be sent by the messengers of Lanfrank, our faithful archbishop, in time convenient.

* GERVASIUS DOROBERNENSIS MS. cited *ibid.* † *MS. Codex Epistolarum Lanfranci*, cited by SIR JOHN DAVYS, in his "Irish Reports," of *Præmunire*, fol. 19.

‡ Or, remembereth his love to him.

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Pray for us, and for the good state of our kingdom; because we have loved your predecessors, and do desire sincerely to love and obediently to hear you, above all others."

It is strange on what pretence of right the pope required this fealty. Was it because he lent king William a consecrated banner, that, under the colour thereof, he endeavoured to display his power over all England, (as if the king must do him homage as a banneret of his creation,) or because he had lately humbled Henry IV. the German emperor, he thought that all kings in like manner must be slaves unto him,—the pope being then in his vertical height and dog-days of the heat of his power? But we need no further inquiry into the cause of his ambition, when we read him to be Gregory VII. otherwise Hildebrand, that most active of all that sate in that chair. Surely, he sent this his demand rather with an intent to spy than hope to speed therein; so to sound the depth of king William, whom if he found shallow, he knew how to proceed accordingly; or else he meant to leave this demand dormant in the deck, for his successors to make advantage thereof, who would claim for due whatsoever they challenged before. However, so bold an asker never met with a more bold denier. Soon did king William find his spirits, who formerly had not lost but hid them for his private ends. England's Conqueror would not be Rome's Vassal; and he had brain enough to deny what the other had brow to require, and yet in such wary language that he carried himself in a religious distance, yet politic parity, with his Holiness.

8. *King William ordereth the Power both of Pope and Archbishop in his own Dominion.*

Thirdly. King William would in no wise suffer any one in his dominion to acknowledge the bishop of Rome for apostolical, without his command,* or to receive the pope's letters, except first they had been showed unto him. As for the archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, though by his own authority he might congregate councils of bishops, and sit president in them; yet the king permitted him to appoint or prohibit nothing but what was according to his own will and pleasure, and what the king had ordained before.†

9. *Barons not to be excommunicated without the King's Command.*

Lastly. King William suffered no bishop to excommunicate any of his barons or officers, for adultery, incest, or any such heinous crime, except by the king's command, first made acquainted with

* EADMERUS, *Hist. Nov.* lib. i. p. 6. † *Idem, ibid.*

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the same. Here the word "baron" is not to be taken in that restrictive sense to which the modern acceptation hath confined it, —only for such of the higher nobility which have place and votes in parliament; but generally * for such who by tenure-en-chief, or *in capite*, as they term it, held land immediately of the king. And an English poet,† counted the Virgil of his age and the Ennius in ours, expresseth as much in his rhymes, which we here set down, with all the rust thereof, without rubbing it off; remembering how one John Throckmorton,‡ a justice of Cheshire, in queen Elizabeth's days, for not exhibiting a judicial concord, with all the defects of the same, but, supplying or filling up what was worn out of the authentical original, was fined for being over-officious; and, therefore, take them with their faults, and all, as followeth:—

"The berthe was that noe man that of the king huld ought
In cheif or in eni servise, to manling were ibrought
Bote the wardenis of holy chirch that brought him therete
The king lede or his bailifes what he had misdoe
And loked verst were thei to amendment it bring
And bete hy wolde by their leve doe the manling."

And a grave author § gives a good reason why the king must be informed before any of his barons be excommunicated; "lest otherwise," saith he, "the king, not being certified thereof, should, out of ignorance, unawares communicate with persons excommunicated, when such officers of his should come to kiss his hand, be called to his council, or come to perform any personal attendance about him." Hitherto we have seen how careful the Conqueror was in preserving his own right in church-matters. We will conclude all with the syllogism, which the oracle ‖ of the common-law frameth in this manner:—

"It is agreed, that no man only can make any appropriation of any church having cure of souls, (being a thing ecclesiastical, and to be made to some person ecclesiastical,) but he that hath ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

"But William I. of himself, without any other, (as king of England,) made appropriation of churches, with cure to ecclesiastical persons; as by many instances may appear.

"THEREFORE it followeth, that he had ecclesiastical jurisdiction."

And so much concerning king William's policy in doing justice to his own power. Proceed we now to his bounty, confirming old and conferring new favours upon the church and clergy.

* J. SELDEN, *Spicilegium ad Eadmerum*, p. 168. † ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER.
‡ CAMDEN'S "Elizabeth," *anno* 1584. § RADULPHUS DE DICETO *sub anno* 1163.
‖ LORD COKE'S "Reports," part v. *De Jure Regis Ecclesiastico*, fol. 10.

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10. *Bishops' Jurisdictions first severed from the Sheriffs.*

First. Whereas before his time the sheriff and bishop jointly kept their courts together, (especially at the two solemn times, about Easter and Michaelmas,) king William, in favour of the clergy, assigned the bishops an entire jurisdiction by themselves,* wherein they should have cognizance of all causes relating to religion. I say "relating to religion,"—a latitude of a cheverel † extension, adequate almost to the mind of him that will stretch it out; and few ecclesiastical judges would lose what might be got by measuring. Now, formerly, whilst the power of sheriff and bishop went hand-in-hand together in the same court, neither could much outstrip [the] other; but, since they were severed, the spiritual power far outwent its old mate, improving his own, by impairing the secular courts; and henceforward the canon-law took the firmer footing in England. Date we from hence the squint eyes of the clergy, whose sight (single before) was hereafter divided with double looks betwixt two objects at once,—the pope and the king, to put him first whom they eyed most, acting hereafter more by foreign than domestic interest.

11. *The Contest betwixt common- and canon-Law, how only to be reconciled.*

A learned pen ‡ makes a just complaint, that "courts which should distribute peace do themselves practise duels, whilst it is counted the part of a resolute judge to enlarge the privilege of his court:" a grievance most visible in contest betwixt the common- and the canon-law; which, as if they were stars of so different an horizon, that the elevation of the one necessitated the depression of the other, lie at catch, and wait advantages one against another. So that, whilst both might continue in a convenient and healthful habitude, if such envious cor-rivality were deposed, now alternately those courts swell to a tympany, or waste to a consumption, as their judges find themselves more or less strengthened with power, or befriended with favour: a mischief not to be remedied, till either that mutual consent, or a predominant power to both, impartially state their jurisdictions, rightly setting down the land-marks thereof, and binding their proceedings not to exceed their bounds; which would both advance learning, and expedite the execution of justice.

* See this cleared by MR. SELDEN, in his notes on Eadmerus, p. 167. † "Pliable, flexible."—EDIT. ‡ LORD BACON in his "Advancement of Learning," Aphorism xcvi. p. 463.

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12. *King William's Charter to the Clergy.*

To return to king William: As he conferred power on, so he confirmed profit to, the clergy. Witness his charter,* granting them, throughout England, tithes of calves, colts, lambs, milk, butter, cheese, woods, meadows, mills, &c. Which charter is concluded: (it is the strong hem keeps all the cloth from ravelling out:) *Qui decimam detinuerit, per justitiam episcopi et regis (si necesse fuerit) ad redditionem arguatur:*† "Who shall detain his tithes, by the power of the bishop and king, (if need be,) let him be argued into the payment thereof." And kings' arguments, we know, are unanswerable, as *ab authoritate*, carrying power and penalties with them. This charter might seem to give the tenth loaf, of all the bread in the land, into the hands of the English clergy. But the municipal laws, which were afterwards made, did so chip and pare this loaf, with their *modus decimandi*, that in many places (vicarages especially) a small shiver of bread falls to the share of the minister, not enough for his necessary maintenance.

13, 14. *Two contrary Characters of King William. Our Endeavours to compass the Difference.*

And here,—to make a short but needful digression,—I find in eminent writers two contrary characters of king William. Some make him an arrant tyrant, ruling only by the *magna charta* of his own will, oppressing all English without cause or measure. No author need to be alleged for the avouching thereof, the thing being author for itself, being so notoriously known and generally believed. Others make him to quit his title by conquest, and hold the crown, partly by bequest from king Edward the Confessor, whose good laws he is said to confirm; *(leges boni regis Edvardi quas Gulielmus Bastardus postea confirmavit;)* and partly by compact with his people.‡ Yea, the Chronicles of Lichfield make him to call a parliament in effect; I mean, a meeting of his clergy and nobility in a great council; where, as if he had turned perfect Englishman, he conformed his practice to their ancient constitutions.

Should I interpose between these opposite parties to reconcile them, probably the blows from both sides would fall heavy on my charitable indiscretion. Yet thus far I will be bold to say, Such confirmation of king Edward's law, if made by king William, probably was rather oral and verbal, than real and effectual. But, if real, certainly it was not general, but limited to some particular

* See it at large in MR. SELDEN, "Of Tithes," cap. viii. p. 225. † Others read it *adigatur*, "let him be compelled." ‡ See MR. SELDEN, *ut suprà*.

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place, as the province of Kent,—the English "land of Goshen," which alone enjoyed the light of liberty, though rather gotten by them than given unto them. But if any will contend, that this confirmation was general, they must confess it done in the latter end of his reign. King William, when young, loved honour; when old, ease: when young, to conquer; when old, to enjoy. Age will make all to stoop, as here it bowed him to a better compliance with his people. However, this his confirmation of king Edward's laws was not such as either gave general content to, or begat assured confidence in, the English; perchance, because but a personal act, and but partially done, and no whit obligatory of his posterity. This made the English press so importunately, though in vain, to William Rufus, the king's son and successor, for a re-confirmation of king Edward's laws, which had been needless, (as being the same with *actum agere*, or rather *datum petere*,) had the former grant from king William his father been conceived sufficient for their security.

15. *King William's Bounty to Battle Abbey.* *A.D.* 1081.

As for king William's particular bounty to Battle Abbey in Sussex, which he founded, it bare better proportion to the dignity of the giver, than to the deserts of the receivers. For, beside those privileges formerly mentioned,* he gave it all the land within a league of the site thereof. He ordered that no foreigner should be obtruded on their abbey; but, in every vacancy, one of their own convent should be elected abbot thereof; except (which Heavens forbid!) no fit person should be found therein for that preferment. Nor should the abbot be forced to appear at any synod, or meeting, except pleased of himself so to do. These and many more immunities he confirmed to that foundation, in such an imperious style as if therewith he meant to bluster all future princes, and king Henry VIII. among the rest, into a perfect obedience unto his commands; especially with that clause in his charter, *Nullus successorum meorum violare præsumat.* But dead kings' charters, though they have tongues to threaten, yet have no teeth to bite, especially when meeting with an equal after-power to rescind them.

16. *His hard Dealing with the Students at Oxford.*

The more the pity that such drones, lazy abbey-lubbers, went away with the honey, whilst the industrious bees were almost starved; I mean the scholars of Oxford. For, at the coming-in of the Conqueror, the students in University College, formerly founded

* In the first paragraph of this [third] book, p. 264.

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by king Alfred, were maintained by pensions, yearly paid them out of the king's exchequer; which provision was then conceived both most honourable, as immediately depending on the crown, and less troublesome, issuing out in ready coin, free from vexatious suits, casualties of tenants, and other encumbrances. But now, king William, who loved that the tide of wealth should flow into, but not ebb out of, his coffers, detained and denied their exhibitions.* Yea, the king picked a quarrel with them, because they sought to preserve and propagate the English tongue; which the king designed to suppress, and to reduce all to the French language. And yet the French speech was so far from finally prevailing in this kingdom, that it was fain at last to come to a composition with the English tongue, mixed together, as they remain at this day; save that in terms of law, venary, and blazon, the French seemeth solely to command. The scholars, thus deprived of their pensions, lived on the charity of such as loved the continuance of their native tongue.† Their Latin was then maintained by their English; though, surely, it was no small disturbance to their studies, merely to depend for their subsistence on the arbitrary alms of others.

17—19. *Lanfrank most kindly treated by the Pope. His Charge against Thomas, elect of York; and against Remigius, elect of Lincoln.*

Pass we now from king William unto Lanfrank archbishop of Canterbury, next the king, then the most considerable person in our ecclesiastical history. To Rome he went with Thomas, elect of York, and Remigius of Lincoln; all three for confirmation from the pope in their preferment. Pope Alexander treated Lanfrank so civilly, that a stranger, if beholding the passages betwixt them, haply might have mistaken Lanfrank for the pope, and the pope for the petitioner. His Highness honoured him as his master, *cujus studio sumus in illis quæ scimus imbuti;* "by whose care," said he, "we have been instructed in those things whereof we have knowledge."

Then Lanfrank charged Thomas, in the presence of the pope, as canonically uncapable of that archbishopric, because the son of a priest. And yet, by Lanfrank's leave, no canon can be produced, then in force, to debar priests' sons from preferment, though, some few years after, in the council of Clermont, such a prohibition was made. And therefore Eadmerus,‡ speaking of Lanfrank, *Calumniatus est Thomam coram papâ*, in the proper acceptation of his words, speaks more truth than he was aware of, or probably did

* *Ex monumentis Collegii Universitatis. Oxon.* p. 215. † BRIAN TWYNE *in Antiq. Academ.* ‡ *Novorum*, lib. i. p. 7.

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intend. But Lanfrank, being a privado * to the pope's projects, and as well to the intentions as the actions of the church of Rome, might, by a prolepsis, antedate this objection against Thomas, using it for the present as a rub to retard him, which some years after was constituted a legal obstacle to exclude any priest's son from promotion. But, even when that canon some years after was made, the pope was not so cruel as thereby fully and finally to exclude all priests' sons from church-dignity, but only to shut them out for a time, that they might stand at the door and knock, (I mean, with the chink of their money,) and at last be let in when they had paid dear for a dispensation.

Lanfrank likewise charged Remigius, elect of Lincoln, as irregular, because guilty of simony. Yet he did not tax him with a penny of money, either paid or contracted for, only charged him that *officio emerat*,† "by service-simony he had purchased" the place of king William; so that his officiousness to comply with the king's pleasure had made him injurious and vexatious unto the people. Here all things were referred to Lanfrank's own arbitration; whom the pope, of an accuser, made a judge so far as either to admit or exclude the aforesaid prelates; affirming, that if "any unworthiness crept into English preferment, be it charged on Lanfrank's account, whom he made sole judge of men's merits to any promotion."

20. *Lanfrank's Return and Employment.*

But all is well that ends well; and so did this contest. Lanfrank, having first given them a taste of his power, did afterwards give them a cast of his pity, and favourably accepted them both into their places. Hence they all post homewards, where we leave Lanfrank safely arrived, and soundly employed in variety of business:—(1.) In asserting the superiority of his see above York. (2.) In defending his tenants, in what diocess soever, from the visitations of their respective bishops; which gave the first original to *peculiars*. (3.) In repairing his church of Canterbury, lately much defaced with fire. (4.) In casting out secular priests, and substituting monks in their room. (5.) Lastly. In recovering lands long detained from his see. Nor was he affrighted with the height and greatness of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, though half-brother to king William, and earl of Kent; but wrestled a fair fall with him in a legal trial, and cast him flat on his back, regaining many lordships, which Odo had most unjustly invaded. Such as desire more of Lanfrank's character, let them consult Eadmerus, a monk of Canterbury, and therefore prodigal in

* "One possessing intimate knowledge."—EDIT. † EADMERUS, *ibid.*

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Lanfrank's praise, an archbishop of Canterbury, and great promoter of monastical life. Indeed, there was a design, driven on by Walkeline bishop of Winchester, (who had privately wrought the king to abet it,) to re-induce secular priests into monks' places, till Lanfrank, getting notice, defeated the plot; procuring, that all such monks, whom he had first fastened in their convents, were afterwards riveted therein by papal authority.

21. *Bishops' Sees removed from Villages to Cities.*

About this time a constitution was made, that bishops should remove their sees from petty towns to populous places; this reason being rendered for their removal, *Ne vilesceret episcopalis dignitas* by their long living in so little villages. Such bishops' churches could not properly be called "cathedrals," who sate not upon chairs, but low stools, so inconsiderably small were somes places of their residences. A fair candlestick, advantageously set, in some sense may be said to give light to the candle itself; and episcopal lustre will be the brighter, if placed in eminent cities. Besides, bishops having now gotten canon-law, and distinct courts by themselves, much people repaired unto their consistories; who conveniently could not be accommodated in little villages, but required bigger places for their better entertainment. In order to this command, the bishop of Dorchester, near Oxford, removed to Lincoln; as, somewhat before, Selsey was translated to Chichester; and Sherborne to Salisbury; and, not long after, Thetford to Norwich. Now, as these cities, to which they removed, being great before, grew greater afterwards; so those places which they left, Dorchester, and Selsey especially, decayed to contemptible villages; it faring with places as with persons,—the rich grow richer still, and the meaner are daily diminished.

22. *Wolstan's Simplicity saveth his Bishopric.*

As these bishops accounted themselves well-busied in removing their bishoprics, so some, I am sure, were ill-employed in endeavouring to remove a good bishop; I mean Wolstan, from his church of Worcester. As the poets feign of Janus, that he had two faces, because living before and after the flood; so this Wolstan may be charactered accordingly, made bishop before, but continuing his place long after, the Norman inundation. But, in what sense soever he may be said to have two faces, he had but one heart, and that a single and sincere one to God and all goodness; yet his adversaries heaved at him, to cast him out of his bishopric, because an Englishman of the old stamp; but he sate safe, right-poised therein with his own gravity and integrity. And, being urged to

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resign his staff and ring, ensigns of his episcopacy, he refused to surrender them to any man alive, but willingly offered them up at the tomb of Edward the Confessor, from whom he received them. This his gratitude to his dead patron, and candid simplicity in neglecting the pomp of his place, procured him much favour, and occasioned his peaceable confirmation in his bishopric.

23. *The Original of* "Secundum Usum Sarum."

At this time several liturgies were used in England, which caused confusion, and much disturbed men's devotions. Yea, which was worse, a brawl (yea, a battle) happened betwixt the English monks of Glastonbury, and Thurstan, their Norman abbot, in their very church, obtruding a service upon them which they disliked; unfit persons to fight, (being by their profession men of peace,) and unfitter the place for a quarrel. "Have ye not houses to eat and drink in?" saith St. Paul to the Corinthians, "or despise ye the church of God?" 1 Cor. xi. 22. Was there no other room in their convent for them to fall out and fight in, but their church alone? Here was an "Holy War" indeed, when church-forms, candlesticks, and crucifixes were used for shields, by the monks, against the abbot's armed men brought in against them. Nor was holy water only, but much blood, spilled in the place; eight monks being wounded, and two * slain, (or, if you will, sacrificed,) near the steps of the high-altar. But this accident, ill in itself, was then conceived good in the event thereof, because occasioning a settlement and uniformity of liturgy all over England. For hereupon Osmond, bishop of Salisbury, devised that ordinary, or form of service, which hereafter was observed in the whole realm; his church's practice being a precedent, and the devotion therein a direction, to all others. Henceforward the most ignorant parish-priest in England, though having no more Latin in all his treasury, yet understood the meaning of *secundum usum Sarum*, that all service must be ordered "according to the course and custom of Salisbury church."

24. *The first Coming of the Jews into England.*

I find no Jews in England (no deviation, I hope, from church-history to touch at the synagogue!) before the reign of the Conqueror, who brought many from Roan in Normandy, and settled them in London, Norwich, Cambridge, Northampton,† &c. In what capacity these Jews came over, I find not; perchance, as plunderers, to buy such oppressed Englishmen's goods, which Christians would not meddle with. Sufficeth it us to know, that an

* *Eulogium*, an ancient and authentic chronicle, cited by MR. FOX, p. 233.
† STOW'S "Survey of London," in Coleman-street Ward.

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invasion by conquest, such as king William then made, is like an inn entertaining all adventurers; and, it may be, these Jewish bankers assisted the Conqueror with their coin. These Jews, though forbidden to buy land in England, grew rich by usury, their consciences being so wide that they were none at all; so that in the barest pasture, in which a Christian would starve, a Jew would grow fat, he bites so close unto the ground. "And ever bow down their backs," is part of God's curse upon the Jews. And crook-backed men, as they eye the earth, the centre of wealth; so they quickly see what straight persons pass by, and easily stoop to take up that they find thereon; and therefore no wonder if the Jewish nation, whose souls are bowed down with covetousness, quickly wax wealthy therewith. King William favoured them very much; and Rufus, his son, much more; especially if that speech reported of him be true, that he should swear "by St. Luke's face," his common oath, "if the Jews could overcome the Christians, he himself would become one of their sect." *

25. *The Death of King William, with the Difficulty of his Burial.* *A.D.* 1088.

Now was the time come of king William's death, ending his days in Normandy, September 9th. But see the unhappiness of all human felicity! For, his breath and his servants forsook him both together; the latter leaving him, as if his body should bury itself. How many hundreds held land of him in knights' service! whereas now neither knight nor esquire to attend him. At last, with much ado, his corpse is brought in mean manner to be interred in Caen. As it was prepared for the earth, a private person forbids the burial till satisfaction was made unto him, because the king had violently taken from him that ground on which that church was erected. Doth not Solomon say true, "A living dog is better than a dead lion;" when such a little cur durst snarl at the corpse of a king, and a conqueror? At last the monks of Caen made a composition, and the body was buried. And, as it was long before this king's corpse could get peaceable possession of a grave; so, since, by a firm ejection, he hath been outed of the same. When French soldiers,† *anno Domini* 1562, (amongst whom some English were mingled,) under Chatillion conducting the remnant of those who escaped in the battle of Dreux, took the city of Caen in his way, out of pretence, forsooth, to seek for some treasure supposed to be hid in his tomb, most barbarously and cowardly brake up his coffin, and cast his bones out of the same.

* STOW's "Survey of London," p. 288. † STOW's "Chronicle" at the death of king William.

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26. *The three Sons of the Conqueror, how denominated.* 1 William Rufus. *A.D.* 1088.

William the Conqueror left three sons,—Robert, William, and Henry: and, because hereditary surnames were not yet fixed in families, they were thus denominated and distinguished:—(1.) The eldest from *his goods of fortune*, to which clothes are reduced, Robert Curthose from the short hose he wore; not only for fancy, but sometimes for need, cutting his coat according to his cloth; his means, all his life long, being scant and necessitous. (2.) The second from *the goods of his body*, namely, a ruddy complexion, William Rufus, or "Red." But, whether a lovely and amiable, or ireful and choleric, red, the reader, on perusal of his Life, is best able to decide. (3.) The third from *the goods of his mind*, and his rich abilities of learning, Henry Beauclerc, or, "the good scholar." The middlemost of these, William Rufus, presuming on his brother Robert's absence in Normandy, and pretending his father got the crown by conquest, which by will he bequeathed unto him, (his eldest brother being then under a cloud of his father's displeasure,) adventured to possess himself of the kingdom.

27. *King William Rufus crowned.*

On the 26th of September, Lanfrank, archbishop of Canterbury, with good Wolstan, bishop of Worcester, assisting him, crowned Rufus king of England, though but his father's second son. And, indeed, the known policy of the former, and the reputed piety of the latter, were the best supporters of his title. Jacob, we know, (acted with a prophetical spirit,) "guiding his hands wittingly," laid his right on Ephraim the younger, and his left on Manasseh the elder, brother, Gen. xlviii. 14: but what warrant these bishops had to invert and transpose nature's method, by preferring the younger brother before the elder, was best known to themselves. Under Lanfrank he had his education, who made him a knight,* though it had been more proper for his tutor's profession, yea, and more for his credit, and his pupil's profit, if he, as the instrument, had made him a good Christian.

28. *His Covetousness and Inconstancy.*

He began very bountifully, but on another man's cost; not as a donor but a dealer thereof, and executor of his father's will. To some churches he gave ten marks, to others six, to every country village five shillings, besides an hundred pound to every county, to be distributed among the poor.† But afterward he proved most

* Matthew Paris, p. 14, † *Chronicon* Johannis Brompton, p. 983.

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parsimonious, though no man more prodigal of never-performed promises. Indeed, Rehoboam, though simple, was honest, speaking to his subjects, though foolishly, yet truly according to his intent, that his finger should be heavier than his father's loins, 1 Kings xii. 10: whereas Rufus was false in his proceedings, who, on the imminence of any danger or distress, (principally to secure himself against the claim of his brother Robert,) instantly to oblige the English, promised them the releasing of their taxes, and the restoring of the English laws; but, on the sinking of the present danger, his performance sunk accordingly; no letter of the English laws restored, or more mention thereof, till the returning of the like state-storm occasioned the reviving of his promise; and, alternately, the clearing up of the one deaded the performance of the other.

29. *His enriching himself by Church-Livings.* *A.D.* 1089.

This year died Lanfrank, archbishop of Canterbury: after whose death, the king seized the profits of that see into his own hand, and kept the church vacant for some years; knowing the emptiness of bishoprics caused the fulness of his coffers. Thus archbishop Rufus, bishop Rufus, abbot Rufus, (for so he may be called, as well as king Rufus; keeping at the same time the archbishopric of Canterbury, the bishoprics of Winchester and Durham, and thirteen abbeys in his hand,) brought a mass of money into his exchequer. All places which he parted with were upon present payment. Simon Magus, Acts viii. 18, with his hands full of money, would carry any thing from Simon Peter, with his, "Silver and gold have I none," Acts iii. 6. Yea, John bishop of Wells could not remove his seat to Bath, *nisi albo unguento manibus regis delibatis*, "unless he had moistened the king's hands with white ointment;" * though a less proportion of a yellow colour, would have been more sovereign to the same use. And picking a quarrel with Remigius, bishop of Lincoln, about the founding of his cathedral, he forced him to buy his peace at the price of a thousand marks.

30. *His Sickness and Resolution of Amendment.* *A.D.* 1093.

But in the midst of his mirth, king Rufus, coming to Gloucester, fell desperately sick, and began to bethink himself of his ill-led life. As all aches and wounds prick and pain most the nearer it draweth to night; so, a guilty conscience is most active to torment men, the nearer they conceive themselves approaching to their death. Hereupon he resolveth to restore all ill-gotten goods, release all persons unjustly imprisoned, and supply all empty places with able pastors.

* MATTHEW PARIS, p. 17.

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In pursuance hereof, he made Anselm, the abbot of Bec in Normandy, one of eminent learning and holiness of life, archbishop of Canterbury, which place he was hardly persuaded, with much importunity, to accept. The first eminent act of his archi-episcopal office which we find, was, when preaching at the court on Ash-Wednesday, he denied ashes and absolution to all those courtiers who affected effeminateness in their behaviour: * especially, in wearing their hair long, and combed like women: a sin, no doubt; for whereas Tertullian calls the length of women's hair, *sarcinam suæ humilitatis*, the same in men (so promiscuously worn) may be called, *sarcina suæ superbiæ*.

31. *Anselm's Expression questioned.*

There passeth a memorable expression of Anselm's, cried up and commended by some for a master-piece of devotion; namely, "that he had rather be in hell without sin, than in heaven with sin;" which others† condemn as an unsavoury speech, "not according to scripture-phrase, as from one not sufficiently acquainted with the justification of a Christian man." Indeed, some high-flown expressions often knock at the door of blasphemy, but yet not with any intention to enter in thereat; in which we are more to mind the sense than the sound of the words. Amongst those may this of Anselm's be ranked, uttered, no doubt, in a zealous detestation of sin; yea, which charitably may be defended in the very letter thereof. For Adam, we know, was some while in paradise (heaven's suburbs) after the eating of the forbidden fruit, Gen. iii.; yet was sensible of no pleasure therein, which made him hide himself, as prosecuted by his guilty conscience; and some of the ancients conceive, that Christ went locally to hell, yet no pain did seize on him there, seeing sorrow can arrest none but at the suit of sin going before.

32. *Anselm refuseth to send King Rufus one thousand Pounds.*

But, to leave Anselm's words, let us come to his deeds: who was scarce warm in his archbishopric, when the king sent to him for a thousand pounds; which sum, being so small in itself, (Rufus usually demanding more of less bishoprics,) and that after his entrance on his see, free from any pre-contract, might have passed without the suspicion of simony, under the notion of a mere gratuity. However, Anselm refused to pay it, because he would "avoid the appearance of evil." Others say,‡ that he freely sent the king five hundred pounds, with this compliment;—that, though it was the

* EADMERUS, *Novorum*, lib. i. p. 23. † MR. FOX'S "Acts and Monuments," vol. i. p. 240. ‡ EADMERUS, *Novorum*, lib. i. p. 22.

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first, it should not be the last he would present to his Majesty; which the king in choler refused, because short to the sum he expected. Indeed, Rufus only retained this of all his archi-episcopal education, (being bred under Lanfrank, as is afore said,)—that thereby he experimentally knew the sweetness of church-preferments; and, in his bargain and sale, set a rate upon them accordingly, being, after his recovery from his sickness, far more sordid and sacrilegious than before.

33. *Herbert Bishop of Thetford's simoniacal Flattery.* *A.D.* 1094.

Amongst the many simoniacal prelates that swarmed in the land, Herbert, bishop of Thetford, must not be forgotten; nicknamed, (or surnamed, shall I say?) *Loseng*, that is, "the Flatterer;" our old English word *leasing*, for "lying," retains some affinity thereunto; and at this day we call an insinuating fellow, "a glozing companion:" though the best persuasiveness of his flattery consisted in downright arguments of gold and silver. For, guilty of the hereditary sin of simony, (his father formerly having bought the abbey of Ramsey,) he purchased the bishopric of Thetford of the king. But afterward he posted to Rome, confessed his fault, and was absolved from the guilt thereof. Thus, as the leprosy of Naaman was washed away in Jordan, so that "his flesh came again as the flesh of a little child, and he was clean," 2 Kings v. 14; so this bishop was persuaded, that all his simoniacal corruption was cleansed in this his holy pilgrimage, conceiving himself henceforward to begin on a new account of integrity; especially having, after his return, removed his episcopal seat from Thetford to Norwich, where he first founded the cathedral.

34. *Wolstan Bishop of Worcester dieth.* *A.D.* 1095.

Wolstan, the venerable bishop of Worcester, left this life: a bishop of the old edition, unacquainted with Lanfrank's Italian additions; not faulty in his conversation but country, because an Englishman born. It was laid to his charge, that he could not speak French,—no essential quality in a bishop, as St. Paul describes him, 1 Tim. iii. 2; Titus i. 6, &c. Sure I am, he could speak the language of Canaan,—humble, holy, heavenly discourse: a mortified man, much macerating his body with fasting and watching, if not over-acting his part, and somewhat guilty of will-worship therein.

35. *Duke Robert prepares for the Holy War.*

About this time began the Holy War, which here we will not repeat, having formerly made an entire work thereof. Robert,

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duke of Normandy, to fit himself for that voyage, sold his dukedom to king William Rufus for ten thousand marks, say some; for six thousand, six hundred, sixty-six pounds, (that is, one mark less,) say others; haply, abating the odd mark, to make up the rotundity of so sacred and mystical a number. To pay this money, king Rufus laid a general and grievous tax over all the realm, extorting it with such severity, that the monks were fain to sell the church-plate and very chalices for discharging thereof. Wonder not, that the whole land should be impoverished with the paying of so small a sum; for, a little wool is a great deal when it must be taken from a new-shorn sheep; so pilled and polled were all people before, with constant exactions. Such, whom his hard usage forced beyond the seas, were recalled by his proclamation; so that his heavy levies would not suffer them to live here, and his hard laws would not permit them to depart hence. And when the clergy complained unto him, to be eased of their burdens; "I beseech you," said he, "have ye not coffins of gold and silver for dead men's bones?" intimating that the same treasure might otherwise be better employed.

36. *Variance between the King and Anselm.*

The streams of discord began now to swell high betwixt the king and archbishop Anselm; flowing principally from this occasion:— At this time there were two popes together, so that the eagle with two heads, the arms of the empire, might now as properly have fitted the papacy for the present. Of these, the one (Guibertus) I may call "the lay-pope," because made by Henry the emperor; the other (Urban) "the clergy-pope," chosen by the conclave of cardinals. Now, because "like unto like," king William sided with the former, whilst Anselm as earnestly adhered to Urban, in his affections, desiring to receive his pall from him, which the king refused to permit. Hereupon Anselm appealed to his pope, whereat king William was highly offended.

37. *Their several Pleadings, and present Reconcilement.*

But, because none are able so emphatically to tell their stories, and plead their causes, as themselves, take them in their own words:—

THE KING OBJECTED.

"The custom, from my father's time, hath been in England, that no person should appeal to the pope, without the king's licence. He that breaketh the customs of my realm, violateth the power and crown of my kingdom. He that violateth and taketh away my crown, is a traitor and enemy against me."

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ANSELM ANSWERED.

"The Lord hath discussed this question: 'Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.' In such things as belong to the terrene dignities of temporal princes, I will pay my obedience; but Christ said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church,' &c.; whose vicar he ought to obey in spiritual matters; and the fetching of his pall was of that nature."

At last an expedient was found out, that Anselm should not want his pall, nor fetch it himself from Rome, being by the king's consent brought to him by Gualter, pope Urban's legate, whom the king at last was fain to acknowledge; and so all things for the present reconciled.

38. *They disagree again.*

But the wound betwixt them was rather skinned over than perfectly healed; and afterwards brake out again, the king taking occasion of displeasure at Anselm's backwardness to assist him in his expedition into Wales. Whereupon Anselm desired a second journey to Rome, there to bemoan, and, probably, to relieve himself by complaint to the pope. But the king stopped his voyage; affirming, that Anselm had led so pious a life he need crave no absolution at Rome; and was so well-stored with learning that he needed not to borrow any counsel there. "Yea," said the king, "Urban had rather give place to the wisdom of Anselm, than Anselm have need of Urban." In fine, after much contesting, Anselm secretly stole out of the realm; and the king seized all his goods and lands into his own coffers. Three years was he in exile, sometimes at Lyons, sometimes at Rome; welcome wheresoever he came, and very serviceable to the church by his pious living, painful preaching, learned writing, and solid disputing, especially in the general council of Bari, where he was very useful in confuting and condemning the errors of the Greek church about the procession of the Holy Spirit.

39, 40. *King Rufus's Death. A.D.* 1100. *His Burial and Character.*

King Rufus was a-hunting in New-Forest, August 2nd, which was made by king William, his father; not so much out of pleasure or love of the game, as policy to clear and secure to himself a fair and large landing-place for his forces out of Normandy, if occasion did require. Here, then, was a great devastation of towns and temples; the place being turned into a wilderness for men, to make a paradise for deer. God seemed displeased hereat; for, amongst

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other tragedies of the Conqueror's family, acted in this place, Rufus was here slain, by the glancing of an arrow shot by sir Walter Tyrrel;—an unhappy name to the kings of England: this man casually and another wilfully (sir James Tyrrel employed in the murdering of king Edward V.) having their hands in royal blood. Now, it is seasonably remembered, that, some years since, this king William had a desperate disease, whereof he made but bad use after his recovery; and therefore now Divine Justice would not the second time send him the summons of a solemn visitation by sickness, but even surprised him by a sudden and unexpected death.

Thus died king William Rufus, leaving no issue; and was buried, saith my author,* at Winchester, *multorum procerum conventu, paucorum verò planctu;* "many noblemen meeting, but few mourning, at his funerals." Yet some, who grieved not for his death, grieved at the manner thereof; and of all mourners Anselm, though in exile in France, expressed most cordial sorrow at the news of his death. A valiant and prosperous prince, but condemned by historians for covetousness, cruelty, and wantonness, though no woman by name is mentioned for his concubine; probably, because thrifty in his lust with mean and obscure persons. But, let it be taken into serious consideration, that no pen hath originally written the Life of this king, but what was made by a monkish penknife; and no wonder if his picture seem bad, which was drawn by his enemy. And he may be supposed to fare the worse for his opposition to the Romish usurpation; having this good quality,—to suffer none but himself to abuse his subjects, stoutly resisting all payments of the pope's imposing. Yea, as great an enemy as he was conceived to the church, he gave to the monks called *De Charitate* the great new church of St. Saviour's in Bermondsey, with the manor thereof, as also of Charlton in Kent.

41. *Henry I. succeedeth Rufus, and is crowned.* 1 Henry I.

Henry Beauclerc, his brother, succeeded him in the throne; one that crossed the common proverb, "The greatest clerks are not the wisest men;" being one of the most profound scholars and most politic princes in his generation. He was crowned about four days after his brother's death. At that time, the present providing of good swords was accounted more essential to a king's coronation, than the long preparing of gay clothes. Such preparatory pomp as was used in after-ages at this ceremony was now conceived, not only useless, but dangerous; speed being safest to supply the vacancy of the throne. To ingratiate himself to the English, he instantly and

* John Brompton, p. 997.

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actually repealed (for his brother William had put all the land out of love and liking of fair promises) the cruel Norman laws: laws written in blood, made more in favour of deer than of men; more to manifest the power and pleasure of the imposer, than for the good and protection of the subject; wherein, sometimes, men's mischances were punished for their misdeeds. Yea, in a manner, king Henry gave eyes to the blind in winter-nights; I mean, light to them who formerly lived (though in their own houses) in uncomfortable darkness, after eight o'clock; when heretofore the curfew-bell did ring the knell of all the fire- and candle-light in English families. But now these rigorous edicts were totally repealed; the good and gentle laws of Edward the Confessor generally revived; the late king's extorting publicans (whereof Ranulf Flambard, bishop of Durham, the principal) closely imprisoned; the court-corruption, by the king's command, studiously reformed; adultery (then grown common) with the loss of virility, severely punished; Anselm from exile speedily recalled; after his return by the king heartily welcomed; by the clergy, solemnly and ceremoniously received; he to his church, his lands and goods to him, fully restored; English and Normans lovingly reconciled; all interests and persons seemingly pleased; Robert, the king's elder brother, though absent in the Holy Land, yet scarcely missed; and so this century, with the first year of king Henry's reign, seasonably concluded.

SECTION II.

THE TWELTH CENTURY.

JOHANNI FITZJAMES DE LEUSTON, IN COMITATU DORSET. ARMIGERO.

Non desunt in hoc nostro sæculo, qui librorum dedicationes penè ducunt superstitiosum, planè superfluum; sic enim argutuli ratiocinantur:—"Liber, si bonus, patrono non indiget, suo marte pergat; sin malus, patrono ne sit dedecori, suo merito pereat."

Habeo tamen quod huic dilemmati possim regerere. Liber meus, nec bonus nec malus, sed quiddam medium inter utrumque. "Bonum" ipse non ausum pronuntiare, cùm plurimis mendis laboret: "Malum" alii, spero, non dijudicent; cùm legentibus possit esse usui.

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Sub hac dubiâ conditione, vel adversariis nostris judicibus, opus hoc nostrum patronum sibi asciscere et potest et debet; et sub alis clientelæ tuæ, qui tam Marte præstas quàm Mercurio, foveri seriò triumphat.

1. *The hellish Imprecation of Maud, when married to King Henry. A.D.* 1101.

Grave Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, espoused and married Maud (daughter of Malcolm king of the Scots and St. Margaret his wife) to Henry king of England. She had been a professed votary, and was pressed, by the importunity of her parents and friends, for politic ends, to this marriage; insomuch as, in the bitterness of her soul, (able to appal the writer hereof, seeing his ink out-blacked with her expression,) she devoted the fruit of her body to the devil, because they would not permit her to perform her promise of virginity: Thus Matthew Paris.* But the reader reserveth his other ear for the relation of Eadmerus, reporting this story after a different, yea, contrary, manner, as followeth:—

2. *The Story otherwise told by Eadmerus, an Eye- and Ear-Witness.*

The aforesaid Maud, when a girl, lived under the tuition and correction of Christian her aunt, and abbess of Wilton; at what time the Norman soldiers, conquering the kingdom, did much destroy and more endanger virgins by their violence. Christian, therefore, to preserve this her niece, clapped a black cloth on her head, in imitation of a nun's vail, which she unwillingly ware in the presence of her aunt, but in her absence off it went, from above her head to under her heels, so that in despiteful manner she used to tread and trample upon it. Yea, if Malcolm her father chanced to behold her wearing that mock vail, with rage he would rend it off, cursing the causers of it, and avowing, that he intended her no votary, but a wife to count Alan. Besides, two grave archdeacons, sent down to Wilton to inquire into the matter, reported, that, for aught they could learn from the nuns there, this Maud was never solemnly entered into their Order. Hereupon a council was called of the English clergy, wherein some grave men attested of their own knowledge, that, at the Norman Conquest, to avoid the fury of the soldiery, many maids, out of fear not affection, for protection not piety, made a cloister their refuge, not their choice; were nuns in their own defence, running their heads, but without their hearts,

* *Hist. Ang. in Hen. I. anno* 1101.

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into a vail. And in this case it was resolved by learned Lanfrank, that such virgins were bound, by an extraordinary obligation, above other women

Debitam castitati reverentiam exhibere,
*Nullam religionis continentiam servare:**

which is in effect, that they must be chaste wives, though they need not be constant maids. These things alleged and proved, Anselm pronounced the nunship of Maud of none effect, and solemnly married her to king Henry. However, some infer the unlawfulness of this match from the unhappiness of their children, all their issue male coming to untimely deaths. But sad events may sometimes be improved by men's censures further than they were intended by God's justice; and it is more wisdom seriously to observe them to the instructing of ourselves, than rigidly to apply them to the condemning of others; the rather, because Maud the empress, their sole-surviving child, seemed by her happiness to make reparation for the infelicity of all the rest.

3. *A grand Synod of the Clergy and Laity, with the Constitutions thereof.* *A.D.* 1102.

Next year a more solemn synod was summoned by Anselm, with the king's consent, held at Westminster; whereat, beside bishops, were present, at Anselm's request from the king, the chief lay lords of the land; and this reason rendered: "Forasmuch as that whatsoever should be determined by the authority of the said council, might be ratified and observed by the joint care and solicitousness of both estates." But whether the lords were present, as bare spectators and witnesses to attest the fair transaction of matters, (which some will conceive too little,) or whether they had a power to vote therein, (which others will adjudge too much,) is not clearly delivered. Here we insert the constitutions of this synod. And let none say, that it is vain to look after the cobwebs, when the besom of reformation hath swept them away; seeing the knowledge of them conduces much to the understanding of that age.

(1.) "That the heresy of simony be severely punished,"† for which several abbots were then and there deposed.

(2.) "That bishops undertake not the office of secular pleas, wearing an habit beseeming religious persons, and not be like laymen in their garments; and that always and every where they have honest persons witnesses of their conversation.

(3.) "That no archdeaconries be let out to farm.

(4.) "That all archdeacons be deacons.

* EADMERUS, *Novorum*, lib. v. pp. 57, 58. † *Idem*, lib. iii. pp. 67, 68.

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(5.) "That no archdeacon, priest, deacon, or canon * marry a wife, or retain one being married unto him: and that every sub-deacon, who is not a canon, if he have married after his profession made of chastity, be bound by the same rule."—Hear what a grave author, almost of the same age, saith of this constitution: *Hoc quibusdam mundissimum visum est, quibusdam periculosum, ne dum munditias viribus majores sacerdotes appeterent, in immunditias horribiles ad Christiani nominis summum dedecus inciderent.*† And as Jordan, wanting a vent or influx, like other rivers, into the ocean, loseth its current at last in a filthy lake, or Dead Sea of its own making; so it was to be feared, that these men, now debarred that remedy for their weakness, which God, who best knew the constitution of his own creatures, hath provided, settled themselves in some unclean ways, and most mortal filthiness occasion, by this prohibition.

(6.) "That a priest so long as he keeps unlawful conversation with a woman," (understand his own wife,) "is not legal, nor rightly celebrateth the mass; nor is his mass to be heard, if he celebrate it.

(7.) "That none be admitted to the order of sub-deacon, or upwards, without the profession of chastity.

(8.) "That the sons of priests be not made heirs to the church of their fathers.

(9.) "That no clerks be provosts or proctors of secular matters, or judges in blood."—This is the reason, saith the appendix to Harpsfield,‡ (reporting is no approving of his judgment,) why bishops, being arraigned for their lives, are not to be tried by their peers, but by a jury of ordinary men, because debarred by their canons to be judges of lay peers in like cases; and, therefore, it was conceived unfitting that they should receive that honour which they could not return.

(10.) "That priests should not go to public drinkings, *nec ad pinnas bibant*,§ 'nor drink at pins.'"—This was a Dutch trick (but now used in England) of artificial drunkenness, out of a cup marked with certain pins, and he [was] accounted the man, who could nick the pin, drinking even unto it; whereas to go above or beneath it was a forfeiture.

(11.) "That the garments of clergymen be of one colour, and their shoes according to order.

(12.) "That monks and clerks that have cast off their Order, either return thereto or be excommunicated.

(13.) "That clerks have crowns patent, so that their shaving be conspicuous to the beholder.

* *Aliter* "being canonical." † HENRICUS HUNTINGDON, *Historiarum* lib. vii. p. 217. ‡ *In Catalogo Religiosarum Ædium*, p. 746. § Hence probably the proverb, "He is in a merry pin."

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(14.) "That tithes be given to none but to churches.

(15.) "That churches or prebends be not bought.

(16.) "That new chapels be not made without the consent of the bishop.

(17.) "That no church be consecrated, until necessaries be provided for the priest and church.

(18.) "That abbots make no knights; and that they eat and sleep in the same house with their monks, except some necessity forbid."—It appeareth, it was the ancient custom of abbots in this age to make knights. Thus, Brando, the abbot of St. Edmundsbury,* knighted Heward his nephew, having first confessed his sins, and received absolution. Indeed, in those days men's minds were so possessed, that they thought nothing well and fortunately done but what came from churchmen. Whereupon he that was to be made a knight, first offered his sword upon the altar, and, after the gospel read, the priest put the sword, first hallowed, upon the knight's neck with his *benedictum*;† and so, having heard mass again, and received the sacrament, he became a lawful knight. And seeing the Holy War now was begun, no wonder if churchmen made knights. And that age conceived, that a knight's sword dipped in holy-water was well tempered, and became true metal indeed. Why abbots were now prohibited to confer this honour, the cause is not rendered; whether because it made knighthood too common, or that this privilege was reserved only for higher prelates, such as bishops and archbishops were; or that it was an encroachment upon the royal dignity, it being as proper for kings to ordain priests, as for abbots to dub knights. This is most sure, that, notwithstanding this canon, king Henry I.‡ some years after granted, and king John confirmed, to the abbot of Reading, the power of knighting persons, with some cautions of their behaviour therein.

(19.) "That monks enjoin no penance to any, without permission of their abbot, and that only to such persons whereof they have cure of souls.

(20.) "That monks and nuns be not godfathers or godmothers.

(21.) "That monks hold no lands in farm.

(22.) "That monks take no churches by the bishops, and that they spoil not such as are given unto them of the revenues, but so that the priests serving in those cures and the churches might be provided with necessaries.

(23.) "That faith in way of marriage, pledged secretly and without witness, betwixt man and woman, be of no effect, if either party do deny it.

* INGULPHUS, p. 512. *Edict. Londin.* † CAMDEN'S "Britannia," p. 173.
‡ J. SELDEN *ad Eadmer. Spicilegium*, p. 207.

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(24.) "That *Criniti*, 'such as wear long hair,' be so shaven, that part of their ears may appear, and their eyes not be covered."—*Criniti* are opposed to *Tonsi*, extended to all lay persons. If any demand how it came within the cognizance of the church to provide about their trimming, (which might well have been left to the party's pleasure and his barber's skill,) know, this canon was built on the apostle's words, "Doth not even nature itself teach you, that, if a man have long hair, it is a shame unto him?" 1 Cor. xi. 14. And the church forbade whatsoever was a trespass against Christian decency. Gildas giveth this character of the Picts: *Furciferos magis vultus pilis quàm corporum pudenda vestibus tegentes*,* that "they covered rather their thievish eyes with their hair, than their shame with clothes;" which ruffian-like custom of long hair, now used by the Normans, was here justly restrained.

(25.) "That parties akin to the seventh generation, be not coupled in marriage; and that persons so coupled remain not in marriage; and if any be privy to this incest and not declare it, let him know himself to be guilty of the same crime."—This brought much grist to the pope's mill for dispensations. As secular princes used to stop travellers on common bridges, or at the entrance of gates, not with intent finally to forbid their going further, but to receive toll or custom for their passing-by; so the pope prohibited these degrees in marriage, not absolutely to hinder such matches, but to receive large sums of money for his leave; after whose faculties obtained, if such marriage were against the law of God, men did sin not with less guiltiness, but more expenses.

(26.) "That the bodies of the dead be not carried to be buried out of their own parishes, so that the parish-priest should lose his due unto him.

(27.) "That none, out of a rash novelty," (which we know to have happened,) "exhibit reverence of holiness to any bodies of the dead, fountains, or other things, without authority from the bishop.

(28.) "That none presume hereafter" (what hitherto men used in England) "to sell men like brute beasts."—This constitution, as all others which concerned the subjects' civil right, found not general obedience in the kingdom. For, the proceedings of the canon-law were never wholly received into practice in the land; but so as made subject, in whatsoever touched temporals, to secular laws and national customs. And the laity, at pleasure, limited canons in this behalf.† Nor were such sales of servants, being men's proper goods, so weakened‡ with this prohibition but that, long after, they remained legal according to the laws of the land.

* *De Excid. Britan.* fol. 6. pp. 417—422, 467.—EDIT.

† See the "Appeal of injured Innocence,"

‡ See MR. SELDEN, *Spicileg. ad Eadmerum*, p. 208.

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(29.) "That the sin of sodomy, both in clergy and laity, should be punished with heavy censures."—Remarkable that the same synod which forbade priests' marriage, found it needful to punish sodomy, an Italian vice, beginning now to be naturalised in England. For, those who endeavour to make the way to heaven narrower than God hath made it, by prohibiting what he permits, do in event make the way to hell wider, occasioning the committing of such sins which God hath forbidden. We may further observe, that the plaster now applied to the rotten sore of sodomy was too gentle, too narrow, and too little time laid on. *Too gentle*—For whereas the sin is conceived to deserve death, it was only slubbered over, that the party convict of this wickedness, if in Orders, was admitted to no higher honour, and deposed from what he had, till restored again on his repentance. *Too narrow*—If it be true what one observes, that monks* (as neither merely lay nor priests) were not threatened with this curse, where all was hidden in cloisters. Lastly. *Too little time laid on*—For whereas at first it was constituted, that such excommunication of sodomites convicted should solemnly be renewed every Lord's day; this short-lived canon did die in the birth thereof, and Anselm himself *postponi concessit*,† "suffered it to be omitted," on pretence that it put beastly thoughts into many men's minds, whose corruption abused the punishment of sin in the provocation thereof; whilst others conceive this relaxation indulged in favour to some great offenders, who, hardened in conscience, but tender in credit, could not endure to be so solemnly, publicly, and frequently grated with the shame of the sin they had committed.

So much for the constitutions of that synod, wherein though canons were provided for priests, *cap-à-piè*, from the shaving to the shoes, yet not a syllable of their instructing the people and preaching God's word unto them. We must not forget, that men guilty of simony in the first canon are not taken, in the vulgar acceptation, for such as were promoted to their places by money; but, in a new-coined sense of that word, for those who were advanced to their dignities by investiture from the king; which gave occasion to the long and hot broil happening betwixt king Henry and Anselm, which now we come to relate.

4. *Anselm refuseth to consecrate the King's Bishops.* *A.D.* 1103—5.

The king commanded him to consecrate such bishops as he lately had invested; namely, William of Winchester, Roger of Hereford,

* BALE in the "Acts of English Votaries," part ii. chap. 74. † EADMERUS, *ut prius.*

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&c.; which Anselm refused, because flatly against the canon newly-made in the council of Rome, by pope Urban, that any who had their entrance by the authority of temporal princes should be admitted to bishoprics. Hereupon the king enjoined Gerard archbishop of York to consecrate them; who, out of opposition to Anselm his competitor, was as officious to comply with the king as the other was backward, hoping thereby to hitch his church a degree the higher, by help of his royal favour. Here happened an unexpected accident: for, William bishop of Winchester refused consecration from the archbishop of York, and resigned his staff and ring back again to the king, as illegally from him. This discomposed all the rest. For whereas more than the moiety of ecclesiastical persons in England were all in the same condemnation, as invested by the king, the very multitude of offenders would have excused the offence, if loyal to their own cause. Whereas now this defection of the bishop of Winchester so brake the ranks, and maimed their entireness, that their cause thereby was cast by their own confession, and so a party raised among them against themselves.

5. *Anselm sent to Rome.*

Soon after, the king was contented that Anselm should go to Rome, to know the pope's pleasure herein. But one, none of the conclave, without a prophetical spirit, might easily have foretold the resolution of his Holiness herein;—never to part with power whereof (how injuriously soever) though but pretendedly possessed. Anselm, for his compliance with the pope herein, is forbidden to return into England, while the king seizeth on his temporalities.

6. *The King parts with his Investing of Bishops.* *A.D.* 1106.

However, not long after, by mediation of friends, they are reconciled; the king disclaiming his right of investitures,—a weak and timorous act of so wise and valiant a prince; whose predecessors before the Conquest held this power (though some time loosely) in their own hands; and his predecessors since the Conquest grasped it fast in their fist, in defiance of such popes as would finger it from them. Whereas now he let it go out of his hand, whilst his successors in vain, though with a long arm, reached after it to recover it. And now Anselm, who formerly refused, consecrated all the bishops of vacant sees; amongst whom, Roger of Salisbury was a prime person, first preferred to the king's notice, "because he began prayers quickly, and ended them speedily;" for which quality he was commended as fittest for a chaplain in the camp, and was not unwelcome to the court on the same account.

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7. *Anselm forbids Priests' Marriage. A.D.* 1107.

Anselm, having divested the king of investing bishops, (one of the fairest robes in his wardrobe,) did soon after deprive the clergy of one half of themselves. For, in a solemn synod he forbade priests' marriage; wherein, as charitably we believe his intentions pious and commendable, and patiently behold his pretences specious and plausible; so we cannot but pronounce his performance, for the present, injurious and culpable, and the effects thereof, for the future, pernicious and damnable. And here we will a little enlarge ourselves on this subject of so high concernment.

8. *Only by a Church-Constitution.*

It is confessed on all sides, that there is no express in scripture to prohibit priests' marriage. Thomas,* and Scotus,† commonly cross, (as if reason enough for the latter to deny, because the former affirmed it,) do both (such is the strength of truth!) agree herein. Only ecclesiastical constitutions forbid them marriage. And, though many popes tampered hereat, none effectually did drive the nail to the head, till Hildebrand, *alias* Gregory VII., (the better man the better deed,) finally interdicted priests' marriage. However, his constitutions, though observed in Italy and France, were not generally obeyed in England; till Anselm at last forbade married priests to officiate; or any lay people, under pain of censure, to be present at their church-service.

9. *Grounded on a double Error.*

Herein he proceeded on two erroneous principles; One, that all men have, or may have, if using the means, the gift of continency. Wherein they do not distinguish betwixt, (1.) Common gifts, which God bestoweth on all his servants, "The common salvation," Jude 3. (2.) Proper gifts. Thus the apostle, 1 Cor. vii. 7, when he had wished all like himself, (that is, able to contain,) he immediately addeth, "But every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that." His other false supposition is, that marriage is either inconsistent with, or, at least, impeditive to, the purity of priestly profession.

10. *Paramount Holiness in a married Person.*

The falseness whereof appeareth by the precedent of Enoch, in whom met the threefold capacity of king, priest, and prophet. Yet his marriage remitted not the reins of his princely power, hindered

* *In Secundâ Secundæ Part. Sum. Theol.* quæst. lxxxviii. art 11. † Lib. vii. *De Justitiâ*, quæst. vi. art. 2.

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not the performance of his sacerdotal function, rebated not the edge of his prophetical spirit; for, he "walked with God, and begat sons and daughters," Gen. v. 22. He made not a prayer the less for having a child the more: and let us be but alike holy with Enoch, and let others be more holy with Anselm.

11, 12. *St. Paul expounded; and Marriage defended.*

Wherefore, when the apostle saith, "He that is married careth for the things which are of this world, how he may please his wife," 1 Cor. vii. 33, therein he describeth not that height of God-pleasing which marriage ought, and in itself may, and by Enoch was, improved; but expresseth such faults which, through human corruption, too commonly come to pass: which are *vita mariti, non matrimonii; uxoris, non uxoratûs;* flowing neither from the essence nor from the exercise of marriage, but only from the depraved use thereof; which, by God's assistance, and man's best endeavours, may be rectified and amended. It is therefore falsely charged on marriage, *quâ* marriage, that it is an hinderance to hospitality; starving the poor to feed a family. It is confessed it would break marriage, if, *cæteris paribus*, she should offer to vie bounty with virginity; only she may equal virginity in "cheerfulness of her giving," and in the discreet choice of fit objects whereon to bestow it. Yet give me leave to say, in a married family there be commonly most mouths; and where most mouths, there probably most bread is eaten; and where most bread is eaten, there certainly most crumbs fall beneath the table, so that the poor are feasted by those fragments. If any rejoin, that "single folk bestow their alms, not by crumbs, but whole loaves;" the worst I wish is, that poor people may find the truth thereof. Nor doth the having of children, *quâ* children, make men covetous; seeing Solomon saw a man "who had neither child nor brother, yet his eye was not satisfied with riches," Eccles. iv. 8. On the other side, I find two in one and the same chapter, Gen. xxxiii. 9—11, professing they had enough; namely, Esau and Jacob, both of them married, both of them parents of many children.

13. *A Monk's Verses, as bald as his Crown.*

And here well may we wonder at the partiality of the papists, over-exalting marriage in the laity to a sacrament; and too much depressing the same in priests, as no better than "refined fornication." Yea, some have made virginity the corn, and marriage the cockle; which is a wonder that they should be of several kinds, seeing virginity is but the fruit, and marriage the root thereof. But, amongst all the foul mouths belibelling marriage, one railing rhyme-

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ster, of Anselm's age, bore away the bell, drinking, surely, of Styx instead of Helicon; and I am confident my translation is good enough for his bald verses.

O malè viventes, versus audite sequentes;
Uxores vestras, quas odit summa potestas,
Linquite propter Eum, tensit qui morte trophæum.
Quod si non facitis, Inferni claustra petetis:
Christi sponsa jubet, ne presbyter ille ministret,
Qui tenet uxorem, Domini quia perdit amorem.
Contradicentes fore dicimus insipientes.
Non ex rancore loquor hæc, potiùs sed amore.[9]

"O ye that ill live,
Attention give
Unto my following rhymes;
Your wives, those dear mates,
Whom the highest power hates,
See that ye leave them betimes.

"Leave them for His sake
Who a conquest did make,
And a crown and a cross did acquire.
If any say, 'No,'
I give them to know,
They must all unto hell for their hire.

"The spouse of Christ
Forbids that priest
His ministerial function,
Because he did part
With Christ in his heart,
At his marriage-conjunction.

"We count them all mad,
If any so bad,
As daring herein to contest.
Nor is it of spite,
That this I indite,
But out of pure love, I protest."

Where did this railing monk ever read, that God hated the wives of priests? And did not the church of Rome, at this time, come under the character of that defection described by the apostle?—That "in the latter times some should depart from the faith, forbidding to marry," &c. 1 Tim. iv. 1, 3.

14, 15. *An ill Evasion well stopped-up.*

These endeavour (as they are deeply concerned) to wipe off from themselves this badge of Antichrist, by pleading that, (1.) They forbid marriage to no man. (2.) They force priesthood on no man. Only they require of those who freely will enter into the priesthood to vow virginity, and command such to part with their wives who were formerly entered into Orders. All which is alleged by them but in vain, seeing marriage may be forbidden either directly or consequentially. For the first: None, well in their wits, consulting their credit, did ever point-blank forbid marriage to all people. Such would be held as *hostes humani generis*, "enemies of mankind," in their destructive doctrines. Nor did any ever absolutely (as it followeth in the same text) "command all to abstain from meats." This were the way to empty the world of men, as the simple forbidding of marriage would fill it with bastards. And, although some silly heretics, as Tatian, Marcion, and Manichæus, are said absolutely

[9] Found in Ramsey Abbey, in a treatise *De Monicatu*, cited by JOHN BALE.

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to forbid marriage, yet they never mounted high, nor spread broad, nor lasted long. Surely, some more considerable mark is the aim of the apostle's reproof, even the church of Rome; who, by an oblique line, and consequentially, prohibit marriage to the priests,—a most considerable proportion of men within the pale of the church.

16. *Marriage-Bed may be forborne for a Time, not totally forbidden.*

Notwithstanding the premisses, it is fit that the embraces of marriage should on some occasion for a time be forborne, for the advance of piety. First. When private dalliance is to yield to public dolefulness: "Let the bridegroom go out of his chamber, and the bride out of her closet," Joel ii. 16. For though, by the Levitical law, one might not be forced to fight in the first year of his marriage, yet might he on just occasion be pressed to fast on the first day thereof. It is not said, "Let the bridegroom go out of his bridegroom-ship," but only "out of his chamber;" and that also with intention to return, when the solemnity of sorrow is overpast. Secondly. When such absence is betwixt them mutually agreed on: "Defraud ye not one another, except it be with consent for a time, that ye may give yourselves to fasting and prayer; and come together again, that satan tempt you not for your incontinency," 1 Cor. vii. 5. Here, indeed, is an interdiction of the marriage-bed; but it is voluntary, by mutual consent of the parties; and temporary, only *durante eorum beneplacito;* not, as the popish prohibition, *impulsive*, by the power of others, and *perpetual*, to continue during their lives.

17. *H. Huntingdon's Censure of Anselm.*

Hear what Henry of Huntingdon expressly saith of Anselm's carriage herein:—"He prohibited English priests to have wives, who beforetime were not prohibited; which as some thought to be a matter of greatest purity, so others again took it to be most perilous, lest while by this means they aimed at cleanliness above their power, they should fall into horrible uncleanness, to the exceeding great shame of Christianity." *

18. *Anselm dieth* re infectâ *of Priests' Divorces. A.D.* 1108.

But Anselm died before he could finish his project of priests' divorces; who had he deceased before he began it, his memory had been left less stained to posterity. His two next successors, Rodulphus, and William Corbell, went on vigorously with the design, but met with many and great obstructions. Other bishops found the like opposition; but chiefly the bishop of Norwich,

* This is a translation of the Latin passage in p. 288.—EDIT.

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whose obstinate clergy would keep their wives, in defiance of his endeavours against them.

19. *The Stoutness of Norwich Clergy.*

Indeed, Norfolk-men are charactered *in jure municipali versatissimi*, and are not easily ejected out of that whereof they had long prescription, and present possession. No wonder, therefore, if they stickled for their wives, and would not let go a moiety of themselves. Besides, Herbert Losing of Norwich needed not to be so fierce and furious against them, if remembering his own extraction, being the son of an abbot. These married priests traversed their cause with scripture and reason, and desired but justice to be done unto them. But justice made more use of her sword than of her balance in this case, not weighing their arguments, but peremptorily and powerfully enjoining them to forego their wives, notwithstanding that there were in England, at this time, many married priests, signal for sanctity and abilities.

20. *Learned married Ealphegus. A. D.* 1125.

Amongst the many eminent married priests, flourishing for learning and piety, one Ealphegus was now living, or but newly dead. His residence was at Plymouth in Devonshire. Mr. Camden saith,* he was *eruditus et conjugatus;* but the word *conjugatus* is by the *Index Expurgatorius* commanded to be deleted.†

21. *A Virgin-Lecher unmasked.*

To order the refractory married clergy, the bishops were fain to call in the aid of the pope. John de Crema, an Italian cardinal, jolly with his youthful blood and gallant equipage, came over into England, with his bigness and bravery to bluster the clergy out of their wives. He made a most gaudy oration in the commendation of virginity, as one who in his own person knew well how to value such a jewel—by the loss thereof. Most true it is, that the same night, at London, he was caught a-bed with an harlot;‡ whereat he may be presumed to blush as red as his cardinal's hat, if any remorse of conscience remained in him. What saith Deborah?—"In the days of Shamgar, when the highways were unemployed," (obstructed by the Philistines,) "travellers walked through bypaths," Judges v. 6. The stopping the way of marriage, God's ordinance, makes them frequent such base bypaths, that my pen is both afraid and ashamed to follow them. Cardinal Crema's mischance (or rather misdeed) not a little advantaged the reputation of married priests.

* "Britannia" in Devonshire. † Printed *anno* 1612, p. 383. ‡ ROGER HOVEDEN and HENRY HUNTINGDON.

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22. *Priests buy their own Wives.* *A. D.* 1126.

Bishops, archbishops, and cardinal, all of them almost tired out with the stubbornness of the recusant clergy; the king at last took his turn to reduce them. William Corbell, archbishop of Canterbury, willingly resigned the work into the king's hand, hoping he would use some exemplary severity against them. But all ended in a money-matter; the king, taking a fine of married priests, permitted them to enjoy their wives, as well they might who bought that which was their own before.

23, 24. *Ely Abbey made a Bishopric, and enriched with Royalties.*

About this time the old abbey of Ely was advanced into a new bishopric, and Cambridgeshire assigned for its diocess, taken from the bishopric of Lincoln; out of which Henry I. carved one, (Ely,) and Henry the Last two, (Oxford and Peterborough,) bishoprics, and yet left Lincoln the largest diocess in England. Spaldwick manor in Huntingdonshire was given to Lincoln, in reparation of the jurisdiction taken from it, and bestowed on Ely.

One Herveyus was made first bishop of Ely; one who had been undone, if not undone,—banished by the tumultuous Welsh from the beggarly bishopric of Bangor, and now (in pity to his poverty and patience) made the rich bishop of Ely. It is given to parents to be most fond of and indulgent to their youngest; which some, perchance, may render as a reason why this bishopric, as last-born, was best-beloved by the king. Surely, he bestowed upon it vast privileges; and his successors, cockering this see for their darling, conferred some of their own royalties thereon.

25. *St. David's Contest with Canterbury.*

Bernard, chaplain to the king, and chancellor to the queen, was the first Norman made bishop of St. David's. Presuming on his master's favour, and his own merit, he denied subjection to Canterbury, and would be, as anciently had been, an absolute archbishop of himself. Indeed, St. David's was Christian some hundreds of years whilst Canterbury was yet Pagan;* and could show good cards (if but permitted fairly to play them) for archi-episcopal jurisdiction, even in some respect equal to Rome itself. Witness the ancient rhyming verse, about the proportions of pardons given to pilgrims for their visiting religious places:—*Roma semel quantum bis dat Menevia tantum.* Not that St. David's gives a peck of pardons where Rome gives but a gallon, as the words at the first

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 422.—EDIT.

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blush may seem to import; but that two pilgrimages to St. David's should be equal in merit to one pilgrimage to Rome,—such was the conceived holiness of that place.

26. *Impar Congressus.* *A.D.* 1129.

Giraldus Cambrensis states the case truly and briefly: That Canterbury hath long prescription, plenty of lawyers to plead her title, and store of money to pay them; whereas St. David's is poor, remote out of the road of preferment; intimating no less [than] that, if equally accommodated, she could set on foot as good an archi-episcopal title as Canterbury itself. But he addeth, that "except some great alteration happeneth," (understand him, except Wales recover again into an absolute principality,) "St. David's is not likely to regain her ancient dignity." William archbishop of Canterbury, aided by the pope, at last humbled the bishop of St. David's into a submission; who, vexed hereat, wreaked his spleen on the Welsh clergy; furiously forcing them to forego their wives. The successors of this bishop would have been more thankful to his memory, had he laboured less for the honour, and more preserved the profits, of his see, whose lands he dilapidated with this his expensive suit, and on other designs for his own preferment.

27. *King Henry's Death.* *A.D.* 1135.

King Henry died in Normandy of a surfeit by eating lampreys; * an unwholesome fish, insomuch that Galen, speaking of eels in general, (whereto lampreys may be reduced,) expostulates with the gods for giving them so delicious a taste, and so malignant and dangerous an operation. But grant them never-so-good, excess is a venemous string, in the most wholesome flesh, fish, and fowl; and it was too great a quantity caused his surfeit. I find him generally commended for temperance in his diet; only his palate, his servant in all other meats, was commonly his master in this dish. He was buried at Reading, leaving but one daughter (the sea having swallowed his sons) surviving him.

28. *Stephen usurpeth the Crown on a silly Title.* 1 Stephen.

Stephen, earl of Boulogne, hearing of Henry's death, hasteth over into England, (December 2nd,) and seizeth on the crown. All his title unto it was this: First. Maud, the true heir thereof, was a female. Secondly. Absent beyond the seas. Thirdly. Married to a foreigner. Fourthly. No very potent prince, namely, Geoffry Plantagenet earl of Anjou, whose landlock-situation rendered him

* MATTHEW PARIS, p. 73.

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less formidable for any effectual impression on this island. Lastly. He was son to Adela, daughter to king William the Conqueror, though a male deriving his title from a female; conceiving himself, the daughter's son, to be preferred before Maud, the son's daughter. Indeed, Stephen had an elder brother, Theobald earl of Blois; but he chose a quiet county before a cumbersome kingdom; the enjoyment of his own, rather than invasion of another's, inheritance, seeing Maud was the undoubted heir of the English crown.

29. *Maud the fourth.*

This Maud, I may call, Maud the fourth; yea, England had no queen of another name since the Conquest which left any issue.* (1.) Maud I. wife to king William the Conqueror. (2.) Maud II. daughter to Malcolm king of Scots, wife to king Henry I. (3.) Maud III. wife to king Stephen. (4.) Maud IV. daughter to king Henry I., and, in right, queen of England. This last Maud was first married to Henry IV. emperor of Germany; and after his death was constantly called "the empress," by the courtesy of Christendom, though married to earl Geoffry, her second husband. To her all the clergy and nobility had sworn fealty, in her father's life-time.

30. *The Perjury of the Clergy.*

William, archbishop of Canterbury, notwithstanding his oath to Maud, solemnly crowned Stephen, December 26th; and, in the same act, showed himself perjured to his God, disloyal to his princess, and ungrateful to his patroness, by whose special favour he had been preferred. The rest of the bishops, to their shame, followed his example; dealing with oaths, as seamen with the points in the compass,—saying them forwards and backwards. Indeed, covetousness and pride prompted this disloyalty unto them, hoping to obtain of an usurper what they despaired to get from a lawful king. For, their modesty (and that little enough) in asking was all Stephen's measure in giving; resolving with himself, for the present, to grant what should please them, and at leisure to perform what should please himself. Let him now get but the stump of a crown, and, with wise watering thereof, it would sprout afterwards. Hence was it that he granted the bishops liberty to build and hold many castles, freedom in forests, investiture from the pope; with many other immunities, which hitherto the clergy never obtained. All things thus seemingly settled, yet great was the difference of judgments in the English concerning king Stephen, which afterwards discovered themselves in the variety of men's practices.

* This clause is added by FULLER in his list of errata.—EDIT.

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31. *Variety of People's Opinions.*

Some acted vigorously for Stephen, conceiving possession of a crown createth a right unto it. Where shall private persons, unable of themselves to trace the intricacies of princes' titles, fix their loyalty more safely than on him whom success tendereth unto them for their sovereign? God doth not now, as anciently, visibly or audibly discover himself; we must therefore now only look and listen to what he showeth and saith by his voice, in the success of things, whereby alone he expresseth his pleasure,—what he owneth or disclaimeth. This their judgment was crossed by others, who distinguished betwixt Heaven's permission and consent; God sometimes suffering them to have power to compel, to whom he never gave authority to command.

32. *Pro and Con for King Stephen.*

But some urged, that "Stephen was declared lawful king by popular consent;" which, at this time, could alone form a legal right to any in this island. For Maud, Stephen's cor-rival, in vain pretended succession; seeing the crown, since the Conquest, never observed a regular, but an uncertain and desultory, motion. Nor was it directed to go on by the straight line of primogeniture, which leaped over the Conqueror's eldest to his second son; then, taking a new rise, from the eldest surviving still, to Henry's third son. Here no chain of succession could be pleaded, where no two links followed in order. But others answered, that "such popular election of Stephen had been of validity, if the electors had been at liberty; whereas they, being pre-engaged to Maud by a former oath, could not again dispose of those their votes, which formerly they had passed away."

33. *A second Party, with their Opposers.*

Others conceived that the stain of Stephen's usurpation, in getting the crown, was afterward scoured clean out by his long (more than eighteen years') enjoying thereof. For, suppose Providence for a time may wink and connive, yet it cannot be conceived in so long a slumber,—yea, a sleep, yea, a lethargy,—as to permit one peaceably so long to possess a throne, except Heaven had particularly designed him for the same. To this others answered, that "Stephen all that time rather possessed than enjoyed the crown, alarmed all his life long by Maud and her son; so that he had as little quiet in, as right to, the kingdom." But, grant his possession thereof never so peaceable; what at first was foundered in the foundation, could not be made firm by any height of superstructure thereupon. An error by continuance of time can never become a truth, but the more inveterate error.

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34. *A third, with theirs.*

A third sort maintained, that "subjects' loyalty is founded on their sovereign's protection; so that both sink together. Seeing, therefore, Maud was unable to afford her people protection, her people were bound to no longer allegiance." But this position was disproved by such, who, bottoming allegiance only on conscience, make protection but the encouragement, not the cause, thereof. They distinguished also betwixt a prince's wilful deserting his people, and his inability to protect them; not through his own default, but the forcible prevailing of others. Thus the conjugal tie is only dissolved by the party's voluntary uncleanness; and not by his or her adventitious impotency to render "due benevolence."

35. *A fourth, with theirs.*

A fourth party avouched that "Maud (though not actually and openly, yet) tacitly and interpretatively released the English from their allegiance unto her. For, what prince can be presumed so tyrannical as to tie up people to the strict terms of loyalty unto him, when the same is apparently destructive unto them, and no whit advantageous to himself?" But others disliked this position; for, where did any such relaxation appear? It cancelleth not the obligation of a debtor, to fancy to himself an acquittance from his creditor, which cannot be produced.

36. *Some act at, not for, King Stephen's Commands.*

Some acted *at* the commands, though not *for* the commands, of king Stephen; namely, in such things wherein his injunctions concurred with equity, charity, and order, consistent with the principles of public utility and self-preservation. These, having the happiness to be commanded by an usurper to do that which, otherwise, they would have done of themselves, did not discover themselves to act out of their own inclinations, whilst it passed unsuspected in the notion of their obedience to king Stephen. Thus many thousands, under the happy conduct (or at leastwise contrivance) of Thurstan, archbishop of York, though in their hearts well-affected to Maud's title, unanimously resisted David king of Scots, though he pretended recuperative arms in queen Maud's behalf; under which specious title, he barbarously committed abominable cruelties, till, nettled therewith, both Stephanists and Maudists jointly bade him battle, and overthrew him, nigh Allerton in Yorkshire.

37. *Politic Patience.*

All generally bare the burdens, and no less politicly than patiently paid all taxes imposed upon them. Recusancy in this

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kind had but armed king Stephen with a specious pretence to take *all* from them, for refusing to give *a part*. Nor scrupled they hereat, because thereby they strengthened his usurpation against the rightful heir, because done against their wills, and to prevent a greater mischief. Mean time they had a reservation of their loyalty; and, erecting a throne in their hearts, with their prayers and tears mounted queen Maud on the same.

38. *Robert Earl of Gloucester singular.*

Robert, earl of Gloucester, (the queen's half-brother,) may even make up a form by himself, finding none other before or after him of the same opinion; who conditionally did homage to king Stephen, *scilicet, si dignitatem suam sibi servaret illibatam*,* namely, "So long as he preserved this Robert's dignity" (for so I understand the pronoun's reciprocation) "to be inviolated."

39. *Highly conscientious.*

A few there were, whose reluctings consciences remonstrated against the least compliance with king Stephen; whose high loyalty to Maud interpreted all *passiveness* under an usurper to be *activity* against the right heir. These even quitted their lands in England to the tempest of times; and secretly conveyed themselves, with the most incorporeal of their estates, (as occupying the least room in their waftage over,) into Normandy.†

40. *An honest Revolt of the Clergy.* *A.D.* 1136.

The clergy, perceiving that king Stephen performed little of his large promises unto them, were not formerly so forward in setting him up, but now more fierce in plucking him down, and sided effectually with Maud against him: an act which the judicious behold,

* MATTHEW PARIS, p. 75.

† To those who recollect, that this "Church-History" was published in 1655, when Cromwell's major-generals were rampant in power, it it unnecessary to point out the fine combination of true courage and prudence which is exhibited in these ten paragraphs. (30—39.) Though the reasoning in this discussion ostensibly referred only to the usurpation of Stephen, it was then generally and tacitly interpreted to be appropriate to the case of all usurpers, but especially to that of Cromwell.

In 1689 these passages were perused and quoted, with lively interest, by another generation: Both the conforming and the nonjuring clergy and laity viewed Fuller as having here depicted, if not predicted, with the practised hand of a master, the different motives by which they felt themselves severally swayed,—either in conscientious adhesion to the abdicated monarch, or in equally-conscientious compliance with the new government of king William.

These and similar lessons of history are completely lost on every one who has the least pretensions to the character of a Christian, unless they induce him to utter, with increased fervour and sincerity, the two concluding petitions in "the Lord's Prayer," which most appositely address themselves to our circumstances and feelings as frail and erring creatures: "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil."—EDIT.

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not as a *crooked* deed bowing them from their last, but as an *upright* one straightening them to their first and best, oath, made to this Maud in the life-time of her father. But Stephen, resolved to hold with a strong what he had got with a wrong hand, fell violently on the bishops, who then were most powerful in the land; every prime one having, as a cathedral for his devotion, so, many manors for his profit, parks for his pleasure, and castles for his protection; and he uncastled Roger of Salisbury, Alexander of Lincoln, and Nigellus of Ely, taking also a great mass of treasure from them.

41. *Canons of Paul's soundly paid.*

Most fiercely fell the fury of king Stephen on the dean and canons of Paul's, for crossing him in the choice of their bishop. For he sent, and took their *focarias*,* and cast them into London-tower; where they continued many days, not without much scorn and disgrace, till at last those canons ransomed their liberty at a great rate.

42. *What Focariæ were.*

What these *focariæ* were, we conceive it no disgrace to confess our ignorance, the word not appearing in any classical author; and we must by degrees screw ourselves into the sense thereof. (1.) It signifieth some female persons, the gender of the word discovering so much. (2.) They were near to the canons, who had a high courtesy for them, as appears by procuring their liberty at so dear a price. (3.) Yet the word speaks not the least relation of affinity or consanguinity unto them. (4.) All the light we can get in this *focariæ*, is from some *sparks of fire* which we behold in the word, so as if these shes were "nymphs of the chimney," or "fire-makers" to these canons. If so, surely they had their holiday-clothes on, when sent to the tower, (kitchen-stuff doth not use to be tried in that place,) and were considerable, if not in themselves, in the affections of others. And now, well fare the heart of Roger Hoveden! † who plainly tells us, that these *focariæ* were these canons' concubines. See here the fruit of forbidding marriage to the clergy, against the law of God and nature! What saith the apostle?—"It is better to marry than to burn," 1 Cor. vii. 9; or, which is the same in effect, "It is better to have a wife than a fire-maker."

43. *A Synod at Westminster. A.D.* 1138.

Albericus, bishop of Hostia, came post from Rome, sent by pope Innocent II. into England; called a synod at Westminster,

* Rodolphus De Diceto *in hunc annum.* † *In anno* 1191.

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(Dec. 13th,) where eighteen bishops and thirty abbots met together. Here was concluded, that no priest, deacon, or subdeacon, should hold a wife, or woman, within his house, under pain of degrading from his Christendom, and plain sending to hell; that no priest's son should claim any spiritual living by heritage; that none should take a benefice of any layman; that none were admitted to cure who had not the letters of his Orders; that priests should do no bodily labour; and that their transubstantiated God should dwell but eight days in the box, for fear of worm-eating, moulding, or stinking; with such like. In this synod, Theobald, abbot of Becco, was chosen archbishop of Canterbury, in the place of William lately deceased.

44. *Henry of Winchester, England's Arch-Prelate.*

The most considerable clergyman of England in this age, for birth, wealth, and learning, was Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, and brother to king Stephen. He was by the pope made his legate for Britain, and outshined Theobald, the archbishop of Canterbury. For, although Theobald just at this time was augmented with the title of *Legatus natus*, (which from him was entailed on his successors in that see,) yet this Henry of Blois, being for the present *Legatus factus*, out-lustred the other as far as an extraordinary ambassador doth a leger of the same nation. In this Henry two interests did meet and contend; that of a brother, and that of a bishop; but the latter clearly got the conquest, as may appear by the council he called at Winchester, A.D. 1139, wherein the king himself was summoned to appear. Yea, some make Stephen personally appearing therein;—a dangerous precedent, to plead the cause of the crown before a conventicle of his own subjects: so that, to secure Rome of supremacy in appeals, he suffered a recovery thereof against his own person in a court of record,—loosing of himself, to save the crown thereby unto himself. But William of Malmesbury, present at the council, (and, therefore, his testimony is to be preferred before others,) mentions only three parties in the place present there with their attendants:—(1.) Roger of Salisbury, with the rest of the bishops, grievously complaining of their castles taken from them. (2.) Henry bishop of Winchester, the pope's legate, and president of the council; with Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, pretending to umpire matters in a moderate way. (3.) Hugh archbishop of Roan, and Aubery de Vere, (ancestor to the earl of Oxford,) as advocate for king Stephen. This Aubery de Vere seems learned in the laws, being charactered by my author,* *homo causarum varietatibus exercitatus*, "a man well-versed in the windings of causes."

* WILLIAM MALMESBURY, *Hist. Novel.* lib. ii. p. 183.

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45. *The issueless Issue of the Synod at Winchester.*

In this synod, first, the commission of pope Innocent II. was read, empowering the said Henry bishop of Winchester with a legative authority. Then the legate made a sermon; *Latiariter*, which is, as I conceive, "in the Latin tongue." We find not his text; but know this was the subject of his discourse,—to inveigh against king Stephen depriving those bishops of their castles. Sermon [being] ended, the king's advocates, or true subjects rather, (many making them to speak only out of the dictates of their own loyalty, and not to plead by deputation from the king,) made his defence,—that bishops could not canonically hold castles, and that the king had despoiled them of their treasure, not as episcopal persons, but as they were his lay-officers, advised thereto by his own security. The bishops returned much for themselves; and, in fine, the synod brake up without any extraordinary matter effected. For, soon after, A.D. 1140, came queen Maud with her navy and army out of Normandy, which turned debates into deeds, and consultations into actions. But we leave the readers to be satisfied about the alternation of success betwixt king Stephen and Maud, to the historians of our state. There may they read of Maud's strange escapes, when avoiding death, by being believed dead, (otherwise she had proved in her grave, if not pretended in a coffin,) when getting out in white linen, under the protection of snow: I say, how afterwards, A.D. 1141, both king Stephen and Robert earl of Gloucester were taken prisoners, and given in exchange, the one for the liberty of the other; with many such memorable passages, the reader may stock himself from the pens of the civil historians, the proper relaters thereof.

46. *Why Plenty of religious Foundations in these martial Days.*

It is strange to conceive how men could be at leisure, in the troublesome reign of king Stephen, to build and endow so many religious foundations; except any will say, that "men being (as mortal in peace) most dying in war, the devotions of those days (maintaining such deeds meritorious for their souls) made all in that martial age most active in such employments." Not to speak of the monastery of St. Mary de Pratis, founded by Robert earl of Leicester, A.D. 1144, and many others of this time; the goodly hospital of St. Katherine's, nigh London, was founded by Maud, wife to king Stephen, though others assign the same to Robert [de Querceto,] bishop of Lincoln, as founder thereof. So stately was the choir of this hospital, that it was not much inferior to that of St. Paul's in London,* when taken down in the days of queen

* Stow's "Survey of London," p. 117.

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Elizabeth, by Dr. Thomas Wilson, the master thereof, and secretary of state.

47. *Religious Houses founded by King Stephen.*

Yea, king Stephen himself was a very great founder. St. Stephen was his tutelary saint, (though he never learned his usurpation from the patient example of that martyr,) whose name he bore, on whose day he was crowned, to whose honour he erected St. Stephen's chapel in Westminster,* near the place where lately the Court of Request was kept. He built also the Cistertians' monastery in Feversham; with an hospital near the West-gate in York. And whereas formerly there were paid out of every ploughland in England, betwixt Trent and Edinburgh-Frith, twenty four oat-sheaves for the king's hounds;† Stephen converted this rent-charge to his new-built hospital in York: a good deed, no doubt; for, though it be unlawful to "take the children's bread and to cast it unto the dogs," Mark vii. 27; it is lawful to take the dogs' bread, and to give it unto the children.

48. *The Constancy of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury. A.D.* 1150.

The king, being desirous to settle sovereignty on his son Eustace, earnestly urged Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, to crown him. For Stephen saw that fealty, barely sworn to Maud in her father's life-time, was afterwards broken; and, therefore, (his own guilt making him the more suspicious,) for the better assurance of his son's succession, he would go one step farther, endeavouring to make him actual king in his own life-time. But the archbishop stoutly refused, though proscribed for the same, and forced to fly the land, till after some time he was reconciled to the king.

49. *The seasonable Death of Prince Eustace. A.D.* 1153.

Eustace, the king's son, died of a frenzy, as going to plunder the lands of Bury Abbey.‡ A death untimely in reference to his youthful years, but timely and seasonably in relation to the good of the land. If conjecture may be made from his turbulent spirit, coming to the crown, he would have added tyranny to his usurpation. His father Stephen begins now to consider, how he himself was old, his son deceased, his subjects wearied, his land wasted with war; which considerations, improved by the endeavours of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and God's blessing on both, produced an agreement between king Stephen and Henry duke of

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 423.—EDIT. † STOW in the end of king Stephen's Life. ‡ MATTHEW PARIS, in this year.

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Normandy,—the former holding the crown for his life, and after his death settling the same on Henry, his adopted son and successor.

50. *An Englishman Pope.*

We have now gotten (to our great credit and comfort, no doubt) an Englishman pope; namely, Nicholas Breakspear, *alias* Adrian IV.; born, saith my author,* nigh Uxbridge in Middlesex, of the ancient and martial family of the Breakspears; though others † make him no better than a bastard of an abbot of St. Alban's; the abbot of which convent he confirmed the first in place of all in England. If I miscount not, we never had but four popes and a half (I mean cardinal Pole, pope-elect) of our nation. And yet of them, one too many, (will the papists say,) if pope Joan (as some esteem her) were an Englishwoman. Yea, lately, (the elected following the plurality of the electors,) they have almost engrossed the papacy to the Italians. Our Adrian had but bad success, choked to death with a fly in his throat. Thus, any thing next nothing, be it but advantageously planted, is big enough to batter man's life down to the ground.

51. *Geoffry of Monmouth defended.*

Geoffry ap Arthur, commonly called, from his native place, Geoffry of Monmouth, was now bishop of St. Asaph. He is the Welsh Herodotus, the father of ancient history and fables; for, he who will have the first must have the latter. Polydore Virgil accuseth him of many falsehoods; (so hard it is to halt before a cripple!) who, notwithstanding, by others is defended, because but a translator, and not the original reporter. For a translator tells a lie in telling no lie, if wilfully varying from that copy which he promiseth faithfully to render. And if he truly translates what he finds, his duty is done, and is to be charged no further. Otherwise, the credit of the best translator may be cracked, if himself become security for the truth of all that he takes on trust from the pens of others.

52. *The Death of King Stephen. A.D.* 1154.

King Stephen ended his troublesome life: a prince, who if he had come in by the door, the best room in the house had not been too good to entertain him. Whereas now the addition, "usurper," affixed generally to his name, corrupts his valour into cruelty, devotion into hypocrisy, bounty into flattery and design. Yet, be it known to all, though he lived an usurper, he died a lawful king; for, what formerly he held from the rightful heir by violence, at his death he held under him by a mutual composition. He was buried

* CAMDEN in Middlesex. † BALE, in "English Votaries," fol. 85.

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with his son and wife, at Feversham in Kent, in a monastery of his own building. At the demolishing whereof, in the reign of king Henry VIII., some,* to gain the lead wherein he was wrapped, cast his corpse into the sea. Thus sacrilege will not only feast on gold and silver, but (when sharp-set) will feed on meaner metals.

53. *Sobriquets, what they were.* 1 Henry II.

Henry II. succeeded him, known by a triple surname; two personal and ending with himself, "Fitz-empress," and "Short-mantle;" the other hereditary, fetched from Geoffry his father, and transmitted to his posterity, Plantagenet, or Plantagenest.† This name was one of the sobriquets, or penitential nicknames, which great persons about this time, posting to the Holy War in Palestine, either assumed to themselves, or had by the pope or their confessors imposed upon them, purposely to disguise and obscure their lustre therewith. See more of the same kind:—(1.) *Berger*, "a shepherd." (2.) *Grise-gonelle*, "gray-coat." (3.) *Teste de estoupe*, "head of tow." (4.) *Arbust*, "a shrub." (5.) *Martel*, "a hammer." (6.) *Grand-bœufs*, "ox-face." (7.) *La-zouch*, "a branch upon a stem." (8.) *Houlet*, "a sheep-hook." (9.) *Hapkin*, "a hatchet." (10.) *Chapell*, "a hood." (11.) *Sans-terr*, "lack-land." (12.) *Malduit*, "ill-taught." (13.) *Juvencas*, *geffard*, or "heifer." (14.) *Fitz de flaw*, "son of a flail." (15.) *Plantagenist*, "stalk of a broom." Thus these great persons accounted the penance of their pilgrimage, with the merit thereof, doubled, when, passing for poor inconsiderable fellows, they denied their own places and persons. But, be it reported to others, whether this be proper and kindly evangelical self-denial, so often commended to the practice of Christians. However, some of these by-names, assumed by their fanciful devotion, remained many years after to them and theirs; amongst which *Plantagenist* was entailed on the royal blood of England.

54. *King Henry's Character.*

This king Henry was wise, valiant, and generally fortunate. His faults were such as speak him man, rather than a vicious one. Wisdom enough he had for his work, and work enough for his wisdom, being troubled in all his relations. His wife, queen Eleanor, brought a great portion, (fair provinces in France,) and a great stomach with her; so that it is questionable, whether her froward spirit more drave her husband away from her chaste, or Rosamond's fair face more drew him to her wanton, embraces. His sons (having much of the mother in them) grew up, as in age, in obstinacy against him. His subjects, but especially the bishops,

* STOW in the end of his Life. † *Alias* Plantagenist.

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(being the greatest castle-mongers in that age,) very stubborn, and not easily to be ordered.

55. *What became of Maud the Empress.*

Mean time one may justly admire, that no mention in authors is made of, nor provisions for, Maud the king's mother, surviving some years after her son's coronation; in whom, during her life, lay the real right to the crown. Yet say not, "King Henry's policy was little, in preferring to take his title from an usurper by adoption, rather than from his own mother, the rightful heir, by succession; and his piety less, in not attending his mother's death, but snatching the sceptre out of her hand;" seeing no writer ever chargeth him with the least degree of undutifulness unto her. Which leadeth us to believe, that this Maud, worn out with age and afflictions, willingly waved the crown, and reigned in her own contentment, in seeing her son reign before her.

56. *The Body of the Common-Law compiled.* *A.D.* 1155.

Those who are most able to advise themselves are most willing to be advised by others, as appeared by this politic prince. Presently he chooseth a privy council of clergy and temporalty, and refineth the common laws; yea, towards the end of his reign began the use of our itinerant judges. The platform hereof he fetched from France, where he had his education, and where Charles the Bald, some hundred of years before, had divided his land into twelve parts, assigning several judges for administration of justice therein. Our Henry parcelled England into six divisions, and appointed three judges to every circuit, annually to visit the same. Succeeding kings, though changing the limits, have kept the same number of circuits; and let the skilful in arithmetic cast it up, whether our nation receiveth any loss, by the change of three judges every year, according to Henry II.'s institution, into two judges twice a year, as long since hath been accustomed.

57. *Castles demolished.* *A.D.* 1156.

The laws thus settled, king Henry cast his eye on the numerous castles in England. As a good reason of state formerly persuaded the building, so a better pleaded now for the demolishing, of them. William the Conqueror built most of them, and then put them into the custody of his Norman lords, thereby to awe the English into obedience. But these Norman lords, in the next generation, by breathing in English air, and wedding with English wives, became so perfectly Anglicised and lovers of liberty, that they would stand on their guard against the king, on any petty discontentment. If

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their castles (which were of proof against bows and arrows, the artillery of that age) could but bear the brunt of a sudden assault, they were privileged from any solemn siege by their meanness and multitude, as whose several beleaguerings would not compensate the cost thereof. Thus, as in foul bodies the physic in process of time groweth so friendly and familiar with the disease, that they at last side together, and both take part against nature in the patient; so here it came to pass, that these castles, intended for the quenching, in continuance of time occasioned the kindling, of rebellion. To prevent farther mischief, king Henry razed most of them to the ground, and secured the rest of greater consequence into the hands of his confidants. If any ask, how these castles belong to our Church-History; know, that bishops, of all in that age, were the greatest traders in such fortifications.

58. *Thomas Becket, Lord Chancellor of England.*

Thomas Becket, born in London, and (though as yet but a deacon) archdeacon of Canterbury, doctor of canon-law, bred in the universities of Oxford, Paris, Bononia, was by the king made lord chancellor of England. During which his office, who braver than Becket? None in the court wore more costly clothes, mounted more stately steeds, made more sumptuous feasts, kept more jovial company, brake more merry jests, used more pleasant pastimes. In a word, he was so perfect a layman, that his parsonages of Bromfield, and St. Mary-hill in London, with other ecclesiastical cures, whereof he was pastor, might even look all to themselves, he taking no care to discharge them. This is that Becket whose mention is so much in English, and miracles so many in popish, writers. We will contract his acts in proportion to our History, remitting the reader to be satisfied in the rest from other authors.

59. *His great Reformation, being made Archbishop of Canterbury.* *A.D.* 1162.

Four years after, upon the death of Theobald, Becket was made by the king archbishop of Canterbury; the first Englishman since the Conquest, (and he but a mongrel, for his mother was a Syrian, the intercourse of the Holy War in that age making matches betwixt many strangers,) who was preferred to that place. And now (if the monks' writing his Life may be believed) followed in him a great and strange metamorphosis. Instantly his clothes were reformed to gravity, his diet reduced to necessity, his company confined to the clergy, his expenses contracted to frugality, his mirth retrenched to austerity; all his pastimes so devoured by his piety, that none could see the former chancellor Becket in the present

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archbishop Becket. Yea, they report, that his clothes were built three stories high; next his skin he was a hermit, and wore sackcloth; in the mid he had the habit of a monk; and above all wore the garments of an archbishop. Now, that he might the more effectually attend his archi-episcopal charge, he resigned his chancellor's place; whereat the king was not a little offended. It added to his anger, that his patience was daily pressed with the importunate petitions of people complaining, that Becket injured them; though, generally, he did but recover to his church such possessions as, by their covetousness, and his predecessors' connivance, had formerly been detained from it.

60. *A stubborn Defender of the vicious Clergy, against secular Magistrates.*

But the main matter incensing the king against him, was, his stubborn defending the clergy from the secular power; and particularly, (what a great fire doth a small spark kindle!) that a clerk, having killed and stolen a deer, ought not to be brought before the civil magistrate for his punishment. Such impunities, breeding impieties, turned "the house of God into a den of thieves:" many rapes, riots, robberies, murders, were then committed by the clergy. If it be rendered as a reason of the viciousness of Adonijah, that his father never said unto him, "Why doest thou so?" 1 Kings i. 6; no wonder if the clergy of this age were guilty of great crimes, whom neither the king nor his judges durst call to an account. And, seeing ecclesiastical censures extend not to the taking away of life or limb, such clerks as were guilty of capital faults were either altogether acquitted, or had only penance inflicted upon them; a punishment far lighter than the offence did deserve. Indeed, it is most meet, in matters merely ecclesiastical, touching the word and sacraments, clergymen be only answerable for their faults to their spiritual superiors, as most proper and best able to discern and censure the same. And in cases criminal, it is unfit that ministers should be summoned before each proud, pettish, petulant, pragmatical, secular under-officer. However, in such causes to be wholly exempted from civil power, is a privilege which with reason cannot be desired of them, nor with justice indulged unto them. Sure I am, Abiathar, though high-priest, was convented before and deposed by Solomon for his practising of treason. And St. Paul saith, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers," Rom. xiii. 1.

61. *He incurs the King's Displeasure.* *A.D.* 1164.

To retrench these enormities of the clergy, the king called a parliament at Clarendon, near Salisbury, (and not in Normandy,

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as Mr. Fox will have it,) intending, with the consent of his great council, to confirm some severe laws of his grandfather, king Henry I. To these laws, sixteen in number,* Becket, with the rest of the bishops, consented, and subscribed them; but afterwards, recanting his own act, renounced the same. Let not, therefore, the crime of inconstancy be laid too heavily to the charge of archbishop Cranmer, first subscribing then revoking popish articles presented unto him; seeing this his name-sake Thomas, and predecessor Becket, without any stain to his saintship, retracted his own act, upon pretence of better information. But so highly was Becket offended with himself for his subscription, that, in revenge, for some months, he suspended himself from all Divine service, (his pride and laziness, both before and after, suspended him from ever preaching,) and would not be present thereat. Hereafter let none hope for more favour from this archbishop than their fact may deserve; seeing *he* cannot rationally be expected to be courteous to others, *who* was so severe unto himself. The best was, in this his suspension the knot was not tied so hard as to hurt him; who, in case of necessity, as he had bound so he could loose himself; though, for the more state of the matter, pope Alexander himself was pleased solemnly to assoil him from his suspension.† Mean time Becket, both in his suspension and absolution, most highly offended king Henry, who every day the more was alienated from and incensed against him.

62. *The Vanity of Becket's Path.*

During Becket's abode about Clarendon, he is reported every morning to have walked from his lodging, some miles, to the king's palace; where the ground, say they, called "Becket's path," at this day presenteth itself to the eyes of the beholders, (but most quick-sighted, if looking through popish spectacles,) with the grass and grain growing thereon, in a different hue and colour from the rest: a thing having in it more of report than truth; yet more of truth than wonder; the discolorations of such veins of earth being common in grounds elsewhere, which never had the happiness of Becket's feet to go upon them.

63. *He flieth beyond Sea, without the King's Consent.*

But O! if Becket's feet had left but the like impression in all the ways he went, how easy had it been for all men's eyes, and par-

* See them at large in MATTHEW PARIS. † FOX'S "Monuments." See the letter at large, p. 269.

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ticularly for our pen, to have tracked him in all his travels; who, not long after, without the consent of the king, took ship, sailed into Flanders, thence travelled into the southern parts of France, thence to Pontiniac, thence to Sens, abiding seven years in banishment. But, though he served an apprenticeship in exile, he learned little humility thereby, only altering his name, for his more safety, from Becket to Derman; but retaining all his old nature, remitting nothing of his rigid resolutions.

64. *How employed in his Banishment.* *A.D.* 1165.

Now, to avoid idleness, Becket, in his banishment, variously employed himself. First. In making and widening breaches between Henry his native sovereign, and Lewis the French king. Secondly. In writing many voluminous letters * of expostulation to princes and prelates. Thirdly. In letting fly his heavy excommunications against the English clergy; namely, against Roger, archbishop of York; Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, a learneder man than himself; Joceline, bishop of Salisbury, and others. His chief quarrel with them was, their adherence to the king; and particularly, because the archbishop presumed to crown Henry the king's son, made joint king in the life of his father; a privilege which Becket claimed as proper to himself alone. Fourthly. In receiving comfort from, and returning it to, pope Alexander at Beneventum in Italy. Sameness of affliction bred sympathy of affection betwixt them, both being banished; the pope by Frederick Barbarossa, the emperor, for his pride and insolency; as our Becket smarted for the same fault from king Henry. Here also Becket solemnly resigned his archbishopric to the pope, as troubled in conscience that he had formerly taken it as illegally from the king; and the pope again restored it to him, whereby all scruples in his mind were fully satisfied.

65. *Is reconciled to the King.* *A.D.* 1167.

But afterwards, by mediation of friends, Becket's reconciliation was wrought, and leave given him to return into England. However, the king still retained his temporals in his hand, on weighty considerations; namely, to show their distinct nature from the spirituals of the archbishopric, to which alone the pope could restore him; lay lands being separable from the same, as the favour of secular princes; and Becket's bowed knee must own the king's bountiful hand, before he could receive them. Besides, it would be a caution for his good behaviour.

* See them exemplified at large in STAPLETON *De Tribus Thomis.*

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66. Returns as obstinate as he went over. A.D. 1170.

Cœlum non animum. "Travellers change climates, not conditions." Witness our Becket; stubborn he went over, stubborn he staid, stubborn he returned. Amongst many things which the king desired and he denied, he refused to restore the excommunicated bishops; pretending he had no power, (indeed, he had no will,) and that they were excommunicate by his Holiness. Yea, he, instead of recalling his old, added new, excommunications; and that thunder which long before rumbled in his threatenings, now gave the crack upon all those that detained his temporal revenues. Roger Hoveden * reports, that upon Christmas-day (the better day the better deed!) he excommunicated Robert de Broc, because the day before he had cut off one of his horses' tails. Yea, he continued and increased his insolence against the king and all his subjects.

67. Is slain by four Knights in his own Church.

Here the king let fall some discontented words, which instantly were catched up in the ears of some courtiers attending him. He complained, that never sovereign kept such lazy subjects and servants, neither concerned in their king's credit, nor sensible of his favours conferred on them, to suffer a proud prelate so saucily to affront him: (now, a low halloo, and a less clap with the hand, will set fierce dogs on worrying their prey:) a quarternion of courtiers being present; namely, (1.) Sir Richard Breton, of which name (as I take it) a good family at this day is extant in Northamptonshire. (2.) Sir Hugh Morvil of Kirk-Oswald in Cumberland, where his sword,† wherewith he slew Becket, was kept a long time, in memorial of his fact. His family [is]at this day extinct. (3.) Sir William Tracey, whose heirs at this day flourish, in a worthy and worshipful equipage, at Todington in Gloucestershire. (4.) Sir Reginald Fitz-Urse, or, "Bear's-son."‡ His posterity were afterwards men of great lands and command, in the county of Monaghan in Ireland, being there called Mac-Mahon,§ which in Irish signifieth "the son of a bear." These four knights, applying the king's general reproof to themselves, in their preproperous passions misinterpreted his complaint, not only for Becket's legal condemnation, but also for their warrant for his execution. Presently they post to Canterbury, December 28th, where they find Becket in a part of his church, (since called the Martyrdom,) who, though warned of their coming, and advised to avoid them, would not decline them; so that he may seem to have [had] more mind to be killed, than they had to kill him. Here happened

* *Parte posteriori Henrici Secundi*, p. 521. † CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Cumberland, p. 777. ‡ Others call him Walter. § CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Ireland, p. 107.

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high expostulation, they requiring restitution of the excommunicated bishops; whose peremptory demands met with his pertinacious denials, as then not willing to take notice of Solomon's counsel, "A soft answer pacifieth wrath," Prov. xv. 1. Brawls breed blows: and all four falling upon him, with the help of the fifth, an officer of the church, called "Hugh, the ill clerk," each gave him a wound, though that with the sword dispatched him, which cut off his crown from the rest of his head.

68. *Various Censures on his Death.*

A barbarous murder, which none will go about to excuse, but much heightened both by the prose and poetry (good and bad) of popish writers in that age. Of the last and worst sort, I account that distich, not worthy the translating, one verse whereof, on each leaf of the door of Canterbury choir, is yet legible in part:—

Est sacer intra locus, venerabilis, atque beatus,
*Præsul ubi sanctus Thomas est martyrizatus.**

But, if he were no truer a martyr than *martyrizatus* is true position, his memory might be much suspected. More did the Muses smile on the author of the following verses:—

Pro Christi sponsâ, Christi sub tempore, Christi
In templo, Christi verus amator obit.
Quis moritur? Præsul. Cur? Pro grege. Qualiter? Ense.
Quando? Natali. Quis locus? Ara Dei.

"For Christ his spouse, in Christ-church, at the tide
Of Christ his birth, Christ his true lover died.
Who dies? A priest. Why? For 's flock. How? By th' sword.
When? At Christ's birth. Where? Altar of the Lord."

Here I understand not, how properly it can be said, that Becket died *pro grege*, "for his flock." He did not die for feeding his flock, for any fundamental point of religion, or for defending his flock against the wolf of any dangerous doctrine; but merely he died for his flock; namely, that the sheep thereof (though ever so scabbed) might not be dressed with tar, and other proper (but sharp and smarting) medicines; I mean, that the clergy might not be punished by the secular power for their criminal enormities. Sure I am, a learned and moderate writer† of that age passeth this character upon him: *Quæ ab ipso acta sunt laudanda nequaquam censuerim, licet ex laudabili zelo processerint:* "Such things as were done by him I conceive not at all to be praised, though they proceeded from a laudable zeal." But Stapleton‡ calls this his judgment, *audacis monachi censura non tam politica, quàm planè*

* WILLIAM SOMNER in his "Antiquities of Canterbury," p. 166. † GULIELMUS NUBRIGIENSIS. ‡ *In tribus Thomis.*

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ethnica, "the censure of a bold monk, not so much politic as heathenish." Should another add of Stapleton, that "this his verdict is the unchristian censure of a proud and partial Jesuit;" railing would but beget railing; and so it is better to remit all to "the day of the revelation of the righteous judgment of God," Rom. ii. 5.

69. *The heavy Penance performed by King Henry.*

Now, king Henry, though unable to revive Becket, showed as much sorrow himself for his death, as a living man could express; and did the other as much honour as a dead man could receive. First. Searching after all his kindred, (as most capable of his kindness,) he found out his two sisters: One Mary, a virgin, not inclinable to marry, whom he preferred abbess of the rich nunnery of Barking. His other nameless sister, being married to one of the *le Botelers*, or "Butlers," he transplanted with her husband and children into Ireland,* conferring upon them high honours and rich revenues; from whom the earls of Ormond are at this day descended. He founded also the magnificent abbey, called Thomas-court† in Dublin, A.D. 1174, in memory of the said Thomas Becket, and expiation of his murder; beautifying the same with fair buildings, and enriching it with large possessions. Nor did only the purse, but the person, of king Henry do penance; who, walking some miles barefoot, suffered himself to be whipped on the naked back by the monks of Canterbury. As for the four knights, who murdered him, the pope pardoned them, but conditionally,—to spend the rest of their lives in the Holy War, (where the king, as part of his penance enjoined by the pope, maintained two hundred men for one year, on his proper charges,) to try whether they could be as courageous in killing of Turks, as they had been cruel in murdering a Christian.

70. *Becket, after fifty Years, enshrined.*

And now, being on this subject, once to dispatch Becket out of our way, just a jubilee of years after his death, Stephen Langton, his mediate successor, removed his body from the Under-croft in Christ-church, where first he was buried, and laid him, at his own charge, in a most sumptuous shrine, at the east end of the church. Here the rust of the sword that killed him,‡ was afterwards tendered to pilgrims to kiss. Here many miracles were pretended to be wrought by this saint, in number two hundred and seventy.§ They might well have been brought up to four hundred, and made as many as Baal's lying prophets; though, even then, one prophet of the Lord, one Micaiah, one true miracle, were worth them all.

* CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Ireland, p. 83. † *Idem*, p. 93. ‡ ERASMUS'S *Dialog. in Religionis ergó.* § FOX'S "Acts and Monuments," p. 493.

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71. *The blind Superstition of People.*

It is almost incredible, what multitudes of people flocked yearly to Canterbury, (which city lived by Becket's death,) especially on his jubilee, or each fifty years after his enshrining. No fewer than an hundred thousand (we find it in words at length, and therefore a cipher is not mistaken) of English and foreigners repaired hither.* And, though great the odds in hardness between stones and flesh, there remains at this day in the marble the prints of their superstition who crept and kneeled to his shrine; the revenues whereof, by people's offerings, amounted to more than six hundred pounds a-year. And the same accomptant, when coming to set down what then and there was offered to Christ's or the high altar, dispatcheth all with a blank, *summo altari nil.* Yea, whereas before Becket's death the cathedral in Canterbury was called Christ's church, it passed afterwards for the church of St. Thomas; verifying therein the complaint of Mary Magdalene, *Sustulerunt Dominum*, "They have taken away the Lord," John xx. 2, 13; though since, by the demolishing of Becket's shrine, the church (and that justly) hath recovered his true and ancient name.

SECTION III.

DOMINO JOANNI WYRLEY, DE WYRLEY-HALL, IN COMITATU STAFFORD, EQUITI AURATO.

Lex Mahometica jubet, ut Turcarum quisque mechanicæ arti incumbat. Hinc est, quòd, vel inter Ottomanicos imperatores, hic faber, ille sartor, hic totus est in baltheorum bullis,† ille in sagittarum pennis concinnandis, prout quisque suâ indole trahatur.

Lex mihi partim placet, partim displicet. Placet industria, ne animi otii rubigine obducti sensim torpescerent. Displicet, ingenuas mentes servili operi damnari, cùm humile nimis sit et abjectum.

At utinam vel lex, vel legis æmula consuetudo, inter Anglos obtineret, ut nostrates nobiles, ad unum omnes, meliori literaturæ litarent. Hoc si fiat, uberrimos fructus respublica perceptura esset ab illis, qui nunc absque Musarum cultu penitùs sterilescunt.

* Will. Somner, *ut prius*, p. 249. † Edward Sandys *in suis Peregrinationibus.*

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Tu verò, doctissime miles! es perpaucorum hominum, qui ingenium tuum nobilitate premi non sinis: sed artes ingenuas, quas Oxonii didicisti juvenis, vir assiduè colis. Gestit itaque liber noster te patrono; quo non alter aut in notandis mendis oculatior, aut in condonandis clementior.

1. *The Undutifulness of young King Henry.*

EVEN amongst all the stripes given him since the death of Becket, none made deeper impression in king Henry's soul, than the undutifulness of Henry his eldest son, whom he made (the foolish act of a wise king!) joint-king with himself, in his life-time. And, as the father was indiscreet to put off so much of his apparel before he went to bed; so the son was more unnatural in endeavouring to rend the rest from his back, and utterly to disrobe him of all regal power. The clergy were not wanting in their plentiful censures, to impute this mischance to the king, as a Divine punishment on Becket's death; that his natural son should prove so undutiful to him, who himself had been so unmerciful to his spiritual father. But this rebellious child passed not unpunished. For, as he honoured not his father, so "his days were few in the land which the Lord gave him." And, as he made little account of his own father, so English authors make no reckoning of him in the catalogue of kings; this Henry III. being wholly omitted, because dying during the life of his father.

2. *Richard made Archbishop of Canterbury.*

But, before this Henry's death, Richard, prior of Dover, who divided Kent into three archdeaconries, was made archbishop of Canterbury. Indeed, the place was first proffered to Robert, abbot of Becco in Normandy; sequence of three, if he had accepted it, (Anselm, Theobald, and this Robert,) who, in the compass of seventy years, out of the same abbey, were made archbishops of Canterbury; but he refused it, as ominous to succeed Becket in his chair, lest he should succeed him in his coffin; and preferred a whole skin before a holy pall. But Richard, accepting the place, is commended for a mild and moderate man, being all for accommodation, and his temper the best expedient betwixt the pope and king; pleasing the former with presents, the latter with compliance. This made him connive at Geoffry Plantagenet's holding the bishopric of Lincoln, though uncanonicalness on uncanonicalness met in his person. For, first, he was a bastard. Secondly. He was never in Orders. Thirdly. He was under age. All which irregularities were answered in three words, "The king's son." This was that Geoffry who used

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to protest "by the royalty of the king his father," when a stander-by minded him to remember the honesty of his mother.

3. *The Controversy betwixt Canterbury and York for Precedency. A.D.* 1176.

A synod was called at Westminster, the pope's legate being present thereat; on whose right hand sat Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, as in his proper place; when in springs Roger of York, and, finding Canterbury so seated, fairly sits him down on Canterbury's lap; (a baby too big to be danced thereon!) yea, Canterbury's servants dandled this lap-child with a witness, who plucked him thence, and buffeted him to purpose. Hence began the brawl, which often happened betwixt the two sees for precedency; though hitherto we have passed them over in silence, not conceiving ourselves bound to trouble the reader every time those archbishops troubled themselves. And, though it matters as little to the reader as to the writer, whether Roger beat Richard, or Richard beat Roger; yet, once for all, we will reckon up the arguments which each see alleged for its precedency.

CANTERBURY'S TITLE.

(1.) No catholic person will deny, but that the pope is the fountain of spiritual honour, to place and displace at pleasure. He first gave the primacy to Canterbury. Yea, whereas the proper place of the archbishop of Canterbury, in a general council, was next the bishop of St. Ruffinus; Anselm and his successors were advanced by pope Urban to sit at the pope's right foot, as *alterius orbis papa*. (2.) The English kings have ever allowed the priority to Canterbury. For, a duarchy in the church (namely, two archbishops equal in power) being inconsistent with a monarchy in the state, they have ever countenanced the superiority of Canterbury, that the church-government might be uniform with the commonwealth's. (3.) Custom hath been accounted a king in all places, which, time out of mind, hath decided the precedency to Canterbury.

YORK'S TITLE.

(1.) When Gregory the Great made York and Canterbury archiepiscopal sees, he affixed precedency to neither, but that the archbishops should take place according to the seniority of their consecrations; until Lanfrank, chaplain to king William, (thinking good reason he should conquer the whole clergy of England, as his master had vanquished the nation,) usurped the superiority above the see of York. (2.) If antiquity be to be respected, long before Gregory's time York was the see of an archbishop, whilst as yet Pagan Canterbury was never dreamed of for that purpose.

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Lucius, the first Christian Briton king, founding a cathedral therein, and placing Samson in the same, who had Taurinus, Pyrannus, Tacliacus, &c., his successors in that place. (3.) If the extent of jurisdiction be measured, York, though the lesser in England, is the larger in Britain, as which at this time had the entire kingdom of Scotland subject thereunto. Besides, if the three bishoprics, (namely, Worcester, Lichfield, Lincoln,) formerly injuriously taken from York, were restored unto it, it would vie English latitude with Canterbury itself.

This controversy lasted for many years. It was first visibly begun (passing-by former private grudges) betwixt Lanfrank of Canterbury and Thomas of York, in the reign of the Conqueror; continued betwixt William of Canterbury and Thurstan of York, in the days of king Henry I.; increased betwixt Theobald of Canterbury and William of York, at the coronation of Henry II.; and now revived betwixt Richard of Canterbury and Roger of York, with more than ordinary animosity.

4. *How much Carnality in the most spiritual.*

Some will wonder that such spiritual persons should be so spiteful, that they, who should rather have contended *de pascendis ovibus*, "which of them should better feed their flocks," should fall out *de lanâ caprinâ*, about a toy and trifle, only for priority. Yet such will cease to wonder, when they consider how much carnality there was in the disciples themselves: witness their unseasonable contest, just before our Saviour's death, *quis esset major*, "which of them should be the greater," Luke xxii. 24; when then the question should rather have been, *quis esset mœstior;* not, who should be the highest, but, "who should be the heaviest" for their departing Master.

5. *The Pope's Decision gives final Satisfaction.*

Here the pope interposed, and, to end old divisions, made a new distinction,—"primate of all England," and "primate of England;" giving the former to Canterbury, the latter to York. Thus, when two children cry for the same apple, the indulgent father divides it betwixt them; yet so that he giveth the bigger and better part to the child that is his darling. York is fain to be content therewith, though full ill against his will, as sensible that a secondary primacy is no primacy; and as one stomaching a superior, as much as Canterbury disdained an equal. Yea, on every little occasion this controversy brake out again. The last flash which I find of this flame was in the reign of king Edward I., when William Wickham, archbishop of York, at a council at Lambeth for reformation, would

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needs have his cross carried before him; which John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, would in no case permit to be done in his province. Wherefore the said Peckham inhibited all from selling victuals to him or his family,*—so hoping to allay his stomach by raising his hunger, and starve him into a speedy submission; which accordingly came to pass. Since, York was rather quiet than contented, pleasing itself that "as stout came behind as went before." But at this day the clergy, sensible of God's hand upon them, for their pride and other offences, are resolved on more humility; and will let it alone to the laity to fall out about precedency.

6, 7. *The far-extended English Monarchy, in this King's Reign, could not make him fortunate in his own Family.*

To return to king Henry: Never did the branches of the English monarchy sprout higher, or spread broader, before or since, as in the reign of this king; so large and united his command, though in several capacities. For, by right of inheritance from his mother Maud, he held England and the dukedom of Normandy; by the same title from his father, Geoffry Plantagenet, he possessed fair land in Anjou and Maine;† by match, in right of queen Eleanor, his wife, he enjoyed the dukedoms of Aquitaine and Guienne even to the Pyrenean Mountains; by conquest he lately had subdued Ireland, leaving it to his successors annexed to the English dominions; and for a time was the effectual king of Scotland, whilst keeping William their king a prisoner, and acting at pleasure in the southern parts thereof. The rest of Christendom he may be said to have held by way of arbitration, as *Christiani orbis arbiter;* so deservedly did foreign princes esteem his wisdom and integrity, that in all difficult controversies he was made umpire betwixt them.

Yet all this his greatness could neither preserve him from death, nor make him, when living, happy in his own house; so that, when freest from foreign foes, he was most molested in his own family; his wife and sons at last siding with the king of France against him, the sorrow whereat was conceived to send him the sooner to his grave. I meet with this distich as parcel of his epitaph:—

Cui satis ad votum non essent omnia terræ
Climata, terra modo sufficit octo pedum.‡

"He whom alive the world would scarce suffice,
When dead, in eight-foot earth contented lies."

He died at Chinon in Normandy, and was buried, with very great solemnity, in the nunnery of Font-Everard [Fontevraud] in the same country; a religious house of his own foundation and endowment.

* Mr. Jackson out of *Florilegus*, in his Chronology, *anno* 1280. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 423.—Edit. ‡ Matthew Paris, p. 151.

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8. *Disobedience endeavoured to be expiated by Superstition.* 1 Richard I. *A.D.* 1189.

It is confidently reported,* that when Richard, son and successor to king Henry, approached his father's dead corpse, it bled afresh at the nostrils; whence some collected him the cause of his death. But whilst nature's night-counsellors, treading in the dark causes of hidden qualities, render the reason of the sallying forth of the blood on such occasions, let the learned in the laws decide how far such an accident may be improved for a legal evidence. For, surely, that judge is no better than a murderer, who condemneth one for murder on that proof alone. However, on the bleeding of the father's nostrils, the son's heart could not but bleed, as meeting there with a guilty conscience. And therefore, according to the divinity and devotion of those days, to expiate his disobedience, he undertook, with Philip Augustus, king of France, a long voyage against sultan Saladine, to recover Christ's grave, and the city of Jerusalem, from the Turks in Palestine.

9. *An Account of our Design.*

Having formerly written a whole book of the Holy War, and particularly of king Richard's achievements therein, I intend here no repetition. Only our design is to give a catalogue of some of our English nobility, who adventured their persons in the Holy War; and whose male posterity is eminently extant at this day. I have known an excellent musician, whom no arguments could persuade to play, until, hearing a bungler scrape in the company, he snatched the instrument out of his hand, in indignation that music should be so much abused; then tuned and played upon it himself. My project herein is, that giving-in an imperfect list of some few noble families, who engaged themselves in this service, it will so offend some eminent artist, hitherto silent in this kind, that out of disdain he will put himself upon so honourable a work, deserving a gentleman who hath lands, learning, and leisure to undertake so costly, intricate, and large a subject for the honour of our nation. And be it premised, that, to prevent all cavils about precedency, "first come, served;" I shall marshal them in no other method but as in my studies I have met with the mention of them.

10. *Nevil Kill-Lion's Performance in Palestine.* *A.D.* 1190.

To begin with the place of my present habitation: One Hugh Nevil attended king Richard unto the Holy War, and anciently lieth buried in a marble monument, in the church of Waltham Abbey in Essex, whereof no remainders at this day. This Hugh Nevil, being

* MATTHEW PARIS, p. 151.

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one of the king's special familiars, slew a lion in the Holy Land; first driving an arrow into his breast, and then running him through with his sword, on whom this verse was made:—*Viribus Hugonis vires periêre Leonis,** "The strength of Hugh a lion slew." If Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, was recounted the fifth amongst David's worthies for killing "a lion in the midst of a pit in the time of snow," 2 Sam. xxiii. 20, surely, on the same reason, this bold and brave baron Hugh ought to be entered into the catalogue of the heroes of his sovereign. But I cannot give credit to his report,† who conceiveth that the achievement of the man was translated to his master; and that on this occasion king Richard I. got the name of *Cœur-de-Lion*, or "lion's-heart."

11. *Ancestors to the noble and numerous Nevilles.*

This Hugh Nevil gave the manor of Thorndon to Waltham Abbey,‡ and was ancestor of the noble and numerous family of the Nevilles; to which none in England equal for honour, wealth, and number, in the latter end of king Henry VI.; though at this day the lord Abergavenny be the only baron thereof. He gave for his arms a Cross Saltire, or the cross of St. Andrew, probably assuming it in the Holy War. For, though I confess this is not the proper cross of Jerusalem, yet was it highly esteemed of all those who adventured thither, as may appear, in that all knights-templars make such Saltire Cross, with their thwarted legs upon their monuments.

12. *Girald de Talbote, whence the House of Shrewsbury.*

Girald de Talbote succeeds in the second place. When articles were drawn up between our king Richard, in his passage to Palestine, and Tancred, king of Sicily, for the mutual observation of many conditions betwixt them, he put in, upon their oaths, for his sureties, a grand jury of his principal subjects then present; namely, two archbishops, two bishops, and twenty other of his prime nobility, expresed in his letters patent; § beside many others whose names were concealed. Of these twenty, the aforesaid Girald de Talbote is the first; whose male issue and name are extant at this day, flourishing in the right honourable family of the earls of Shrewsbury.

13. *Guarrin Fitz Girald, from whom the Earls of Kildare and Barons of Windsor.*

Next amongst the royal jurors, as I may term them, was Guarrin Fitz Girald, from whom are descended the Fitzgeralds in Ireland,

* MATTHEW PARIS, A.D. 1222.
† WEAVER'S "Funeral Monuments," p. 644.
‡ *Registrum Cart. Abbat. de Waltham.*
§ R. HOVEDEN, *pars posterior in Richardo primo.*

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(where their name is in some places provincial,) of whom the earl of Kildare is chief. A memorial of their service in Palestine is preserved in their arms, giving Argent a Cross Saltire Gules. Here it must be remembered, that the valiant sprightly gentleman, Hickman lord Windsor,* is descended from the same male ancestors with the Fitzgeralds, (as Robert Glover, a most exquisite herald, doth demonstrate,) though, according to the fashion of that age, altering his old, and assuming a new name from Windsor, the place of his office and command. This lord Windsor carrieth the badge of his service in his arms, being essentially the same with the earl of Kildare's, save that the colours are varied; the Field Gules, and Cross Saltire Argent, betwixt twelve Crosses crossed, Or; which coat, seemingly surfeited, was conceived in that age the more healthful for the same; "the more crossed the more blessed," being the devotion of those days.

14. *A Quaternion more of Adventurers.*

Four other gentlemen of quality remain mentioned in that patent: William de Curcy, father to John the valiant champion and conqueror of Ireland; Robert de Novo Burgo, Hugh le Brain, and Amaury de Mountford; of all whom formerly in our alphabetical comment on Abbey Roll.

15. *Ingelram Fiennes's Posterity.* *A.D.* 1191.

At the siege of Acre or Ptolemais, the grave-general of the Christian army, amongst many worthies dying there within the compass of one year, I find Ingelram de Fiennes to be slain,† from whom the lord viscount Say and Sele, and the lord Dacres of the South, derive their descent. But most visible are the remains of the Holy War in the achievement of Theophilus Fiennes, *aliàs* Clinton, earl of Lincoln, giving in the lower parts of his shield (in a field Argent) six Crosses crossed Fitchee Sable, denoting the stability and firmness of his ancestors in that service.

16. *Radulphus de Altâ Ripâ.*

Also at the aforesaid seige of Acre, Radulphus de Altâ Ripâ, archdeacon of Colchester, ended his life. Now, although, because a clergyman, he could not then leave any lawful issue behind him; yet we may be confident, that the ancient family *De Altâ Ripâ* or Dautry, [Dealtry,] still continuing in Sussex,‡ were of his alliance.

* See CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Berkshire. † R. HOVEDEN *in Richardo primo*, p. 655. ‡ CAMDEN'S "Britannia," *ibid.*

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17. *A Mistake freely confessed.*

Before we leave the siege of Acre, let me refresh the reader with my innocent (and, give me leave to say, probable) mistake: I conceived the noble family of the lord Dacre took their surname from some service there performed, confirmed in my conjecture: (1.) Because the name is written with a local *tmesis*, D'Acre. (2.) Joan, daughter to Edward I. king of England, is called D'Acre, because born there. (3.) They gave their arms, Gules, three Scallop-shells Argent; which Scallop-shells, (I mean, the nethermost of them, because most concave and capacious,) smooth within, and artificially plated without, were oft-times cup and dish to the pilgrims in Palestine; and thereupon their arms often charged therewith. Since, suddenly all is vanished, when I found Dacor,* a rivulet in Cumberland, so ancient that it is mentioned by Bede himself, long before the Holy War was once dreamed of, which gave the name to Dacre Castle, as that (their prime seat) to that family.

18. *Crescent and Star, why the Device of King Richard I. in his Voyage to the Holy Land.*

Before we go further, be it here observed, that when king Richard I. went into Palestine, he took up for his device in his ensign, a Crescent and a Star; but on what account, men variously conjecture. Some conceive it done in affront to the sultan Saladine, the Turk giving the half-moon for his arms. But this seems unlikely, both because a crescent is not the posture of the Turkish moon, and because this was a preposterous method with a valiant man at his bare setting forth, who would rather first win, before wear, the arms of his enemies. Others make a modest, yea, religious meaning thereof; interpreting himself and his soldiers by the crescent and star, expecting to be enlightened from above by the beams of success from the sun of Divine Providence. Indeed, it would trouble a wise man, (but that a wise man will not be troubled therewith,) to give a reason of king Richard's fancy; it being almost as easy for him to foretell our, as for us infallibly to interpret his, design herein. However, we may observe, many of the principal persons who attended the king in this war had their shields be-crescented and be-starred in relation to this the royal device.

19. *The Arms of the ancient Family of Minshul.*

Thus Michael Minshul, of Minshul in Cheshire, serving king Richard in this war, had not only the Crescent and Star given him for his arms, but since also that family hath borne for their crest, two Lion's paws holding a Crescent. And I have seen a patent

* CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Cumberland, p. 776.

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lately, (July 4th, 1642,) granted by the lord marshal to a knight,* deriving himself from a younger branch of that family, assigning him, for distinction, to change his crest into the Sultan kneeling and holding a Crescent.

20. *As also of the noble St. John's and Sackville.*

And thus the noble family of St. John (whereof the earl of Bolingbroke, &c.) give for their paternal coat, Argent two Stars Or on a Chief Gules. These stars first give us a dim light to discover their service in the Holy Land, who since are beholden for perfecter information to one now scarce counted a rhymer, formerly admitted for a poet, acquainting us with this and another noble family adventuring in the Holy War; namely, the Sackvilles, still flourishing in the right honourable the earl of Dorset.

> "King Richard wyth gud entent
> To yat cite of Jafes † went
> On morn he sent aftur sir Robert Sakeville
> Sir William Waterulle
> Sir Hubart and sir Robart of Turnham
> Sir Bertram Brandes and John de St. John." ‡

Yet the arms or crest of the Sackvilles give us not the least intimation of the Holy War. And, indeed, no rational man can expect an universal conformity in so much variety of fancies, that all the arms of the adventurers thither should speak the same language, or make some sign of their service therein.

21. *The worshipful Family of the Tilneys.* *A.D.* 1192.

I find sir Frederick Tilney§ knighted at Acre in the Holy Land, in the third year of king Richard I. He was a man *magnæ staturæ et potens corpore;* sixteen knights in a direct line of that name succeeded in that inheritance; whose heir-general was married to the duke of Norfolk, whilst a male branch (if not, which I fear, very lately extinct) flourished since at Shelley in Suffolk.

22. *The most honourable Ancestors of the Villiers.*

When I look upon the ancient arms of the noble family of the Villiers, wherein there is pilgrim on pilgrim, I mean Five Scallops Or, on the Cross of St. George; I presently concluded, one of that family attended king Richard in the Holy Land. But, on better inquiry, I find that this family, at their first coming into England, bare Sable Three Cinquefoyles Argent; and that sir Nicholas de Villiers, knight, changed this coat in the reign, not of Richard, but

* SIR RICHARD MINSHUL, of Burton in Bucks.
† Jafes, that is, Joppa in Palestine.
‡ ROBERT of GLOUCESTER.
§ HACKLUYT in his first volume of "Voyages."

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Edward I.,* whom he valiantly followed in his wars in the Holy Land, and elsewhere.

23. *The Arms of the Berkeleys.*

I will conclude with the noble family of Berkeley, than which none of England now eminently existing was more redoubted in the Holy War. All know their descent from Harding, son to the king of Denmark, whose arms are said to be Gules three Danish Axes Or: or, as others suppose, with more probability, I conceive, only a plain Cheveron; though, some three hundred years since, they have filled their coat with Ten Crosses Patte Or, in remembrance of the achievements of their ancestors in that service. For I find that Harding of England landed at Joppa,† July 3rd, in the second year of king Baldwin, with a band of stout soldiers, where he relieved the Christians besieged therein.

24. *More Churchmen abroad than Church-business at Home.*

But I have been too tedious, intending only a short essay, and to be (let me call it) an honest decoy, by entering on this subject, to draw others into the completing thereof, during the whole extent of the Holy War. The best is, for the present we have had good leisure, these martial times affording but little ecclesiastical matter. For at this present much of the English church was in Palestine, where Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, ended his life before the siege of Acre; and where Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, was a most active commander; beside many more of the eminent clergy engaged in that service. Yet many did wish that one clergyman more had been there, to keep him from doing mischief at home; namely, William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, who played *rex* in the king's absence: so intolerable a tyrant was he, by abusing the royal authority committed unto him! And it is a wonder, that he, being indeed a Norman born, but holding so many and great offices in this land, should not be able to speak one word of good English,‡ as the English were not willing to speak one good word of him.

25. *Longchamp and Wolsey paralleled.*

Such as draw up a parallel betwixt this William Longchamp and Thomas Wolsey, (afterward archbishop of York,) find them to meet in many conformities. First. In the lowness of their birth; the one the son of a husbandman, the other of a butcher. Secondly. In the

* BURTON in his Description of Leicestershire. lib. ix. cap. 11.

† *Chronicon Jerusalem.*

‡ GODWIN in his Catalogue of the Bishops of Ely.

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greatness of their power; both being the pope's legates, and their king's principal officers. Thirdly. Height of their pride; Longchamp having fifteen hundred daily attendants: Wolsey, though but a thousand, equalizing that number with the nobility of his train. Fourthly. Suddenness of their fall; and it is hard to say which of the two lived more hated, or died less pitied.

26. *Wolsey the better of the two.*

Yet, to give Wolsey his due, he far exceeded the other. Longchamp is accused of covetousness,—promoting his base kindred, to the damage and detriment of others: no such thing charged on Wolsey. Longchamp's activity moved in the narrow sphere of England's dominions; whilst Wolsey might be said, in some sort, to have held in his hand the scales of Christendom: "Up emperor, Down France;" and so alternately as he was pleased to cast in his grains. Wolsey sat at the stern more than twenty years, whilst Longchamp's impolitic pride outed him of his place in less than a quarter of the time. Lastly. Nothing remains of Longchamp, but the memory of his pride and pomp; whilst Christ Church in Oxford, and other stately edifices, are the lasting monuments of Wolsey's magnificence to all posterity.

27. *Yet a Word in Excuse of Longchamp.*

But, seeing it is just to settle men's memories on their true bottom, be it known, that one putteth in a good word in due season, in the excuse of bishop Longchamp,* haply not altogether so bad as the pens of monks would persuade us. It enraged them against him, because Hugh Nonant, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, drave out monks out of Coventry, and brought in secular priests in the room; which alteration he being not able of himself to effect, used the assistance of Longchamp bishop of Ely; ordering the same in a synod called at London. And seeing monks have no medium betwixt not loving and bitter hating, no wonder if for this cause they paid him their invectives. But we have done with him; and are glad of so fair a riddance of him, on this account,—that most of his misdemeanours were by him committed, not *quâ* bishop, but *quâ* viceroy, and so more properly belonging to the civil historian.

28. *King Richard dearly ransomed.* *A.D.* 1193.

King Richard, in his return from Palestine, was taken prisoner by Leopold duke of Austria, and detained by him in durance, with hard and un-prince-like usage, whilst the English clergy endeavoured the utmost for his enlargement. And at last, when a fine certain

* GODWIN, *ut prius.*

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was set upon him to be paid for his ransom, they, with much ado, in two years' time disbursed the same.

29. *Why a small Sum great in that Age.*

The sum was a hundred and fifty thousand marks, to be paid, part to the duke of Austria, part to Henry VI., surnamed "the sharp," (sure, such our Richard found him!) emperor of Germany. Some will wonder that the weight of such a sum should then sway the back of the whole kingdom, (putting many churches to the sale of their silver chalices,) having seen in our age one city, in few days, advance a larger proportion. But let such consider, (1.) The money was never to return, not made over by bills of exchange, but sent over in specie, which made it arise the more heavily. For such sums may be said in some sort to be but lent, not lost, (as to the commonwealth,) which are not exported, but spent therein in the circulation of trading. (2.) A third of silver went then more to make a mark than now-a-days; witness their groats, worth our sixpence in the intrinsic value. (3.) Before trading to the East and West Indies, some hundred and fifty years since, very little the silver of England in comparison to the banks of modern merchants. However, Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, with much diligence, perfected the work; and, on his ransom paid, king Richard returned into England.

30. *King Richard better for Affliction.* *A.D.* 1194.

Now, lest his majesty should suffer any diminution by his long late imprisonment, king Richard was crowned again by Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, at Winchester, with great solemnity; and one may say that his durance was well bestowed on him, seeing after the same he was improved in all his relations:—*Son*—For though he could not revive his dead father; yet on all occasions he expressed sorrow for his undutifulness. *Husband*—Hereafter prizing the company of Beringaria [Berenguella] his queen, daughter to Sanctius, king of Navarre, whom formerly he slighted and neglected. *Brother*—Freely and fully pardoning the practices of his brother John, aspiring to the crown in his absence; and being better to his base brother Geoffry archbishop of York, than his tumultuous nature did deserve. *Man*—Being more strict in ordering his own conversation. *King*—In endeavouring the amendment of many things in the land; in whose days a council was kept at York, for reformation, A.D. 1196, but little effected.

31. *Lambeth Convent, why demolished.* *A.D.* 1198.

Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, had almost finished a fair convent for monks at Lambeth, begun by Baldwin his predecessor.

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But instantly the monks of Canterbury are all up in anger against him. They feared that, in process of time, Lambeth would prove Canterbury, (namely, the principal place of the archbishop's residence,) to the great impairing of their privileges. The vicinity of Lambeth to the court increased their jealousy. And now they ply the pope with petitions, and with what makes petitions to take effect in the court of Rome; never content till they had obtained, contrary to the king's and archbishop's desire, that the convent at Lambeth was utterly demolished; many bemoaning the untimely end thereof, before it was ended; murdered, as one may say, by malicious emulation.

32, 33. *King Richard's Death by a poisoned Arrow. A.D.* 1199.

The death of king Richard is variously reported: but this relation is generally received, that he lost his life on this sad occasion:—A viscount in France, subject to king Richard, having found a vast treasure, (hid probably by some prince, the king's predecessor,) sent part thereof to king Richard, reserving the rest to himself; who, could he have concealed all, had made no discovery, and, had he sent all, had got no displeasure; whilst, hoping by this middle way to pleasure the king, and profit himself, he did neither. King Richard disdains to take part for a gift, where all was due; and blame him not, if, having lately bled so much money, he desired to fill his empty veins again. The viscount fled into Poictou, whither the king following straitly besieged him.

The castle being reduced to distress, a soldier shoots a poisoned arrow, contrary to the law of arms; being [seeing] a sharp arrow, from a strong bow, is poison enough of itself, without any other addition. But those laws of arms are only mutually observed in orderly armies, (if such to be found,) and such laws outlawed by extremity; when the half-famished soldier, rather for spite than hunger, will champ a bullet. The arrow hits king Richard in the eye, who died some days after on the anguish thereof, having first forgiven the soldier that wounded him.

34. *The threefold Division of his Corpse.*

By will he made a tripartite division of his body, and our author* takes upon him to render a reason thereof. His heart he bequeathed to Roan; because he had ever found that city *hearty* and cordial unto him. His body to be buried at Fount-Everard, [Fontevraud,] at his father's feet, in token of his sorrow and submission, that he desired to be as it were his father's footstool. His bowels to be buried in the parish-church, in the province of Poictou,

* MATTHEW PARIS *in hoc anno*, p. 195.

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where he died; not for any *bowels of affection* he bare unto them, but because he would leave his filth and excrements to so base and treacherous a place. Others more charitably conceive them buried there, because conveniently not to be carried thence, whose corruption required speedy interment. Another monk telleth us, that his heart was *grossitudine præstans*,* "gross for the greatness thereof;" which is contrary to the received opinion, that that part is the least in a valiant man, and the heart of a lion, (this Richard, we know, was called *Cœur-de-Lion*, or "lion-hearted,") less than the heart of a hare.

35. *His double Epitaph and Successor.* 1 John. *A.D.* 1200.

I find two epitaphs made upon him. The first, better for the conceit than the poetry thereof, thus concludeth:—

Sic loca per trina se sparsit tanta ruina;
Nec fuit hoc funus cui sufficeret locus unus.†

"Three places thus are sharers of his fall;
Too little one for such a funeral."

The second may pass for a good piece of poetry in that age:—

Hic, Richarde, jaces; sed mors si cederet armis,
Victa timore tui, cederet ipsa tuis.‡

"Richard, thou liest here; but, were death afraid
Of any arms, thy arms had death dismay'd."

Dying issueless, the crown after his death should have descended to Arthur, duke of Brittany, as son to Geoffry, fourth son to Henry II.; in whose minority, John, fifth son to the said king, seized on the crown, keeping his nephew Arthur in prison till he died therein. Thus climbing the throne against conscience, no wonder if he sate thereon without comfort, as in the following century, God willing, shall appear.

SECTION IV.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

TO MR. JOHN ROBINSON, OF MILK-STREET, IN LONDON, MERCHANT.

Divines generally excuse the dumb man cured by Christ, for publishing the same, though contrary to his command, Mark vii. 36. Theophylact goes farther in his comment on the text, Διδασκόμεθα γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν, κηρύσσειν

* Gervasius Dorobernensis *in Rich. I.* p. 1628. † Milles, in his "Catalogue of Honour," p. 120. ‡ Camden's "Britannia" in Oxfordshire.

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καὶ φημίζειν τοὺς ἀγαθοποιήσαντας, κἂν ἐκεῖνοι μὴ θέλωσιν. "Hence we are taught," saith he, "to proclaim and spread the fame of our BENEFACTORS, though they themselves be unwilling." On which account I safely may, and justly must, publicly acknowledge your bounty to me.

1. *Hubert's indiscreet Emulation of the King.* 2 John. *A.D.* 1201.

HIS Christmas king John kept at Guildford, where he bestowed many new holiday-liveries on his guard; and Hubert the archbishop gave the like to his servants at Canterbury; who offended the king not a little, that the mitre should ape the crown, and the chaplain vie gallantry with his patron. To make some amends, when the king and queen, the Easter following, were crowned at Canterbury, Hubert made them magnificent, yea, superfluous, cheer.* Yet his offence herein carried an excuse in it; and superfluity at that time seemed but needful to do penance for his former profuseness; and to show that his loyalty in entertaining of the king should surpass his late vanity in ostentation of his wealth. However, when king John had digested the archbishop's dainty cheer, the memory of his servants' coats still stuck in his stomach. Surely, if clergymen had left all emulation with the laity in outward pomp, and applied themselves only to piety and painfulness in their calling, they had found as many to honour as now they made to envy them.

2. *A Scratch betwixt the Monks of Canterbury widened into a dangerous Wound.* *A.D.* 1205.

But now we enter on one of the saddest tragedies that ever was acted in England, occasioned by the monks of Canterbury, after the decease of Hubert, about the election of a new archbishop. O that their monkish controversies had been confined to a cloister, or else so enjoined a single life, that their local discords might never have begotten any national dissensions! "Behold," saith the apostle, "how great a matter a little fire kindleth," James iii. 5, especially after a long drought, when every thing it meets is tinder for it. All things at home, beside foreign concurrences, conspired to inflame the difference. King John, rather stubborn than valiant, was unwilling to lose, yet unable to keep, his right; the nobility potent and factious; the clergy looking at London, but rowing to Rome, carrying Italian hearts in English bodies; the commons, pressed with present grievances, generally desirous of change,—con-

* MATTHEW PARIS, *Hist. Ang. in anno* 1201.

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ceiving any alteration must be for their advantage, barely because an alteration. All improved the discord so long till Normandy was lost, England embroiled, the crown thereof envassalled, the king's person destroyed, his posterity endangered, foreigners fetched in to insult, and native subjects made slaves to their insolencies.

3. *Two Archbishops chosen by the Monks of Canterbury, and the Pope propoundeth a third.*

The younger of the monks of Canterbury, in the night-time, without the king's knowledge or consent, chose Reginald, their sub-prior, to be archbishop. The seniors of their convent, solemnly, at a canonical hour, with the approbation, yea, commendation, of the king, chose John Grey, bishop of Norwich, for the place; and both sides post to Rome for the pope's confirmation. He, finding them violent in their ways, to prevent further faction, advised them to pitch on a third man, Stephen Langton, born in England, but bred in France, lately chancellor of the university of Paris, and since made cardinal of St. Chrysogone; which expedient, or middle way, though carrying a plausible pretence of peace, would by the consequence thereof improve the pope's power, by invading the undoubted privileges of king John. The monks soberly excused themselves, that they durst not proceed to an election without the king's consent; but, affrighted at last with the high threats of his Holiness, menacing them with excommunication, Stephen Langton was chosen accordingly: one that wanted not ability for the place, but rather had too much, as king John conceived,—having his high spirit in suspicion, that he would be hardly managed.

4. *The Pope sends two Letters of contrary Tempers to the King.* A.D. 1207.

Then two letters were dispatched from the pope to the king. The first had nothing of business, but compliment, and four gold rings with several stones; desiring him rather to mind the mystery, than value the worth, of the present: wherein the round form signified eternity; their square number, constancy; the green Smaragd, faith; the clear Sapphire, hope; the red Garnet, charity; the bright Topaz, good works. How precious these stones were in themselves, is uncertain; most sure it is, they proved dear to king John, who might beshrew his own fingers for ever wearing those rings; and, as my author* saith, soon after *gemmæ commutatæ in gemitus.* For in the second letter, the pope recommended Stephen Langton to the king's acceptance, closely couching threats in case he refused him.

* MATTHEW PARIS *in anno* 1207, p. 223.

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5. *King John's Return, raising his Voice to too high a Note at first.*

King John returned an answer full of stomach and animosity, that this was an intolerable encroachment on his crown and dignity, which he neither could nor would digest,—to have a stranger, unknown unto him, bred in foreign parts, familiar with the French king, (his sworn enemy,) obtruded upon him for an archbishop. He minded the pope, that he had plenty of prelates in the kingdom of England, sufficiently provided in all kind of knowledge, and that he need not to go abroad to seek for judgment and justice; intimating an intended defection from Rome, in case he was wronged. Other passages were in his letter, which deserved memory, had they been as vigorously acted as valiantly spoken. Whereas, now, (because he foully failed at last,) judicious ears hearken to his words no otherwise than to the empty brags of impotent anger, and the vain evaporations of his discontentment. However, he began high, not only banishing the monks of Canterbury, for their contempt, out of his kingdom, but also forbidding Stephen Langton from once entering into England.

6. *Three Bishops, by Command from the Pope, interdict the whole Kingdom.*

Hereupon pope Innocent III. employed three bishops—William of London, Eustace of Ely, and Maugere of Worcester—to give the king a serious admonition, and, upon his denial or delaying to receive Stephen Langton for archbishop, to proceed to interdict the kingdom of all ecclesiastical service, saving baptism of children, confession, and the eucharist to the dying in case of necessity, which by them was performed accordingly. No sooner had they interdicted the kingdom, but, with Joceline bishop of Bath, and Giles of Hereford, they, as speedily as secretly, got them out of the land, like adventurous empirics, unwilling to wait the working of their desperate physic; except any will compare them to fearful boys, who at the first trial set fire to their squibs with their faces backwards, and make fast away from them. But the worst was, they must leave their lands, and considerable movables, in the kingdom behind them.

7. *England's sad Case under Interdiction.*

See now on a sudden the sad face of the English church!—a face without a tongue,—no singing of service, no saying of mass, no reading of prayers: as for preaching of sermons, the laziness and ignorance of those times had long before interdicted them. None need pity the living, (hearing the impatient complaints of lovers, for

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whose marriage no license could be procured,) when he looks on the dead, who were buried in ditches,* like dogs, without any prayers said upon them. True, a well-informed Christian knows full well, that a corpse, though cast in a bog, shall not stick there at the day of judgment; thrown into a wood, shall then find out the way; buried by the highway's side, is in the ready road to the resurrection; in a word, that wheresoever a body be put or placed, it will equally take the alarm at the last trumpet: yet, seeing these people believed, that a grave in consecrated ground was a good step to heaven, and were taught that prayers after their death were essential to their salvation, it must needs put strange fears into the heads and hearts both of such who deceased and their friends who survived them. And although afterwards, at the entreaty of Stephen Langton, the pope indulged to conventual churches to have service once a week; † yet parish-churches, where the people's need was as much, and number far more of souls, as dear in God's sight, were debarred of that benefit.

8. *Two grand Effects wrought by this Interdiction.*

Some priests were well pleased that the interdiction for a time should continue, as which would render their persons and places in more reputation, and procure a higher valuation of holy mysteries. Yea, this fasting would be wholesome to some souls, who afterwards would feed on Divine service with greater appetite. Hereby two grand effects were generally produced in the kingdom: One, a terrible impression made in men's minds of the pope's power, which they had often heard of, and now saw and felt, whose long arm could reach from Rome all over England, and lock the doors of all churches there; an emblem, that, in like manner, he had or might have bolted the gates of heaven against them: The second, an alienation of the people's hearts from king John, all being ready to complain: "O cruel tyrant over the souls of his subjects, whose wilfulness depriveth them of the means of their salvation!"

9. *King John's Innocence and the Pope's Injustice in these Proceedings.*

However, if things be well weighed, king John will appear merely passive in this matter, suffering unjustly because he would not willingly part with his undoubted right. Besides, suppose him guilty, what equity was it, that so many thousands in England, who, in this particular case, might better answer to the name of

* *Corpora defunctorum more canum in biviis et fossatis sine orationibus et sacerdotum ministerio sepeliebantur.*—MATTHEW PARIS, p. 226. † *Antiq. Brit. in Steph. Langton.* p. 159.

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"Innocent" than his Holiness himself, should be involved in his punishment! God, indeed, sometimes most justly punisheth subjects for the defaults of their sovereigns; as in the case of the plague destroying the people for David's numbering of them. But it appears in the text,* that formerly they had been offenders, and guilty before God, as all men at all times are. But seeing the English at this present had not injured his Holiness by any personal offence against him, the pope, by interdicting the whole realm, discovered as much emptiness of charity as plenitude of power. But some will say, "His bounty is to be praised, that he permitted the people some sacraments, who might have denied them all in rigour, and with as much right;" yea, it is well he interdicted not Ireland also, as a country under king John's dominion, deserving to smart for the perverseness of their prince placed over it.

10, 11. *King John by Name excommunicated; yet is blessed with good Success under the Pope's Curse.* *A.D.* 1209, 1210.

But after the continuance of this interdiction a year and upwards, the horror thereof began to abate: use made ease, and the weight was the lighter,—borne by many shoulders. Yea, the pope perceived that king John would never be weary with his single share, in a general burden, and therefore proceeded *nominatim* to excommunicate him. For now his Holiness had his hand in, having about this time excommunicated Otho the German emperor; and if the imperial cedar had so lately been blasted with his thunderbolts, no wonder if the English oak felt the same fire. He also assoiled all English subjects from their allegiance to king John, and gave not only licence, but encouragement, to any foreigners to invade the land; so that it should not only be no sin in them, but an expiating of all their other sins, to conquer England. Thus the pope gave them a title, and let their own swords by knight-service get them a tenure.

Five years did king John lie under this sentence of excommunication; in which time we find him more fortunate in his martial affairs than either before or after. For he made a successful voyage into Ireland, (as greedy a grave for English corpses, as a bottomless bag for their coin,) and was very triumphant in a Welsh expedition, and stood on honourable terms in all foreign relations. For as he kept Ireland under his feet, and Wales under his elbow; so he shaked hands in fast friendship with Scotland, and kept France at arms' end, without giving hitherto any considerable advantage against him. The worst was, not daring to repose trust in his

* Compare 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, with 1 Chron. xxi. 1.

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subjects, he was forced to entertain foreigners, which caused his constant anxiety; as those neither stand sure, nor go safe, who trust more to a staff than they lean on their legs. Besides, to pay these mercenary soldiers, he imposed unconscionable taxes both on the English (clergy especially) and Jews in the kingdom. One Jew there was of Bristol,* vehemently suspected for wealth, though there was no clear evidence thereof against him; of whom the king demanded ten thousand marks of silver, and, upon his refusal, commanded, that every day a tooth, with intolerable torture, should be drawn out of his head; which being done seven several times, on the eighth day he confessed his wealth, and paid the fine demanded; who, yielding sooner, had saved his teeth, or, stubborn longer, had spared his money; now having both his purse and his jaw empty by the bargain. Condemn we here man's cruelty, and admire Heaven's justice; for all these sums extorted from the Jews, by temporal kings, are but paying their arrearages to God for a debt they can never satisfy,—namely, the crucifying of Christ.

12. *The Prophecy of Peter of Wakefield against King John.* *A.D.* 1212.

About the same time, one Peter, of Wakefield in Yorkshire, a hermit, prophesied, that John should be king of England no longer than next Ascension-Day; after which solemn festival, (on which Christ, mounted on his glorious throne, took possession of his heavenly kingdom,) this opposer of Christ should no longer enjoy the English diadem; and, as some report, he foretold that none of king John's lineage should after him be crowned in the kingdom. The king called this prophet "an idiot-knave;"† which description of him implying a contradiction, the king thus reconciled,—pardoning him as an idiot, and punishing him as a knave with imprisonment in Corfe-Castle. The fetters of the prophet gave wings to his prophecy; and, whereas the king's neglecting it might have puffed this vain prediction into wind, men began now to suspect it of some solidity, because deserving a wise prince's notice and displeasure. Far and near it was dispersed over the whole kingdom, it being generally observed,‡ that the English nation are most superstitious in believing such reports, which causeth them to be more common here than in other countries. For as the receiver makes the thief, so popular credulity occasioneth this prophetical vanity; and brokers would not set such base ware to sale, but because they are sure to light on chapmen.

* Matthew Paris *in anno* 1210, p. 229. † Fox's "Martyrology," p. 229.
‡ Cominæus saith, that the English are never without some prophecy on foot.

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13. *King John's Submission to the Pope.* *A.D.* 1213.

Leave we the person of this Peter in a dark dungeon, and his credit as yet in the twilight, betwixt prophet and impostor, to behold the miserable condition of king John, perplexed with the daily preparation of the French king's invasion of England, assisted by many English malcontents, and all the banished bishops: good patriots, who, rather than the fire of their revenge should want fuel, would burn their own country which bred them. Hereupon king John, having his soul battered without with foreign fears, and foundered within by the falseness of his subjects, sunk on a sudden beneath himself, to an act of unworthy submission and subjection to the pope. For on Ascension-Eve, May 15th, being in the town of Dover, (standing as it were on tip-toes, on the utmost edge, brink, and label of that land which now he was about to surrender,) king John, by an instrument or charter, sealed and solemnly delivered in the presence of many prelates and nobles, to Pandulphus [Masca] the pope's legate, granted to God, and the church of Rome, the apostles Peter and Paul, and to pope Innocent III. and his successors, the whole kingdom of England and Ireland; and took an estate thereof back again, yielding and paying yearly to the church of Rome (over and above the Peter-pence) a thousand marks sterling; namely, seven hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland. In the passing hereof, this ceremony is observable,—that the king's instrument to the pope was sealed with a seal of gold,* and the pope's to the king (which I have beheld and perused, remaining amongst many rarities in the earl of Arundel's library) was sealed with a seal of lead. Such bargains let them look for, who barter with his Holiness, always to be losers by the contract. "Thy silver," saith the prophet, "is become dross," Isaiah i. 22; and here was the change of Glaucus and Diomedes made, as in the sequel of the History will appear.

14. *The Rent never paid the Pope, nor demanded by him.*

Yet we find not, that this fee-farm of a thousand marks was ever paid, either by king John or by his successors; but that it is all run on the score, even unto this present day. Not that the pope did remit it out of his free bounty, but for other reasons was rather contented to have them use his power therein. Perchance, suspecting the English kings would refuse to pay it, he accounted it more honour not to demand it, than to be denied it. Or it may be, his Holiness might conceive, that accepting of this money might

* Both instruments for the present were but sealed with wax, and the next year solemnly embossed with metal, in the presence of Nicholas the pope's legate.

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colourably be extended to the cutting him off from all other profits he might gain in the kingdom. The truth is, he did scorn to take so poor a revenue *per annum* out of two kingdoms, but did rather endeavour to convert all the profits of both lands to his own use, as if he had been seized of all in demesnes.

15. *The proud Carriage of Pandulphus to the King.*

At the same time king John on his knees surrendered the crown of England into the hands of Pandulphus, and also presented him with some money, as the earnest of his subjection; which the proud prelate trampled under his feet:* a gesture applauded by some as showing how much his Holiness (whom he personated) slighted worldly wealth,—caring as little for king John's coin, as his predecessor St. Peter did for the money of Simon Magus, Acts viii. 20. Others, and especially Henry archbishop of Dublin, then present, were both grieved and angry thereat, as an intolerable affront to the king; and there wanted not those who condemned his pride and hypocrisy, knowing Pandulphus to be a most greedy griper, as appeared by his unconscionable oppression in the bishopric of Norwich, which was afterwards bestowed upon him. And, perchance, he trampled on it, not as being money, but because no greater sum thereof. Five days (namely, Ascension-Day, and four days after) Pandulphus kept the crown in his possession, and then restored it to king John again: a long eclipse of royal lustre; and strange it is, that no bold monk, in his blundering Chronicles, did adventure to place king Innocent, with his five days' reign, in the catalogue of English kings, seeing they have written what amounts to as much in this matter.

16. *Peter the Prophet hanged, whether unjustly, disputed.*

Now all the dispute was, whether Peter of Wakefield had acquitted himself a true prophet, or no. The Romanized faction were zealous in his behalf; John, after that day, not being king in the same sense and sovereignty as before; not free, but feodary; not absolute, but dependent on the pope, whose legate possessed the crown for the time being; so that his prediction was true in that lawful latitude justly allowed to all prophecies. Others, because the king was neither naturally nor civilly dead, condemned him of forgery; for which, by the king's command, he was dragged at the horse-tail from Corfe-Castle, and, with his son,† hanged in the town of Wareham: a punishment not undeserved, if he foretold, as some report, that none of the line or lineage of king John should after be crowned in England; of whose offspring some

* Matthew Paris, p. 237. † *Idem, ut prius.*

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shall flourish, in free and full power on the English throne, when the Chair of Pestilence shall be burned to ashes, and neither triple-crown left at Rome to be worn, nor any head there which shall dare to wear it.

17. *The Interdiction of England relaxed.* *A.D.* 1214.

Next year the interdiction was taken off of the kingdom, and a general jubilee of joy all over the land; banished bishops being restored to their sees; service and sacraments being administered in the church, as before. But small reason had king John to rejoice, being come out of God's blessing, (of whom before he immediately held the crown,) into the warm sun, or rather scorching heat of the pope's protection, which proved little beneficial unto him.

18. *The Pope's Legate arbitrates the Arrears betwixt the King and Clergy.*

A brawl happened betwixt him and the banished bishops, now returned home, about satisfaction for their arrears, and reparation of their damages, during the interdiction; all which term the king had retained their revenues in his hands. To moderate this matter, Nicholas, a Tusculan cardinal and legate, was employed by the pope; who, after many meetings and synods to audit their accounts, reduced all at last to the gross sum of forty thousand marks; the restoring whereof by the king unto them was thus divided into three payments:—(1.) Twelve thousand marks Pandulphus carried over with him into France, and delivered them to the bishops before their return. (2.) Fifteen thousand were paid down at the late meeting in Reading. (3.) For the thirteen thousand remaining, they had the king's oath, bond, and other sureties. But then in came the whole cry of the rest of the clergy, who stayed all the while in the land, bringing-in the bills of their several sufferings and losses sustained, occasioned by the interdiction. Yea, some had so much avarice and little conscience, they could have been contented the interdiction had still remained, until all the accidental damages were repaired. But cardinal Nicholas averred them to amount to an incredible sum, impossible to be paid, and unreasonable to be demanded; adding, withal, that, in general grievances, private men may be glad if the main be made good unto them, not descending to petty particulars, which are to be cast out of course, as inconsiderable in a common calamity. Hereupon, and on some other occasions, much grudging and justling there was betwixt Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, and the legate, as one, in his judgment and carriage, too propitious and partial to the king's cause.

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19. *The Barons rebel against King John.*

The remnant of this king's reign afforded little ecclesiastical story, but what is so complicated with the interest of state, that it is more proper for the chronicles of the commonwealth. But this is the brief thereof: The barons of England demanded of king John to desist from that arbitrary and tyrannical power he exercised, and to restore king Edward's laws, which his great-grandfather king Henry I. had confirmed to the church and state, for the general good of his subjects; yea, and which he himself, when lately absolved from the sentence of excommunication by Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, had solemnly promised to observe. But king John, though at the first he condescended to their requests, afterwards repented of his promise, and refused the performance thereof. Hereupon the barons took up arms against him, and called in Lewis prince of France, son to Philip Augustus, to their assistance, promising him the crown of England for his reward.

20. *Lewis Prince of France invited by the Barons to invade England. A.D.* 1215.

Yet the pope endeavoured what lay in his power to dissuade prince Lewis from this design; to which at first he encouraged him, and now forbade him in vain. For, where a crown is the game hunted after, such hounds are easier laid on, than either rated or hallooed off. Yea, ambition had brought this prince into this dilemma; that if he invaded England, he was accursed by the pope; if he invaded it not, forsworn of himself, having promised upon oath by such a time to be at London. Over comes Lewis into England, and there hath the principal learning of the land, the clergy—the strength thereof, the barons—the wealth of the same, the Londoners—to join with him; who but ill requited king John for his late bounty to their city, in first giving them a mayor* for their governor. Gualo [Gallo] the pope's new legate, sent on purpose, bestirred himself with book, bell, and candle; excommunicating the archbishop of Canterbury, with all the nobility opposing king John, now in protection of his Holiness. But the commonness of these curses caused them to be contemned; so that they were a fright to few, a mock to many, and a hurt to none.

21. *An unworthy Embassy of King John to the King of Morocco.*

King John, thus distressed, sent a base, degenerous, and unchristian-like embassage to Admiralius Mermelius, a Mahometan king of Morocco, then very puissant, and possessing a great part of Spain;†

* Granted to the city, A.D. 1209. GRAFTON, fol. 59.

† See the "Appeal of Injured Innocence," p. 424.—EDIT.

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offering him, on condition he would send him succour, to hold the kingdom of England as a vassal from him, and to receive the law of Mahomet.* The Moor, marvellously offended with his offer, told the ambassadors, that he lately had read Paul's epistles, which for the matter liked him very well, save only that Paul once renounced that faith wherein he was born and the Jewish profession; wherefore he neglected king John, as devoid both of piety and policy, who would love his liberty, and disclaim his religion: a strange tender, if true. Here, whilst some allege in behalf of king John, that cases of extremity excuse counsels of extremity, (when liberty is not left to choose what is best, but to snatch what is next, neglecting future safety for present subsistence,) we only listen to the saying of Solomon, "Oppression maketh a wise man mad," Eccles. vii. 7. In a fit of which fury, oppressed on all sides with enemies, king John, scarce *compos sui*, may be presumed to have pitched on this project.

22. *The lamentable Death of King John.* *A.D.* 1216.

King John, having thus tried Turk and pope, and both with bad success, sought at last to escape those his enemies whom he could not resist, by a far and fast march into the north-eastern counties; where, turning mischievous, instead of valiant, he cruelly burned all the stacks of corn of such as he conceived disaffected unto him; doing therein most spite to the rich for the present, but, in fine, more spoil to the poor,—the prices of grain falling heavy on those who were least able to bear them. Coming to Lynn, he rewarded the fidelity of that town unto him with bestowing on that corporation his own sword;† which had he himself but known how well to manage, he had not so soon been brought into so sad a condition. He gave also to the same place a fair silver cup all gilded. But few days after, a worse cup was presented to king John, at Swineshead-Abbey in Lincolnshire, by one Simon a monk,‡ of poisoned wine, whereof the king died: a murder so horrid that it concerned all monks (who in that age had the monopoly of writing histories) to conceal it, and therefore give out sundry other causes of his death. Some§ report him heart-broken with grief for the loss of his baggage and treasure drowned in the passage over the Washes; it being just with God, that he who had plagued others with fire should be punished by water, a contrary but as cruel an element. Others‖ ascribe his death to

* MATTHEW PARIS, p. 245, placeth this two years sooner, namely, A.D. 1213.
† CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Norfolk. ‡ WILL. CAXTON in his "Chronicle" called *Fructus Temp.* lib. vii. § MATTHEW PARIS, p. 287. ‖ Compare MR. FOX'S "Martyrology," p. 234, with HOLINSHED, p. 194.

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a looseness, and scouring with blood; others, to a cold sweat; others, to a burning heat;—all effects not inconsistent with poison; so that they, in some manner, may seem to set down the symptoms, and suppress his disease.

23. *King John's Character delivered in the Dark.*

It is hard to give the true character of this king's conditions. For we only behold him through such light as the friars his foes show him in; who so hold the candle, that, with the shadow thereof, they darken his virtues, and present only his vices. Yea, and as if they had also poisoned his memory, they cause his faults to swell to a prodigious greatness, making him with their pens more black in conditions, than the Morocco king (whose aid he requested) could be in complexion:—a murderer of his nephew Arthur; a defiler of the wives and daughters of his nobles; sacrilegious in the church; profane in his discourse; wilful in his private resolutions; various in his public promises; false in his faith to men, and wavering in his religion to God. The favourablest expression of him falls from the pen of Roger Hoveden:—

Princeps quidem magnus erat, sed minùs felix,
Atque, ut Marius, utramque fortunam expertus.

Perchance he had been esteemed more pious, if more prosperous; it being an usual (though uncharitable) error, to account mischances to be misdeeds. But we leave him quietly buried in Worcester church, and proceed in our story.

24. *Henry III. under Tutors and Governors.* 1 Henry III. *A.D.* 1217.

Henry, the third of that name, his son, succeeded him, being but ten years old; and was crowned at Gloucester, October 28th, by a moiety of the nobility and clergy, the rest siding with the French Lewis. Now, what came not so well from the mouth of Abijah the son, concerning his father Rehoboam, posterity may, no less truly, and more properly, pronounce of this Henry, even when a man: "He was but a child, and tender-hearted," 2 Chron. xiii. 7. But, what strength was wanting in the ivy itself was supplied by the oaks, his supporters,—his tutors and governors; first, William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, and, after his death, Peter, bishop of Winchester. But, of these two protectors, successively a sword-man and a church-man, the latter left the deeper impression on this our king Henry, appearing more religious than resolute, devout than valiant. His reign was not only long for continuance, fifty-six years, but also thick for remarkable mutations happening therein.

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25. By what Means King Henry so quickly recovered his Kingdom.

Within little more than a twelvemonth, he recovered the entire possession of his kingdom; many things concurring to expedite so great an alteration. First. The insolency of the French, disobliging the English by their cruelty and wantonness. Secondly. The inconstancy of the English, (if starting loyalty's return to its lawful sovereign may be so termed,) who, as for their own turns they called-in Lewis, so for their turns they cast him out. Thirdly. The innocence of prince Henry, whose harmless age, as it attracted love to him on his own account, so he seemed also hereditarily to succeed to some pity, as the son of a suffering father. Fourthly. The wisdom and valour, counsel and courage, of William earl of Pembroke, his protector; who, having got the French Lewis out of his covert of the city of London, into the champaign field, so mauled him at the fatal battle of Lincoln, that soon after the said Lewis was fain, by the colour of a composition, to qualify his retreat (not to say his flight) into the honour of a departure. Lastly and chiefly. The mercy of God to an injured orphan, and his justice, that detained right (though late, yet) at last should return to its proper owner.

26. Our principal Design in writing this King's Life.

But it were not only uncivil but injurious for us to meddle with these matters, proper to the pens of the civil historians. We shall therefore confine ourselves principally to take notice, in this king's reign, as of the unconscionable extortions of the court of Rome on the one side, to the detriment of the king and kingdom; so of the defence which the king, as well as he could, made against it: defence, which, though too faint and feeble fully to recover his right from so potent oppression, yet did this good,—to continue his claim, and preserve the title of his privileges, until his son, and successors in after-ages, could more effectually rescue the rights of their crown from papal usurpation.

27. Occasions of the Pope's intolerable Extortions.

Indeed, at this time many things emboldened the pope (not over-bashful of himself) to be the more busy in the collecting of money. First. The troublesomeness of the times, and best fishing for him in such waters. Secondly. The ignorance of most, and the obnoxiousness of some, of the English clergy. Now, such as had weak heads must find strong backs; and those that led their lives loose durst not carry their purses tied, or grudge to pay dear for a connivance at their viciousness. Thirdly. The minority of king

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Henry, and, which was worse, his non-age, after his full age; such was his weakness of spirit, and lowness of resolution. Lastly. The pope, conceiving that this king got his crown under the countenance of his excommunicating his enemies, thought that either king Henry's weakness could not see, or his goodness would wink at, his intolerable extortions; which, how great soever, were but a large shiver of that loaf which he had given into the king's hand. Presuming on the premisses, Gualo, the pope's legate, by his inquisitors throughout England, collected a vast sum of money of the clergy, for their misdemeanours; Hugo bishop of Lincoln paying no less, for his share, than a thousand marks sterling to the pope,* and a hundred to this his legate. Yet when this Gualo departed, such as hated his dwelling here grieved at his going hence, because fearing a worse in his room; choosing rather to be sucked by full than fresh flies, hoping that those already gorged would be afterwards less greedy.

28. *A new Design.*

And being now to give the reader a short account of the long reign of this king, I shall alter my proceedings, embracing a new course which hitherto I have not, nor hereafter shall venture upon; wherein, I hope, the variation may be not only pleasant but profitable to the reader, as scientifical and satisfactory in itself; namely, I will for the present leave off consulting with the large and numerous printed or manuscript authors of that age, and betake myself only to the Tower Records, all authentically attested under the hands of William Ryley, Norroy, keeper of that precious treasury.

29. *Good Text, whatever the Comments.*

When I have first exemplified them, I shall proceed to make such observations upon them, as, according to my weakness, I conceive of greatest concernment; being confident that few considerables in that age (which was the crisis of regal and papal power in this land) will escape our discovery herein.

30. *Serenity in the State. A.D.* 1220.

Only I desire a pardon for the premising of this touch of state-matters. At this instant the commonwealth had a great serenity, as lately cleared from such active spirits, who nick-named the calm and quiet of peace, "a sloth of government." Such Falcatius de Brent, and others, who had merited much in setting this Henry III. on the throne; and it is dangerous when subjects confer too great benefits on their sovereigns; for afterwards their minds are only made capable of receiving more reward, not doing more duty.

* Matthew Paris, p. 299.

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These were offended when such lands and castles, which by the heat of war had unjustly been given them, by peace were justly taken away from them; finding such uprightness in the king, that his power of protection would not be made a wrong-doer. But now the old stock of such malcontents, being either worn out with age, or ordered otherwise into obedience, all things were in an universal tranquillity, within the first seven years of this king's reign.

SECTION V.

THOMÆ HANSON, AMICO MEO.

DISPLICET mihi modernus scribendi mos, quo monumenta indies exarantur. Literæ enim sunt fugaces, ut quæ non stabili manu penitùs membranis infiguntur, sed currente calamo summam earum cuticulam vix leviter præstringunt. Hæ cum sæculum unum et alterum duraverint, vel linceis oculis lectu erunt perdifficiles.

Haud ita olim archiva, in Turre Londinensi, Rotulis, Scaccario, &c. deposita; in quibus ingens scribarum cura, justa membranarum firmitas, atramentum verè Æthiopicum, integra literarum lineamenta, ut calamus præli æmulus videatur. Ita adhuc vigent omnia, in illis quæ trecentis abhinc annis notata, ut is, cui characteris antiquitas minus cognita, nuperrimè descripta judicaret.

Ex his nonnulla decerpsi, ad rem nostram facientia, et ea tibi dedicanda curavi, quem omnes nôrunt antiquitatis canitiem venerari: quo, in Ducatûs Lancastrensis chartulis custodiendis, nemo fidelior, perlegendis oculatior, communicandis candidior.

1. *A remarkable Writ of the King to the Sheriff of Buckinghamshire.* 8 Henry III. *A.D.* 1224.

HERE we begin with the king's precept to the sheriff of Buckinghamshire, considerable for the rarity thereof, though otherwise but a matter of private concernment.

Vic. Bucks.—Precipimus tibi quod Emme de Pinkney ux. Laur. Pinkney, qui excommunicatus est, eo quod predict. Emmam affectione maritali non tractavit, eid. Emme rationabil. estover. invenias, donec idem Laur. vir suus eam tanquam suam tractaverit.

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"To the High Sheriff of Buckinghamshire.—We command you concerning Emme de Pinkney, wife of Laurence Pinkney, who is excommunicated, because he did not use the aforesaid Emme with affection befitting a husband; that you find for the said Emme estover in reasonable proportion, until the said Laurence her husband shall use her as becometh his wife."

Of this Laurence Pinkney I can say nothing: only I find his family ancient, and barons of Weedon in Northamptonshire.* It seemeth strange he should be excommunicated for not loving usage of his wife, no incontinency appearing proved against him; except his carriage was cruel in a high degree. By *estover*, in our forest towns, we only understand, "a certain allowance of wood;" though the extent of the word be far larger, importing, "nourishment," or "maintenance in meat and cloth," as a learned lawyer† hath observed. This, it seems, being denied by her husband, the king enjoineth the sheriff, that he should appoint the said Emme Pinkney reasonable alimony, in proportion, no doubt, to her portion and her husband's estate.

2. *A remarkable Prohibition of papal Appeals.* A.D. 1225.

Next we take notice of a writing which the king sent over to the archbishop of Dublin,‡ and which deserveth the reader's serious perusal:—

Rex Dublin. Archiepiscopo, Justiciario Hiberniæ, salutem.—Ad ea que vobis nuper nostris dedimus in mandatis, ut nobis rescriberetis quatenus fuisset processum in causâ Nicolai de Feldâ, qui contra abbatem et canonicos St. Thomæ Dublinensis in Curiâ nostrâ, coram Justiciariis nostris, petiit duas carrucatus terræ cum pertinentiis in Kelredhery per assisam de morte antecessoris, cui etiam coram eisdem Justiciariis objecta fuit Bastardia, propter quod ab ipsis Justiciariis nostris ad vos fuit transmissus, ut in foro ecclesiastico de ejus Bastardiâ sive Legitimitate agnoscerctis, nobis per litteras vestras significastis; quod cum in foro civili terram predictam peteret, per litteras nostras de morte antecessoris versus memoratos abbatem et canonicos objecta ei fuit nota Bastardie, quare in foro eodem tunc non fuit alterius processum. Memoratus etiam Nicolaus de mandato Justiciariorum nostrorum in foro ecclesiastico coram nobis volens probare se esse Legitimum, testes produxit: et publicatis attestationibus suis, post diuturn. altercationes et disputationes tam ex parte abbatis, quam ipsius Nicolai, cum ad calculum diffinitive sententie § procedere velletis,

* CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Northamptonshire. † BRACTON, lib. iii. tract. 2, cap. 18, num. 1. ‡ Claus. 8, Henr. III. memb. 24, *in dorso*. § No æ diphthongs in old records.

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comparuerunt due puelle minoris etatis, filie Ricardi de la Feld, patris predicti Nicolai, et appellaverunt ne ad sententiam ferendam procederetis, quia hoc in manifestum earum verteretur prejudicium: eo quod aliàs precluderetur eis via petendi hereditatem petitam, nec possit eis subveniri per restitutionem in integrum. Unde de consilio vestrorum prudentum, ut dicitis, appellationi deferentes causam, secundum quod coram nobis agitata est, Domino pape transmisistis instructam.. De quo plurimum admirantes, non immerito movemur, cum de Legitimitate predicti Nicolai per testium productiones, et attestationum publicationes, plenè nobis constet; vos propter appellationem puellarum predictarum, contra quas non agebatur, vel etiam de quibus nulla fiebat mentio in assisâ memoratâ, nec fuerunt alique partes illarum in causâ predictâ, sententiam diffinitivam pro eo distulistis pronunciare, et malè quasi nostrum declinantes examen, et volentes ut quod per nostram determinandum esset jurisdictionem, et dignitatem, ad alienam transferretur dignitatem; quod valdè perniciosum esset exemplo. Cum etiam si adeptus esset prædictus Nicolaus possessionem terræ predictæ, per assisam prædictam, beneficium peticionis hæreditatis prædictis puellis planè suppeteret in curiâ nostrâ, per Breve de Recto; maximè cum per litteras de morte antecessoris agatur de possessione, et non de proprietate, et ex officio vestro in casu proposito nihil aliud ad vos pertinebat, nisi tantum de ipsius Nicolai Legitimitate probationes admittere, et ipsum cum litteris vestris testimonialibus ad Justiciarios nostros remittere. De consilio igitur magnatum et fidelium nobis assistentium, vobis mandamus firmiter injungentes, quatenus, non obstante appellatione præmissâ, non differatis pro eo sententiare, ipsum ad Justiciarios nostros remittentes, cum litteris vestris testimonialibus, ut eis de loquelâ postmodum agitatâ, postmodum possint secundum legem et consuetudinem terræ nostræ Hiberniæ Justiciæ plenitudinem exhibere. Teste rege apud Glocester. 19 *die Novembris.*

3. *The Effect of the Instrument.*

The sum of this instrument is this: One Nicholas de Feld suing for a portion of ground detained from him by the abbot of St. Thomas in Dublin, (founded and plentifully endowed in memory of Thomas Becket,) had bastardy objected against him. The clearing hereof was by the king's judges remitted to the courts ecclesiastical, where the said Nicholas produced effectual proofs for his legitimation. But upon the appeal of two minor daughters of the father of the said Nicholas, who never before appeared, and who, if wronged, had their remedy at common-law, by a Writ of Right the matter was by the archbishop of Dublin transferred to the court of Rome.

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4. *Appeal to the Pope prohibited.*

The king saith in this his letter, that he did much admire thereat, and (though all interests express themselves to their own advantage) intimates the act not usual. And whereas he saith, that "the example would be pernicious;" it seems, if this were a leading case, the king's desire was it should have none to follow it, peremptorily enjoining the archbishop (notwithstanding the aforesaid appeal to the pope) to proceed to give sentence on the behalf of the said Nicholas; and not to derive the king's undoubted right to a foreign power.

5. *The Time makes it the more remarkable.*

Indeed, the kings of England were so crest-fallen, or rather crown-fallen, in this age, that the forbidding of such an appeal appeareth in him a daring deed. *Est aliquid prodire tenus;* essays in such nature were remarkable, considering the inundation of the papal power. Green leaves in the depth of winter may be more than full flowers from the same root in the spring. It seems, some royal sap still remained in the English sceptre, that it durst oppose the pope in so high a degree.

6. *Caursines, what they were.* *A.D.* 1235.

In this year, 1235, the Caursines first came into England, proving the pests of the land, and bane of the people therein. These were Italians by birth, terming themselves the pope's merchants, driving no other trade than letting-out money, great banks whereof they brought over into England; differing little from the Jews; save that they were more merciless to their debtors. Now, because the pope's legate was all for ready money, when any tax by levy, commutation of vows, tenths, dispensations, &c., were due to the pope, from prelate, convents, priests, or lay persons, these Caursines instantly furnished them with present coin upon their solemn bonds and obligations: one form whereof we have inserted:—

"To all that shall see the present writing, Thomas the prior and the convent of Barnwell wish health in the Lord.—Know that we have borrowed and received at London, for ourselves, profitably to be expended for the affaires of our church, from Francisco and Gregorio, for them and their partners, citizens and merchants of Millain, a hundred and four marks of lawfull money sterling, thirteen shillings four pence sterling being counted to every mark. Which said one hundred and four marks we promise to pay back on the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, being the 1st day of August, at the New Temple in London, in the year 1235. And if the said money be not throughly paid, at the time and place aforesaid, we bind our

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selves to pay to the foresaid merchants, or any one of them, or their certain atturney, for every ten marks, forborne two months, one mark of money for recompence of the damages, which the foresaid merchants may incur by the not-payment of the money unto them, so that both principall, damages, and expences, as above expressed, with the expences of one merchant with his horse and man, untill such time as the aforesaid money be fully satisfied. For payment of principal, interest, damages, and expences, we oblige our selves, and our church and successours, and all our goods, and the goods of our church, moveable or immoveable, ecclesiasticall or temporall, which we have, or shall have, wheresoever they shall be found, to the foresaid merchants, and their heirs; and do recognize and acknowledge that we possess and hold the same goods from the said merchants by way of courtesy, untill the premises be fully satisfied. And we renounce for our selves, and successours, all help of canon and civil law, all privileges, and clark-ship, the epistle of St. Adrian, all customes, statutes, lectures, indulgences, privileges, obtained for the king of England, from the see apostolick: as also we renounce the benefit of all appeales, or inhibition from the king of England, with all other exceptions real or personal, which may be objected against the validity of this instrument. All these things we promise faithfully to observe: in witness whereof we have set to the seal of our convent. Dated at London, *die quinto Elphegi*, in the year of Grace 1235."

Sure bind, sure find. Here were cords enough to hold Samson himself; an order taken they should never be cut or untied, the debtor depriving himself of any relief, save by full payment.

7. *Necessary Observations.*

It will not be amiss to make some brief notes on the former obligation, it being better to write on it, than to be written in it as the debtor concerned therein.

One hundred and four marks—The odd four seem added for interest. *Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula*—The popish tradition saith, that Eudoxia the empress, wife to Theodosius the younger, brought two great chains, wherewith Herod imprisoned St. Peter, from Jerusalem to Rome, where they are reported seen at this day, and a solemn festival kept on the 1st of August, the quarter pay-day of Rome's revenues, in memorial thereof. But the name of LAMMAS hath put out St. Peter's chains in our English almanack. *New Temple at London*—In Fleet-street, founded by the Knights Templars, and dedicated by Heraclius patriarch of Jerusalem, 1185. Called "New" in relation to Ancient Temple, (less and less convenient,) they had formerly in Oldburn [Holborn]. *And their certain atturney—Nuncius* in the Latin, being one employed to

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solicit their suit. *All the goods of our church, moveable and immoveable*—Hence oftentimes they were forced to sell their chalices and altar-plate to pay the bond, and secure the rest of their goods, for these creditors. *Canon and civil law*—Common-law not mentioned herein, with which these Caursines, being foreigners, would have nothing to do. *Epistle of St. Adrian*—This seems to be some indulgence granted by pope Adrian IV., perchance, whereby churches indicted found some favour against their creditors. *Die quinto Elphegi*—I am not datary enough to understand this, I know Elphegus to be archbishop of Canterbury, and martyr, and his day kept the 19th of April; so that the money was borrowed but for three months; so soon did the payment, or heavy forfeiture in default thereof, return.

8. *Caursines, whence so called.*

These Caursines were generally hated for their extortions. Some will have them called Caursines *quasi* CAUSA URSINI, so bearish and cruel in their causes: others Caursini *quasi* CORRASINI, from scraping all together. But these are but barbarous allusions, though best becoming such base practices.

9. *Foxes' Hap and Happiness.*

Mean time the Caursines cared not what they were called, being akin to the cunning creature, which fareth best when cursed; and were indeed lords of the land, according to scripture-rule,—"The borrower is servant to the lender;" many of the laity, more of the clergy and convents, and the king himself, being deeply indebted unto them. Indeed, Roger Black, that valiant, learned, and pious bishop of London, once excommunicated these Caursines for their oppression; but they, appealing to the pope, their good friend, forced him, after much molestation, to desist.

10. *Caursines and Lombards the same.*

These Caursines were more commonly known by the name of Lombards, from Lombardy, the place of their nativity, in Italy. And although they deserted England on the decaying of the pope's power and profit therein; yet a double memorial remaineth of them: One of their habitation, in Lombard-street, in London: the other of their employment, "a Lombard" unto this day signifying "a bank for usury," or "pawns," still continued in the Low Countries, and elsewhere.

11. *Deep Hypocrisy.*

Mean time one may lawfully smile at the pope's hypocrisy, forbidding usury as a sin so detestable under such heavy penalties

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in his canon-law, whilst his own instruments were the most unconscionable practisers thereof without any control.

12, 13. *The Present of the Oxford Scholars to the Legate, ill requited.* *A.D.* 1238.

Otho, cardinal, deacon of St. Nicholas, was sent the pope's legate into England; and, going to Oxford,* took up his lodgings in the abbey of Osney. To him the scholars in Oxford sent a present of victuals before dinner; and, after dinner, came to tender their attendance unto him. The porter, being an Italian, demanded their business; who answered him, that they came to wait on the lord legate; promising themselves a courteous reception, having read in the scripture, "A man's gift maketh room for him," Prov. xviii. 16: though here, contrary to expectation, they were not received. Call it not "clownishness" in the porter, (because bred in the court of Rome,) but carefulness for the safety of his master.

But whilst the porter held the door in a dubious posture, betwixt open and shut, the scholars forced their entrance. In this juncture of time, it unluckily happened that a poor Irish priest begged an alms, in whose face the clerk of the kitchen cast scalding water taken out of the caldron. A Welsh clerk, beholding this, bent his bow, (by this time the scholars had got weapons,) and shot the clerk of the kitchen stark dead on the place.

14. *The Legate's Brother killed by the Scholars of Oxford.*

This man, thus killed, was much more than his plain place promised him to be, as no meaner than the brother of the legate himself; who, being suspicious (O how jealous is guiltiness!) that he might find Italy in England, and fearing to be poisoned, appointed his brother to oversee all food for his own eating. And now the three nations of Irish, Welsh, and English fell down-right on the Italians. The legate, fearing (as they came from the same womb) to be sent to the same grave with his brother, secured himself fast locked up in the tower of Osney church, and there sat still and quiet, all attired in his canonical cope.

15. *The Legate flies to the King.*

But he, it seems, trusted not so much to his canonical cope, as the sable mantle of night; under the protection whereof he got out, with a guide, to make his escape; not without danger of drowning in the dark, being five times to cross the river then swelling with

* MATTHEW PARIS *in anno* 1238; RAN. CISTRENSIS, lib. *ult.* cap. 34; *et* T. WALSINGHAM *in Hypodigm. Neustriæ.*

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late rain, as much as the scholars with anger. He made fords where he found none, all known passages being way-laid; and heard the scholars following after, railing on, and calling him "usurer, simoniac, deceiver of the prince, oppressor of the people," &c., whilst the legate wisely turned his tongue into heels, spurring with might and main to Abingdon, where the court then lay. Hither he came, being out of all breath and patience; so that entering the king's presence, his tears and sighs were fain to relieve his tongue, not able otherwise to express his miseries; whom the king did most affectionately compassionate.

16—18. *Oxford in a sad Condition; interdicted by the Legate, who returns to London.*

And now woe to the poor clergy of Oxford, when both temporal and spiritual arms are prepared against them! Next day the king sent the earl Warren with forces against them, and a double commission,—*eripere et arripere;* "to deliver the remainder of the Italians," (little better than besieged in Osney Abbey,) "and to seize on the scholars;" of whom thirty, with one Otho Legista, (forward, it seems, in the fray against the legate his name-sake,) were taken prisoners, and sent like felons, bound in carts, to Wallingford prison, and other places of restraint.

Nor was the legate lazy the while; but, summoning such bishops as were nearest him, interdicted the university of Oxford, and excommunicated all such as were partakers in the tumult; which were not the young fry of scholars, but clerks in Orders; and many of them beneficed, and now deprived of the profit of their livings.

From Abingdon the legate removed to London, lodging at Durham-house in the Strand; the king commanding the mayor of London "to keep him as the apple of his eye," with watch and ward constantly about him. Hither he assembled the bishops of the land, to consider and consult about reparation for so high an affront.

19. *The Bishops intercede for the University.*

The bishops pleaded hard for the university of Oxford, as being the place wherein most of them had their education. They alleged it was *secunda ecclesia*, "a second church," being the nursery of learning and religion. They pleaded also, that the churlishness of the porter let in this sad accident, increased by the indiscretion of those in his own family; adding also, that the clerks of Oxford had deeply smarted, by their long durance and sufferings, for their fault therein.

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20. *All are reconciled.*

Mollified with the premisses, the legate at last was over-entreated to pardon the clergy of Oxford, on their solemn submission; which was thus performed: They went from St. Paul's in London to Durham-house in the Strand, no short Italian (but an English long) mile, all on foot; the bishops of England, for the more state of the business, accompanying them, as partly accessary to their fault, for pleading in their behalf. When they came to the bishop of Carlisle's (now Worcester) house, the scholars went the rest of their way barefoot, *sine capis et mantulis*, which some understand, "without capes or cloaks." And thus the great legate at last was really reconciled unto them.

21. *Bishops' ancient Inns in London.*

The mention of the house of the bishop of Carlisle minds me how, anciently, every bishop (as all principal abbots) had a house belonging to their see, commonly called their "inn," for them to lodge in when their occasions summoned them to London. Not to mention those which still retain their names, as Winchester, Durham, Ely, &c., we will only observe such which are swallowed up into other houses, conceiving it charitable to rescue their memory from oblivion.

Salisbury-house, in Fleet-street, is now turned into Dorset-house: St. David's, north of Bridewell, into small tenements: Chichester-house, Chancery-lane, built by Ralph Neville, bishop of Chichester, is now turned into Lincoln's Inn: Exeter-house, by Temple-bar, built by Walter Stapleton, bishop of Exeter, is now turned into Essex-house: Bath and Wells-house, Strand, into Arundel-house: Landaff-house, Strand, into Somerset-house: Worcester-house, Strand, into Somerset-house: Lichfield and Coventry-house, Strand, built by Walter de Langton, bishop of Chester, into Somerset-house: Carlisle-house, Strand, into Worcester-house: Norwich-house, Strand, into York-house: York-house, Westminster, into Whitehall: Hereford-house, Old Fish-street-hill, built by Ralph de Maydenstune, bishop of Hereford, into a sugarmaker's house.

I question whether the bishop of Rochester, whose country-house at Bromley is so nigh, had ever a house in the city.* Let others recover the rest from oblivion; a hard task, I believe: they are so drowned in private houses. O let us secure to ourselves "everlasting habitations," seeing here no abiding mansion! Luke xvi. 9.

22. *A valiant Offer.* *A.D.* 1241.

Come we now to present the reader with another offer of the king's, (I fear it was not much more,) to repress papal oppression:—

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 425.—EDIT.

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Rex dilecto sibi in Christo Archidiacono Glouc. salutem.—Significavimus, et etiam vivâ você exposuimus, magistro P. Rubeo, nuncio domini papæ, quod non est intentionis nostræ, nec etiam volumus aliquatenus sustinere, quòd vel viros religiosos vel clericum aliquem ad contributionem faciendam ad opus domini papæ compellant. Et ideò vobis mandamus inhibentes districtè, ne, ad mandatum ipsius magistri Petri vel suorum, viros religiosos seu clericos ad contributionem prædictam faciendam aliquâ censurâ ecclesiasticâ compellatis. Scituri quod si secùs egeritis, nos contra vos tanquam perturbatorem pacis ecclesiasticæ, quam conservare tenemur, modis quibus expedire viderimus, procedemus. Teste rege apud Glouc. 11 *die Junii.**

"The king to his beloved in Christ the archdeacon of Gloucester, greeting.—We have signified, and also by word of mouth have declared, to Mr. P. Rubeus, nuncio to the lord the pope, that it is not our intention, nor will we any ways endure it, that they shall compel religious men, or any clerk, to make a contribution, to supply the occasions of the lord the pope. And, therefore, we command you, strictly forbidding, that, at the command of the same Mr. Peter, or any of his officers, you compel not any religious men or clerks, by any ecclesiastical censures, to make the aforesaid contribution: knowing that if you do otherwise, we shall proceed against you, by means we shall think fit, as against the disturber of the peace of the church, which we are bound to preserve. Witness the king at Gloucester, the 11th of June."

By the way, a nuncio differed from a legate, almost as a lieger from an extraordinary ambassador; who, though not so ample in his power, was as active in his progging to advance the profit of the pope his master.

23. *A free-forced Gift.*

This instrument acquainteth us with the method used by him in managing his money-matters. Such as refused to pay his demands were proceeded against by church censures,—suspension, excommunication, &c.; the cunning Italian, to decline the odium, employing the archdeacons to denounce the same in their respective jurisdictions. Yet this went under the notion of a voluntary contribution; as free as fire from flint, forced with steel and strength out of it.

24. *Spoken like a King.*

Whereas the king counted himself "bound to preserve the peace of the church," the words well became his mouth. They seem to

* Pat. 25, of Henry III. mem. 6.

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me to look like "Defender of the Faith," as yet but in the bud, and which in due time might grow up to amount to as much. For, though every Christian in his calling must keep the peace of the church, kings have a coercive power over the disturbers thereof.

25. *Say and do, best.*

This royal resolution, to resist the oppressing of his subjects, was good as propounded, better if performed. I find no visible effect thereof. But we may believe, it made the pope's mill go the slower, though it did not wholly hinder his grinding the faces of the clergy. This patent is dated from Gloucester, more loved of king Henry than London itself, as a strong and loyal city, where he was first crowned, and afterwards did often reside.

26. *A Pension given by the Pope to an English Earl.*

Amongst the thousands of pounds which the pope carried out of England, I meet only with three hundred marks yearly, which came back again as a private boon, bestowed on an English knight, sir Reginald Mohun, by pope Innocent IV., then keeping his court at Lyons in France. And because these are *vestigia sola retrorsùm*, it will not be amiss to insert the whole story thereof, as it is in an ancient French manuscript, pertaining to the family of the Mohuns:—

Quant Sire Reinalda voit ceo faitz il passa a la Courte de Rome que adonques fuist a Lions, pur confirmer et ratifer sa novelle Abbay a grand honor de liu a touz joues et fuist en la Courte le deniergne en quaresme quant lenchaunce loffice del messe Lætare Jerusalem al quen jour lusage de la Courte este que la poistoille doa a plus valiant et a plus honorable home qui puit estre trovez en la deste Courte une Rose ou une florette de fin or donquez ilz sercherent tote le Courte entroverent cesti Reinald pur le plus noble de toute la Courte a oui le Pape Innocent donna celle Rose ou florette dor et la Papa lui damanda quil home il fuist en son pais il respondi simple bacheleri, bean fitz fetz la Pape celle Rose ou florette unquez ne fuist donez fors an Rois ou an Dukes an a Countese pour ceo nous voluns que vous sons le Counte de Est ceo est Somerset Reinald respondi et Aist O Saincts Piere ceo nay dout le nom meinteyner lapos soille donques lui dona ducent mariz per annum receiver sur Cantee saint Paul de Londres de ces deneires d' Engleterre pour son honor mainteyner de quen donna il reporta Bulles que enquore aurent en plomps, &c. en semblement odue moltes dis aultres Bulles confirmatione de sa novelle Abbay de Newham a pres quen jour il porta la Rose ou florette en les arms.

It is as needless, as difficult, to translate this Bull verbatim;

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being of base, obsolete, and ill-pointed French; sufficeth it that this is the sum thereof: The pope used, on the Lord's day called *Lætare, Jerusalem*, solemnly to bestow a consecrated rose on the most honourable persons present at mass with his Holiness. Inquiry being made, the rose was conferred on sir Reginald Mohun, as the best-extracted in the present congregation.

But seeing that rose used always to be given to kings, dukes, and earls at least, (the lowest form of coronetted nobility in that age,) his Holiness understanding the same sir Reginald to be but a plain knight bachelor, created him the earl of Est, that is, saith this Bull, of Somerset; and, for the better support of his honour, he allowed him three hundred marks out of the pence of England (understand the Peter-pence) as the most certain papal revenue in the land.

By this Bull the same sir Reginald was made a Count Apostolic, whereby he had the privileges to appoint public notaries, and to legitimate bastards on some conditions. King Henry III. was so far from excepting against this act, that he highly honoured him. And yet Master Camden sometimes acknowledgeth,* sometimes denieth,† him for an English earl. Not that I accuse him as inconstant to himself, but suspect myself not well attaining his meaning therein.

27. *There are Rich who make themselves poor.*

Now, though the said sir Reginald did modestly decline the pope's honour for want of maintenance, yet had he at that time no fewer than forty-three knights' fees held of his castle of Dunster. I have nothing else to add herein, save that the ancient arms of the Mohuns, namely, a Hand in a Maunch holding a Flower-de-luce, (in that age more fashionable than a rose, in heraldry,) seems to relate to this occasion; which their family afterward changed into a Sable Cross, in the achievements in the Holy Land, borne at this day by the truly honourable the lord Mohun, baron of Okehampton, as descended from this family.

28. *The Death of Bishop Grouthead. A.D.* 1254.

This year died Robert Grouthead,‡ bishop of Lincoln, born at Stradbrook in Suffolk, *natalibus pudendis*, saith my author,§ "of shameful extraction;" intimating suspicion of bastardy; though the

* In his "Britannia" in Somersetshire. † In his "Elizabeth" in the case of Count Arundel. ‡ The name of this excellent bishop largely partakes of that variety in spelling surnames which distinguished the middle ages. "ROBERTUS GROSTHEAD, *seu* CAPITO *dictus*," says CAVE in his *Hist. Liter.* DR. PEGGE writes him GROSSETESTE, and others GROTEHEAD, &c.—EDIT. § BISHOP GODWIN in Catalogue of Lincoln bishops.

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parents, rather than the child, have caused a blush thereat. He got his surname from "the greatness of his head," having large stowage to receive, and store of brains to fill it; bred for a time in Oxford, then in France; a great and general scholar, (Bale reckoning up no fewer than two hundred books of his making,) and a great opposer of the pope's oppression, which now grew intolerable.

29, 30. *The Pope's Fume against this good Bishop quenched by a Spanish Cardinal.*

For it appeared by inquisition made the last year, that the ecclesiastical revenues of Italians in England—whereof many were boys, more blockheads, all aliens—amounted *per annum* unto threescore and ten thousand marks; whereas the king's income at the same time was hardly twenty thousand.* Bishop Grouthead, offended thereat, wrote pope Innocent IV. such a juniper letter, taxing him with extortion and other vicious practices, that his Holiness brake out into this expression: "What meaneth this doting old man, *surdus et absurdus*, thus boldly to control our actions? By Peter and Paul, did not our innate ingenuity restrain us, I would confound him, and make him a prodigy to the whole world. Is not the king of England our vassal, yea, our slave, to imprison and destroy what persons we please to appoint?"

The pope being in this pelt, Ægidius, a Spanish cardinal, thus interposed his gravity: "It is not expedient, my lord, to use any harshness to this bishop. We must confess the truths which he saith. He is a holy man, of a more religious life than any of us; yea, Christendom hath not his equal; a great philosopher, skilled in Latin and Greek, a constant reader in the Schools, preacher in the pulpit, lover of chastity, and loather of simony."

31. *Grouthead the People's, though not the Pope's, Saint.*

Thus the pope took wit in his anger, and Grouthead escaped for the present; though Bale reporteth, that he died excommunicate and deprived of his bishopric. Popish authors † confidently report a strange vision, or rather a passion of pope Innocent IV., whom Grouthead (appearing after his death) so beat with many blows (it seems he had a heavy hand as well as a great head!) that the pope died thereof soon after. No wonder, therefore, if his successors would not canonize this Robert, who notwithstanding was a saint, though not in the pope's, yet in the people's, calendar; many miracles being ascribed unto him, and particularly, that a sweet oil after his death issued out of his monument: ‡ which, if false in the literal,

* MATTHEW PARIS *in anno* 1552. † JOHN BURIE, MATTHEW PARIS, MATTHEW WESTMINSTER, MR. FABIAN. ‡ GODWIN in his Catalogue of Bishops.

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may be true in a mystical meaning,—Solomon observing, that "a good name is as ointment poured out."

32, 33. *Discontents begin in England; grounded on too much Occasion.*

England began now to surfeit of more than thirty years' peace and plenty, which produced no better effects than ingratitude to God and murmuring at their king. Many active spirits, whose minds were above their means, offended that others beneath them (as they thought) in merit were above them in employment, cavilled at many errors in the king's government, being State-Donatists, maintaining, the perfection of a commonwealth might and ought to be attained: a thing easy in the theory, impossible in the practice, to conform the actions of men's corrupted natures to the exact ideas in men's imaginations.

Indeed, they had too much matter whereon justly to ground their discontents; partly, because the king, distrusting his natives, employed so many French foreigners in places of power and profit; partly, because he had used such indirect courses to recruit his treasuries, especially by annihilating all patents granted in his minority, (though, indeed, he was never more in his full-age than when in his non-age, as guided then by the best counsel,) and forcing his subjects to take out new ones on what terms his officers pleased. In a word, an author* then living complaineth, that "justice was committed to men unjust, the laws to such who themselves were outlaws, and the keeping of the peace to injurious people delighting in discords."

34. *A Title, without Power, only left to the King.*

After many contests betwixt the king and his subjects, (which the reader may learn from the historians of the state,) four-and-twenty prime persons were chosen by parliament to have the supreme inspection of the land; which soon after, to make them the more cordial, passed a decoction, and were reduced to three; and they three in effect contracted to one, Simon Mountfort, earl of Leicester, the king's brother-in-law; the king himself standing by as a cipher, yet signifying as much as his ambitious subjects did desire. These, to make sure work, bound him with his solemn oath to submit himself to their new-modelled government.

35. *The Pope freely gives his Courtesies for Money.*

Here the pope, charitable to relieve all distressed princes, interposed his power, absolving the king from that oath, as unreasonable

* Roger Wendover.

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in itself, and forced upon him. His Holiness was well paid for this great favour; the king hereafter conniving at his horse-leeches (legates and nuncioes) sucking the blood of his subjects with intolerable taxations. Thus was it not altogether the flexibility of king Henry, but partly the flexion of his condition, (I mean, the altering of his occasions,) which made him sometimes withstand and otherwhiles comply with the pope's extortion. Thus always the pope's courtesies are very dear; and the storm itself is a better shelter than the bramble, fleecing such sheep as fly under the shade thereof.

36, 37. *Sad Case when the royal Root is no better than a Sucker. No Part of Church-Work.*

Mean time the king, having neither coin nor credit, having pawned his jewels, mortgaged all his land in France, and sold much of it in England, wanting wherewithal to subsist, lived on abbeys and priories, till his often-coming and long-staying there made what was welcome at the first quickly to become wearisome. Though a royal guest, with often coming his royalty made not his guestship the more accepted; but the notion of a guest rendered his royalty the less to be esteemed. Indeed, his visits of abbeys at first did wear the countenance of devotion, on which account this king was very eminent; but afterwards they appeared in their own likeness, the dimmest eye seeing them to proceed from pure necessity.

Soon after began the civil wars in England, with various success; sometimes the king, and sometimes the barons, getting the better: till at last an indifferent peace was concluded for their mutual good, as in the historians of the commonwealth doth plentifully appear.

38. *Bettered by Affliction.*

The latter part of the reign of king Henry was not only eminent in itself, but might be exemplary to others. He reformed first his own natural errors, then the disorders of his court,—the expense whereof he measured by the just rule of his proper revenue. The rigour and corruption of his judges he examined, and redressed by strict commission, filled the seats of judgment and council with men nobly-born, sate himself daily in council, and disposed affairs of most weight in his own person.

39. *Chartâ Magna first fully practised.*

And now the charta magna was very strictly observed, being made in the ninth year of this king's reign, but the practice thereof much interrupted and disturbed with civil wars. It is beheld by all judicious men, as like the *aurea Bulla*, or "golden Bull" of

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Germany, the life of English liberty, rescued by the blood and valour of our ancestors from tyrannical encroachment, giving the due bounds to prerogative and propriety, that neither should mutually intrench on the other's lawful privileges. And although some high royalists look on it as the product of subjects' animosities, improving themselves on their prince's extremities;* yet most certain it is, those kings flourished the most, both at home and abroad, who tied themselves most conscientiously to the observation thereof.

40, 41. *Balliol College built, by a banished Prince: Great Revenues for that Age.* *A.D.* 1262.

Two colleges in Oxford were founded in the reign of this king: One, Balliol College, by John Balliol (and Dervorguill † his lady) of Barnard's Castle in the bishopric of Durham, banished into England, and father of Balliol king of Scotland. Wonder not that an exile should build a college, charity being oftentimes most active in the afflicted, willingly giving to others a little of that little they have: witness the Macedonians, "whose deep poverty abounded to the riches of their liberality," 2 Cor. viii. 2.

True it is, the ancient revenues of this college were not great, allowing but eight-pence a-week‡ for every scholar therein of his foundation, whereas Merton College had twelve-pence: and yet, as one casteth up,§ their ancient revenues amounted unto ninety-nine pounds seventeen shillings and ten-pence; which, in that age, I will assure you, was a considerable sum, enough to make us suspect, that at this day they enjoy not all the original lands of their foundation.

42. *Endowed with more Land than now it possesseth.*

Indeed, I am informed that the aforesaid king Balliol bestowed a large proportion of land in Scotland on this his father's foundation; the Master and Fellows whereof petitioned king James, (when the Marches of two kingdoms were newly made the middle of one monarchy,) for the restitution of those lands detained from them in the civil wars betwixt the two crowns. The king, though an affectionate lover of learning, would not have his bounty injurious to any, save sometimes to himself; and considering those lands they desired were long peaceably possessed with divers owners, gave them notice to surcease their suit. Thus not king James, but the infeasibility of the thing they petitioned for to be done with justice, gave the denial to their petition.

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 426.—EDIT. † She is called Deverguld by RAPIN, Devorguilla by LE NEVE.—EDIT. ‡ ROGER WALDEN in his "History." § BRIAN TWYNE, *Antiq. Acad. Ox. in Appendice.*

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43. *The Author's Request to the Learned in Oxford.*

Being to present the reader with the catalogues of this and other worthy foundations in Oxford, I am sorry that I can only build bare walls, (erect empty columns,) and not fill them with any furniture; which the ingenuous reader, I trust, will pardon, when he considers: First. That I am no Oxford-man. Secondly. That Oxford is not that Oxford wherewith, ten years since, I was acquainted. Wherefore I humbly request the antiquaries of their respective foundations, best skilled in their own worthy natives, to insert their own observations; which if they would return unto me against the next edition of this work, if I live, and it be thought worthy thereof, God shall have the glory, they the public thanks, and the world the benefit of their contribution to my endeavours.

44—47. *Four necessary Things premised: Whence the Masters are collected; whence the Bishops; whence the Benefactors; whence the learned Writers.*

The catalogue of Masters we have taken, with an implicit faith, out of Mr. Brian Twyne, who may be presumed knowing in that subject, until the year 1608, where his work doth determine; since which time we have supplied them as well as we may, though too often at a loss for the Christian names. If Mr. Twyne's Register be imperfect, yet he writes right who writes wrong, if following his copy.

The list of Bishops hath been collected out of Francis Godwin, bishop of Hereford, whose judicious pains are so beneficial to the English church. Yet *Godwinus non vidit omnia*; and many, no doubt, have been omitted by him.

As for the roll of Benefactors, I, who hope to have made the other catalogues true, hope I have made this not true,—upon desire and confidence that they have more than I have or can reckon up, though following herein J. Scot's printed tables, and the last edition of John Speed's Chronicle.

The column of Learned Writers I have endeavoured to extract out of Bale and Pitts; whereof the latter, being a member of this university, was no less diligent than able to advance the houour thereof.

48, 49, *No wilful Wrong done: add and mend.*

Let none suspect that I will enrich my mother, by robbing my aunt. For besides that Cambridge is so conscientious she will not be accessary to my felony by receiving stolen goods;

Troe, Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine habetur.

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" A Trojan whether he
Or a Tyrian be,
All is the same to me."

It matters not whether of Cambridge or Oxford, so God hath the glory, the church and state the benefit, of their learned endeavours.

However, I am sensible of many defects, and know that they may be supplied by the endeavours of others. Every man knows his own land better than either Ortelius or Mercator, though making the maps of the whole world. And the members of respective colleges must be more accurate in the particularities of their own foundations, than the exactest historian who shall write a general description thereof.

BALLIOL COLLEGE.

MASTERS.—John Foderinghay, Robert Thwaites, John Abdy, John Wickleffe, Robert Burleigh, Richard Berningham, William Whyte, George Cootes, William Wryght, Francis Babington, Richard Stubbs, James Gloucester, Anthony Garnet, Robert Hooper, James Brookes,* John Piers, Adam Squire, Edmund Lilly, Robert Abbot, John Parkhurst, Thomas Laurence, Henry Savage.†

BISHOPS.—Roger Whelpdale, Fellow, bishop of Carlisle; George Nevil, chancellor of the university at twenty years of age, afterwards archbishop of York and chancellor of England; William Grey, bishop of Ely; John Bell, bishop of Worcester; John Piers, archbishop of York; Robert Abbot, bishop of Salisbury; George Abbot, Fellow, archbishop of Canterbury.

BENEFACTORS.—Philip Somervile, and Margaret his wife; Ella de Long-Spee, countess of Salisbury; Rich. d' Humsnigore; L. Will. Fenton; Hugh de Vienna, knight; John Bell, bishop of Worcester; William Hammond, of Gilford, Esq.; Peter Blundill, of Tiverton; L. Eliz. Periam, of the county of Bucks; Thomas Tisdale, of Glymton, Com. Oxon., Esq.; Mary Dunch; John Brown.

LEARNED WRITERS.—John Duns Scotus, first of this, then of Merton, College; Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, commonly called " the good; " William Walton, Fellow, chancellor of the

* The fifteenth Master is here said to be James Brookes, while the twelfth is styled James Gloucester; both these names belong to one man: James Brookes became Master of Balliol in 1547, and was created bishop of Gloucester in 1554. The reader will perceive, from this specimen, the utter hopelessness of correcting these lists, especially when he is further told, that though only twenty-two Masters appear in this list, the actual number was thirty-nine, not including the two appointed on the Foundation in 1282. See LE NEVE'S *Fasti*.—EDIT. † Much discrepancy exists between this list, and the more accurate one of LE NEVE. The same observation applies to the subsequent lists in other colleges, Fuller having acted as pioneer in this toilsome warfare.—EDIT.

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university; Thomas Gascoign, Fellow, chancellor of the university; John Tiptoft,* earl of Worcester; Robert Abbot.

That John Wickliffe, here mentioned, may be the great Wickliffe, though others justly suspect him not the same, because too ancient, if this catalogue be complete, to be the fourth Master of this house, except they were incredibly vivacious.† Nothing else have I to observe of this foundation, save that at this day therein are maintained one Master, twelve Fellows, thirteen Scholars, four Exhibitioners; who, with Servants, Commoners, and other Students, lately made up one hundred thirty and six.

50. *A Pair of learned Judges.*

Nor must we forget, that, beside others, two eminent judges of our land were both contemporaries and students in this foundation; the lord chief baron Davenport, and the lord Thomas Coventry, lord chancellor of England, whose father, also a judge, was a student herein. So that two great oracles, both of law and equity, had here their education.

51. *University College founded.*

The other was University College: whereof I find different dates, and the founding thereof ascribed to several persons.

(1.) FOUNDER.—King Alfred: TIME.—*Anno* 882: AUTHOR.—Universal tradition.

(2.) William de St. Carilefo, bishop of Durham: 1081, the 12th of king William the Conqueror: STOW, in his "Chronicle," p. 1061; to whom Pits consenteth.

(3.) William, bishop of Durham, though none at this time of the name:‡ 1217, in the 1st of Henry III.: JOHN SPEED, in his "History," p. 817.

(4.) William, archdeacon of Durham, whom others confidently call Walter: time uncertain: CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Oxfordshire.

I dare interpose nothing in such great differences, only observe that Master Camden (no less skilful a herald in ordering the antiquity of houses, than marshalling the precedency of men) makes University the third in order after Merton College: which makes me believe the founding thereof not so ancient as here it is inserted.

* See more of him in our Dedication to the Second Book, p. 75. † According to LE NEVE'S accurate enumeration, "John de Wicklyffe, A. M., late of Merton College, obtained this Mastership about the beginning of the year 1361;" consequently, a few years prior to the publication of his opinions respecting the errors of the church of Rome. —EDIT. ‡ LE NEVE says, William Scott, archdeacon of Worcester, was elected in 1226; "but the king denied his assent, October the 20th" in the same year.—EDIT.

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MASTERS.—(1.) Roger Caldwell; (2.) Richard Witton; (3.) M. Rokleborough; (4.) Ranulph Hamsterly; (5.) Leonard Hutchinson; (6.) John Craffurth; (7.) Richard Salvaine; (8.) George Ellison; (9.) Anthony Salvaine; (10.) James Dugdale; (11.) Thomas Key; (12.) William James; (13.) Anthony Gate; (14.) George Abbot; (15.) John Bancroft; (16.) Thomas Walker; (17.) Joshua Hoyle; (18.) Francis Johnson.

BISHOPS.—St. Edmond, archbishop of Canterbury; George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury; John Bancroft, bishop of Oxford.

BENEFACTORS.—Walter Shirlow, archdeacon of Durham, three fellowships; Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, three fellowships; R. Dudley, earl of Leicester, two exhibitions, each twenty pounds *per annum*; John Friestone, two exhibitions, twenty pounds in all *per annum*; — Gunsley, two exhibitions; Mistress Payn, one exhibition, eight pounds; Mr. Aston; sir Simon Bennet, who hath bequeathed good lands, (after the decease of his lady,) to increase the Fellows and Scholars; Mr. Charles Greenwood, some time Fellow of this college, and Proctor to the university, gave a thousand pounds to the building thereof.

LEARNED WRITERS.— Some charitable and able antiquary fill up this vacuity.

So that at this present are maintained therein one Master, eight Fellows, one Bible-Clerk; who, with Servants, Commoners, and other Students, amount to the number of threescore and nine.

52. *Jews damnable Extortioners.*

Sure it is, at this time Oxford flourished with multitude of Students; king Henry conferring large favours upon them, and this amongst the rest,—that no Jews * living at Oxford should receive of scholars above two-pence a-week interest for the loan of twenty shillings; that is, eight shillings eight pence for the interest of a pound in the year. Hereby we may guess how miserably poor people in other places were oppressed by the Jews, where no restraint did limit their usury; so that the interest amounted to the half of the principal.

53. *A second Privilege.*

Secondly. Whereas it was complained of, that justice was obstructed, and malefactors protected, by the citizens of Oxford, who, being partial to their own corporation, connived at offenders who had done mischiefs to the scholars; the king ordered, that

* Claus. 22 of Hen. III. memb. 9, *in dorso*.

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hereafter not only the citizens of Oxford, but also any officers in the vicinage, should be employed in the apprehending of such who offered any wrong to the Students in the university.

54. *The third Privilege.*

Lastly. He enjoined the bailiffs of Oxford solemnly to acquaint the chancellor thereof of those times when bread and other victuals were weighed and priced. But in case the chancellor had timely notice thereof, and refused to be present thereat, then the bailiffs, notwithstanding his absence, might proceed in the foresaid matters of weight and measure.

55. *The Submission of the Dean and Chapter of St. Asaph.*

We will conclude this section with this civil and humble submission of the dean and chapter of St. Asaph, sent to the king in the vacancy (as it seems) of their bishopric; though dislocated, and some years set back in the date thereof.

De Recognitione Decani et Capit. de Sancto Asapho.

Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Decanus et Capitulum de Sancto Asapho salutem in Domino. Consuetudini antique et dignitati quas dominus Henricus illustris Rex Angl. et progenitores sui habuerunt in ecclesiâ Anglicanâ, de petendâ licentiâ eligendi vacantibus episcopatuum sedibus, et de requirendo assensu regio post factam electionem, obviare nolentes; protestamur et recognoscimus, nos, quotiens ecclesia nostra pastore vacaverit, ab illustri domino Rege Angl. et heredibus suis debere reverenter petere licentiam eligendi, et post electionem factam assensum eorum requirere. Et ne super hoc futuris temporibus dubitetur, presenti scripto sigilla nostra fecimus apponi. Dat. apud Sanctum Asaph. Anno Domini MCCXLIX. *in crastino Exaltationis Sancte Crucis.*—PAT. 33, H. III. M. 3.

The substance is this:—That the dean and chapter promise to depend wholly on the king's pleasure in the choice of the next elect. So that now cathedrals began to learn good manners. Notwithstanding, the pope usually obtruded whom he pleased upon them. Say not, that St. Asaph's was an inconsiderable cathedral, being at great distance and of small revenue, which might make them more officious to comply with the king; seeing the poorest oft-times prove the proudest, and peevishest to their superiors. But although this qualm of loyalty took this church for the present, we must confess, that generally chapters ask the king's leave, as widows do their fathers to marry,—as a compliment not requisite thereunto: as conceiving it civility to ask, but no necessity to have, his approbation.

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56, 57. *Edmond, Archbishop of Canterbury, sainted after his Death.*

Two eminent archbishops of Canterbury successively filled that see, during the most part of this king's reign. First. Edmond, treasurer of Salisbury, born, say some, in London, and christened in the same font with Thomas Becket. My author * makes him educated in University College in Oxford, a great scholar, and lover of learned men, refusing to consecrate Richard Wendover, bishop of Rochester, because of his want of sufficiency for such a function. Hereupon he incurred the displeasure of Otho the pope's legate, siding with Wendover, requiring no other qualification save money to make a bishop; and was enforced to undertake a dangerous and expensive journey to Rome, to his great damage and greater disgrace, being cast in his cause, after the spending of a thousand marks therein.

He took the boldness to tell the pope of his extortion; though little thereby was amended. After his return he fell into the king's displeasure; so that, overpowered with his adversaries, and circumvented with their malice, weary of his native country, the miseries whereof he much bemoaned, he went into voluntary banishment. He died and was buried in France; and, six years after, (which, I assure you, was very soon, and contrary to the modern custom,) was sainted by pope Innocent IV.; whose body Lewis IV., king of France, solemnly removed, and sumptuously enshrined.

58. *Boniface, a worthless Archbishop.*

The other, Boniface by name, was only eminent on the account of his high extraction, as uncle to the queen, and son of Peter earl of Savoy; a horrible scraper of money, generally hated; insomuch that he went his Visitation, having a corslet on under his episcopal habit, which, it seems, was no more than needs, the Londoners being so exasperated against him, that they threatened his death, had not he secured himself by flight. Only he is memorable to posterity for paying two and twenty thousand marks' debt of his see, which his predecessors had contracted, for building a fair hall at Canterbury, and a stately hospital at Maidstone, which, it seems, was indicted and found guilty of, and executed for, superstition at the Dissolution of abbeys, when it was valued at above a hundred and fifty pounds of yearly revenue, being aliened now to other uses.

* GODWIN in "Catalogue of Bishops," p. 130.

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SECTION VI.

TO WILLIAM ROBINSON, OF THE INWARD-TEMPLE, ESQUIRE.

SIR EDWARD COKE was wont to say, that he never knew a divine meddle with a matter of law, but that therein he committed some great error, and discovered gross ignorance. I presume you lawyers are better divines than we divines are lawyers; because, indeed, greater your concernment in your precious souls, than ours in our poor estates. Having, therefore, just cause to suspect my own judgment in this section, wherein so much of law, I submit all to your judgment, to add, alter, expunge at pleasure; that if my weak endeavours shall appear worthy of a second impression, they may come forth corrected with your emendations.

1. *The Vivacity of King Henry III., and the Variety of his Life.* 56 Henry III. *A.D.* 1272.

QUIET king Henry III., our English Nestor, (not for depth of brains, but length of life,) as who reigned fifty-six years, in which term he buried all his contemporary princes in Christendom twice over. All the months in a year may in a manner be carved out of an April day; hot, cold, dry, moist, fair, foul weather, being oft presented therein. Such the character of this king's life, certain only in uncertainty: sorrowful, successful; in plenty, in penury; in wealth, in want; conquered, conqueror.

2. *The Serenity of his Death, and Solemnity of his Burial.*

Yet the sun of his life did not set in a cloud, but went down in full lustre; a good token that the next day would be fair, and his successor prove fortunate. He died at St. Edmundsbury; and, though a merciful prince, ended his days in a necessary act of justice,—severely punishing some citizens of Norwich for burning and pillaging the priory therein. His corpse was buried at Westminster church (founded and almost finished by him) with great solemnity, though prince Edward his son, as beyond the seas, was not present thereat.

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3. *The Advantages of absent Prince Edward.* 1 Edward I.

There cannot be a greater temptation to ambition to usurp a crown, than when it findeth a vacancy on the throne, and the true heir thereof absent at a great distance. Such an advantage at this instant had the adversaries of prince Edward (not as yet returned from Palestine) to put in, if so minded, for the kingdom of England. And strange it was, that no arrears of the former rebellion were left, but all the reckonings thereof so fully discharged, that no cor-rival did appear for the crown. But a general concurrence of many things befriended prince Edward herein:—(1.) His father on his death-bed secured his son's succession, as much as might be, by swearing the principal peers unto him in his absence. (2.) The most active and dangerous military men the prince had politicly carried away with him into Palestine. (3.) Prince Edward's fame (present here in the absence of his person) preserved the crown for him, as due to him no less by desert than descent. The premisses, meeting with the love and loyalty of many English hearts, paved the way to prince Edward's peaceable entrance without any opposition.

4. *His Achievements against the Turks.*

King Edward was a most worthy prince, coming-off with honour in all his achievements against Turk, and pope, and Jews, and Scots, and against whomsoever he encountered. For the Turks; he had lately made a voyage against them, which, being largely related in our Holy War, we intend not here to repeat. Only I will add, that this foreign expedition was politicly undertaken, to rid the land of many martialists, wherewith the late barons' wars had made it to abound. These spirits thus raised, though they could not presently be conjured down, were safely removed into another room. The fiercest mastiff-dogs never fight one with another, whilst they have either bull or bear before them to bait; the common foe employing that fury which otherwise would be active against those of their own kind. This diversion of the English soldiery gave a vent to their animosities, which otherwise would have been mutually mis-spent amongst themselves.

5. *The Pope's present Power in England.*

Great at this present was the pope's power in England, improving himself on the late tumultuous times, and the easiness of king Henry's nature; insomuch that within these last seven years *ex plenitudine* (or rather *ex abundantiâ et superfluitate) potestatis*, he had put in two archbishops of Canterbury, Robert Kilwarby, and John Peckham, against the minds of the monks,

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who had legally chosen others. Probably the third time would have created a right to the pope; and his Holiness hereafter [would] prescribe it as his just due, had not king Edward seasonably prevented his encroachment, by moderating his power in England, as hereafter shall appear. Mean time we are called away on a welcome occasion, to behold a grateful object; namely, the foundation of one of the first and fairest colleges in Christendom.

6. *Merton College in Oxford founded. A. D.* 1274.

For in this year Walter de Merton, bishop of Rochester and chancellor of England, finished the college of his own name in Oxford. This Walter was born at Merton in Surrey; and at Maldon in that county had built a college, which on second thoughts (by God's counsel, no doubt) he removed to Oxford, as it seems, for the more security; now, if the barons' wars, then (some fifteen years since) in height and heat, were, as it is probable, any motive of this translation, it was one of the best effects which ever so bad a cause produced. For, otherwise, if not removed to Oxford, certainly this college had been swept away, as "rubbish of superstition," at the Dissolution of abbeys.

7. *A Manor in Cambridge given thereunto.*

Amongst the many manors which the first founder* bestowed on this college, one lay in the parish of St. Peter's and west suburb of Cambridge, beyond the bridge, anciently called Pythagoras-House, since Merton-Hall. To this belongeth much good land thereabout, as also the mills at Grantchester mentioned in Chaucer; those of Merton-College keeping yearly a Court-Baron here. Afterwards king Henry VI. took away (for what default I find not) this manor from them, and bestowed it upon his own foundation of King's-College† in Cambridge. But his successor, Edward IV., restored it to Merton-College again. It seemeth equally admirable to me, that holy king Henry VI. should do any wrong, or harsh Edward IV. do any right, to the Muses; which maketh me to suspect that there is more in the matter than what is generally known, or doth publicly appear.

8. *Merton's Monument renewed.*

Sir Henry Saville, the most learned Warden of this college, three hundred and more years after Merton's death, plucked down his old tomb in Rochester church, near the north wall, almost over against the bishop's chair, and built a neat new monument of touch and

* BRIAN TWYNE, *Ant. Acad. Ox.* p. 319. † CAIUS, *Hist. Cant. Acad.* p. 68.

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alabaster, whereon, after a large inscription in prose, this epitaph was engraven :—

Magne senex titulis, Musarum sede sacratâ
Major, Mertonidum maxime progenie,
Hæc tibi gratantes post sæcula sera nepotes,
En, votiva locant marmora, sancte parens.

And, indeed, malice itself cannot deny, that this college, or little university rather, doth equal, if not exceed, any one foundation in Christendom, for the famous men bred therein, as by the following catalogue will appear :—

WARDENS.—(1.) Peter Abyngdon ; (2.) Richard Warblisdon ; (3.) John de la More ; (4.) John de Wantinge ; (5.) Robert de Trenge ; (6.) Guliel. de Durant ; (7.) John de Bloxham ; (8.) John de Wendover ; (9.) Edmund de Beckingham ; (10.) Thomas de Rudburne ; (11.) Robert Gylbert ; (12.) Henry de Abingdon ; (13.) Elias de Halcot ; (14.) Henry Sever ; (15.) John Gygur ; (16.) Richard Fitz-James ; (17.) Thomas Harper ; (18.) Richard Rawlings ; (19.) Rowland Philips ; (20.) John Chamber ; (21.) Henry Tindal ; (22.) Thomas Raynolds ; (23.) Jacobus Gervase ; (24.) John Manne ; (25.) Thomas Bickley ; (26.) Henry Saville ; (27.) Sir Nathanael Brent ; (28.) Dr. Jonathan Goddard.

BISHOPS.—Robert Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury, *anno* 1294 ; Simon Mepham, archbishop of Canterbury, *anno* 1327 ; Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, *anno* 1349 ; John Kemp, archbishop of Canterbury, *anno* 1462 ; Ralph Baldock, bishop of London, *anno* 1305 ; Henry Gower, bishop of St. David's, *anno* 1328 ; William Reade, bishop of Chichester, *anno* 1369 ; Robert Gilbert, bishop of London, *anno* 1435 ; Thomas Rodeburn, bishop of St. David's, *anno* 1440 ; John Chedworth,* bishop of Lincoln, *anno* 1452 ; John Marshall, bishop of Landaff, *anno* 1478 ; Richard Fitz-James, bishop of London, *anno* 1500 ; William Siveyer, bishop of Durham, *anno* 1502 ; Richard Rawlins, bishop of St. David's, *anno* 1523 ; John Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, *anno* 1560 ; Thomas Bickley, bishop of Chichester, *anno* 1585 ; George Carleton, bishop of Chichester, *anno* 1626.

BENEFACTORS.—John Willet, (bred in this college,) D.D., and chancellor of Oxford, founded the Portionists'† Hall and exhibitions ; William. Read, an excellent mathematician, built the library ; Thomas Rudburne, Warden, built the tower over the gate ; Richard Fitz-James, Warden, built the Warden's lodgings ; Henry Abingdon, Warden, gave bells to the church ; Richard Rawlins wainscoted the inside, and covered the roof thereof with lead ; Thomas Leach ; sir Thomas Bodley ; Dr. Wilson ; Mr.

* He was provost also of King's-College in Cambridge. † The same with postmasters.

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John Chambers, some time Fellow of Eaton; Dr. Jervice; Dr. Jessop; sir Henry Saville.

LEARNED WRITERS—(1.) Roger Bacon, a famous mathematician; (2.) John Duns Scotus; (3.) Walter Burley; (4.) William Ocham; (5.) Thomas Bradwardine, archbishop of Canterbury; (6.) John Gatisden; (7.) — Dumbleton; (8.) Nicholas Gorrham; (9.) William Grysant, father to Grimoald Grysant, pope by the name of Urban V.; (10.) Roger Switzet; (11.) John Wiclif; Henry Cuffe, an able scholar, but unfortunate; sir Thomas Bodley, who built Oxford library; sir Henry Saville; sir Isaac Wake, university orator, and ambassador to Venice; Henry Mason, who worthily wrote *De Ministerio Anglicano;* John Greaves, an excellent mathematician; Dr. Peter Turner, active in composing the new statutes of the university.

The Living passed over in Silence.

I purposely omit such as still (and may they long!) survive; whereof some—as, Dr. Edward Reynolds, Dr. John Earles, Dr. Francis Cheynel, Mr. Doughty, Mr. Francis Rouse, &c.—have already given the world a testimony of their great learning and endowments. Others may, in due time, as Dr. Higgs, late Dean of Lichfield, Dr. Corbet, &c. And surely Mr. John Hales, formerly Greek Professor, will not envy Christian mankind his treasury of learning; nor can conceive, that only a sermon (owned under his name) can satisfy the just expectation from him of the church and commonwealth.

The Original of Postmasters.

There is a by-foundation of postmasters in this House, a kind of college in the college; and this tradition goeth of their original:—Anciently there was over against Merton-College a small un-endowed Hall, whose scholars had so run in arrears, that their opposite neighbours, out of charity, took them into their college, (then but nine in number,) to wait on the Fellows. But, since, they are freed from any attendance, and endowed with plentiful maintenance; Mr. Willet being the first benefactor unto them in that nature, whose good example hath provoked many to follow his liberality. These most justly conceive themselves much honoured, in that bishop Jewel was a postmaster before removed hence to be Fellow of Corpus Christi College. We take our farewell of this House, when we have told, it consisted lately (namely, 1635) of one Warden, twenty-one Fellows, fourteen Scholars,* beside Officers and Servants, of the foundation, with other Students; the whole number being eighty.

* The same, I conceive, with the postmasters.

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9. *The Church ready to eat up the Commonwealth.*

Come we now to the king's retrenching the pope's power, grown so exorbitant in England: a principal part whereof consisted in the multitude of monasteries, daily increasing in wealth, and all at the pope's absolute devotion. If posterity had continued at this rate to build and endow religious houses, all England would, in short time, have turned one entire and continued monastery, and the inhabitants thereof become either friars or founders. Where, then, should be any soldiers to fight the king's battles? seamen to steer his ships? husbandmen to plough the king's land? or rather any land of his to be ploughed by husbandmen?

10. *The Mischief of Mortmain to the Crown.*

Besides, though these friars had a living hand, to take and receive from any; they had mortmain, "a dead hand," to restore and return any profit to the king again. Yea, such alienation of lands in mortmain, settled on monasteries, (which, as corporations, neither married nor died,) afforded neither wards, marriages, reliefs, nor knights'-service, for the defence of the realm; in a word, enriched their private coffers, impoverished the public exchequer. It was not, therefore, such a dead hand which could feed so many living mouths as the king for his state and safety must maintain. Wherefore, for the future, he restrained such unlimited donatives to religious houses.

11. *This Law not new, but renewed.*

Ignorance makes many men mistake mere transcripts for originals. So here, the short-sighted vulgar sort beheld the king's act herein as new, strange, and unprecedented; whereas, indeed, former times and foreign princes had done the like on the same occasion. First. We find some countenance for it in scripture, when Moses by proclamation bounded the overflowing bounty of the people to the tabernacle, Exod. xxxvi. 6. And in the primitive times, Theodosius the emperor, although most loving and favourable to the clergy, made a law of a mortisation or mortmain, to moderate people's bounty to the church. Yet a great Father, Jerome by name, much disliked this act, as appears by his complaint to Nepotian of that law: "I am ashamed to say it, the priests of idols, stage-players, coachmen, and common harlots, are made capable of inheritance, and receive legacies; only ministers of the gospel and monks are barred by law thus to do; and that not by persecutors, but by Christian princes." But that passionate Father comes off well at last: "Neither do I complain of the law, but I am sorry we have deserved to have such a law made against us."

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12. *Ambrose angry with Mortmain.*

St. Ambrose, likewise, in his thirty-first epistle, expresseth much anger on the same occasion, out of his general zeal for the church's good. But, had the aforesaid Fathers (men rather pious than politic; good churchmen, no statesmen) seen the monasteries swollen in revenues from an inch in their days to an ell (by people's fondness, yea, dotage, on the four sorts of friars) in king Edward's reign, they would, no doubt, instead of reproving, have commended his and the neighbouring kings' care for their commonwealths.

13. *The Statute of Mortmain. A.D.* 1279.

For, the like laws for limiting men's liberality were lately made in Spain and France, and now at last followed by king Edward, according to the tenor ensuing:—

"Whereas of late it was provided, that religious men should not enter into the fees of any without licence and will of the chief lords of whom such fees be holden immediately: and, notwithstanding, such religious men have entered as well into their own fees, as into the fees of other men, appropriating and buying them, and sometime receiving them of the gift of others, whereby the services that are due of such fees, and which at the beginning were provided for defence of the realm, are wrongfully withdrawn, and the chief lords do leese their escheats of the same; we therefore, to the profit of our realm, intending to provide convenient remedy, by the advice of our prelates, earls, barons, and other our subjects, being of our council, have provided, made, and ordained,—That no person, religious or other, whatsoever he be, that will buy or sell any lands or tenements, or under the colour of gift or lease, or that will receive by reason of any other title, whatsoever it be, lands or tenements, or by any other craft or engine will presume to appropriate to himself, under pain of forfeiture of the same, whereby such lands or tenements may any wise come into mortmaine. We have provided also,—That if any person, religious or other, do presume, either by craft or engine, to offend against this statute; it shall be lawful to us and other chief lords of the fee, immediately to enter in the land so aliened, within a year from the time of their alienation, and to hold it in fee, and as inheritance. And, if the chief lord immediately be negligent, and will not enter into such fee within the year, then it shall be lawful to the next chief lord immediate of the same fee, to enter into the said land within half a year next following, and to hold it as before is said; and so every lord immediate may enter into such land, if the next lord be negligent in entering into the same fee, as is afore said. And, if all the chief lords of such fees, being of full age, within the four seas, and out of prison,

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be negligent or slack in this behalf, we immediately after the year accomplished, from the time that such purchases, gifts, or appropriations hap to be made, shall take such tenements into our hand, and shall enfeoffe others therein, by certain services to be done to us, for the defence of our realm, saving to the chief lords of the same fees their wards and escheats, and other services thereunto due and accustomed. And therefore we command you, that ye cause the foresaid statute to be read before you, and from henceforth to be kept firmly and observed.

"Witness myself at Westminster," &c.

Date we from this day, the acme or vertical height of abbeys, which henceforward began to stand still, and, at last, to decline. Formerly it was, "Endow monasteries who would:" hereafter, "who could," having first obtained licence from the king. Yet this law did not ruin but regulate, not destroy but direct, well-grounded liberality, that bounty to some might not be injury to others. Here I leave it to lawyers by profession, to show how, many years after, (namely, the eighteenth of Edward III.,) prelates impeached before the king's justices for purchasing land in mortmain, shall be dismissed without further trouble, upon their producing a charter of licence, and process thereupon made, by an inquest, *ad quod damnum*, or, in case that cannot be showed, by making a convenient fine for the same.

14. *Who the active Prelates of this Age.* *A.D.* 1283.

The late mention of the prelates' advice, in passing a law so maleficial unto them, giveth me just occasion to name some, the principal persons of the clergy, present thereat; namely, (1.) John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, a stout man. He afterwards excommunicated the prince of Wales, because he went a long journey to persuade him to peace with England, but could not prevail. (2.) William Wickwane, archbishop of York, accounted a great scholar, author of a book called *Memoriale*, and esteemed a petty saint in that age. (3.) Anthony Beake, soon after bishop of Durham; the richest and proudest (always good manners to except cardinal Wolsey) of that place; patriarch titular of Jerusalem, and prince of the Isle of Man. Yet, in my mind, Gilbert Sellinger, [De Sancto Leofardo,] his contemporary, and bishop of Chichester, had a far better title, as commonly called "the father of orphans, and comforter of the widows." These, with many more bishops, consented (though some of them *resorbentes suam bilem*, as inwardly angry) to the passing or confirming of the statute of mortmain. To make them some amends, the king not long after favourably stated what causes should be of spiritual cognizance.

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15. *The spiritual and temporal Courts bounded by Parliament. A.D.* 1285.

For a parliament was called at Westminster, eminent on this account,—that it laid down the limits, and fixed the boundaries, betwixt the spiritual and temporal jurisdictions: "Hitherto shall ye come and no farther;" though, before and since, both powers have endeavoured to enlarge their own and contract their rival's authority. We will present first the Latin out of the records, and then the English out of our printed statutes, and make some necessary observations on both.

Rex talibus judicibus salutem.—Circumspectè agatis de negotiis tangentibus episcopum Norwicensem, et ejus clerum, non puniend. eos si placitum tenuerint in curiâ Christianitatis de his quæ merè sunt spiritualia, viz. de correctionibus quas prelati faciunt pro mortali peccato, viz. pro fornicatione, adulterio et hujusmodi, pro quibus aliquando infligitur pœna corporalis, aliquando pecuniaria, maximè si convictus fuerit de hujusmodi liber homo.

Item: Si prælatus puniat pro cemeterio non clauso, ecclesiâ discoopertâ, vel non decenter ornatâ, in quibus casibus alia pœna non potest infligi quàm pecuniaria.

Item: Si rector petat versus parochianos oblationes, et decimas debitas vel consuetas, vel si rector agat contra rectorem de decimis majoribus, vel minoribus, dummodò non petatur quarta pars valoris ecclesiæ.

Item: Si rector petat mortuarium in partibus ubi mortuarium dari consuevit.

Item: Si prælatus alicujus ecclesiæ, vel advocatus, petat a rectore pensionem si debitam, omnes hujusmodi petitiones sunt faciend. in foro ecclesiastico. De violentâ manuum injectione in clericum, et in causâ diffamationis, concessum fuit aliàs, quod placitum inde teneatur in curiâ Christianitatis, cum non petatur pecunia, sed agatur ad correctionem peccati, et similiter pro fidei lœsione. In omnibus prædictis casibus habet judex ecclesiasticus cognoscere, regiâ prohibitione non obstante.

"The king to his judges sendeth greeting.—Use yourself circumspectly in al matters concerning the bishop of Norwich, and his clergie, not punishing them, if they hold plea in court Christian, of such things as be meerly spiritual, that is to wit, of penance enjoyned for deadly sin, as fornication, adultery, and such like; for the which, many times, corporal penance or pecuniary is enjoyned, specially if a free man be convict of such things.

"Also if prelates do punish for leaving church-yards unclosed, or for that the church is uncovered, or not conveniently decked; in which cases none other penance can be enjoyned but pecuniary.

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"Item: If a parson demand of his parishioners oblations and tythes due and accustomed, or if any person plead against another for tythes, more or less, so that the fourth part of the value of the benefice be not demanded.

"Item: If a parson demand mortuaries in places where a mortuarie hath used to have been given.

"Item: If a prelate of a church or if a patron demand a pension due to themselves, all such demands are to be made in a spiritual court. And for laying violent hands on a priest, and in cause of defamation, it hath been granted already, that it shall be tried in a spiritual court, when money is not demanded, but a thing done for punishment of sin, and likewise for breaking an oath. In all cases afore rehearsed, the spiritual judg shall have power to take knowledg notwithstanding the king's prohibition."

Something must be premised about the validity of this writing, learned men much differing therein. Some make it, (1.) Only a constitution made by the prelates themselves; much to blame, if they cut not large pieces, being their own carvers: (2.) A mere writ issued out from the king to his judges: (3.) A solemn Act of Parliament, complete in all the requisites thereof. Hear what a Bacon* (but neither sir Nicholas nor sir Francis, the two oracles of law) writes in this case: "A writing something like a grant of liberties, which beforetimes were in controversy; and this grant, if it may be so called, hath by continuance usurped the name of 'a statute,' but, in its own nature is no other than a writ directed to the judges." Presently after he saith, "It is therefore no grant, nor release, but, as it were, a covenant that the clergy should hold peaceable possession of what they had, upon this ground." And in the next page more plainly: "For my part, therefore, I shall not apprehend it of a higher nature than the king's writ, which in those days *went forth at random*."

16. *Judge Coke's Decision.*

Come we now to the calm judgment of sir Edward Coke, on whose decision we may safely rely: "Though some have said that this was no statute, but made by the prelates themselves; yet that this is an Act of Parliament, it is proved, not only by our books, but also by an Act of Parliament."†

17—30. *Some necessary Observations.*

The king to his judges—Were it of concernment, it were not difficult to name the prime judges of England at this time:

* Mr. Nath. Bacon in his "Historical Discourse of the Government of England," lib. 1. p. 233. † Second Part of his "Institutes," p. 487.

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namely, (1.) In the King's or Upper Bench, either Ralph de Hengham, or, which is more probable, one Wymborne, was judge. (2.) In the Common Pleas, Thomas de Weyland, on that token—that he was guilty of bribery. (3.) In the Exchequer, Adam de Stratton, as faulty as the former. But by the judges named in this writ, (for, as this was an Act of Parliament, so was there a writ also founded thereon, called, *circumspectè agatis,)* we understand some peculiar commissioners dispatched and employed on this particular business.

Concerning the bishop of Norwich—It is needless to tell the reader, that William Middleton was bishop thereof at this time, charactered to be, *vir in jure civili et canonico peritissimus et elegantissimus.** But Norwich is here put only for example, which equally extended to all the bishops of the realm.

Si placitum tenuerint, "if they hold plea"—*Placitum*, "a plea;" so called, saith my author,† *per antiphrasin, quia non placet*, none being pleased to go to law save barrators,‡ who delight in brangling. But what, if it be called *placitum*, because the plaintiff *is pleased* to submit his right in question to *the pleasure* of the court to decide it?

In court Christian—These words are left out in Linwood's "Constitutions," where all the rest is registered; and where the recording thereof amongst the provincial canons of Canterbury gave the best countenance to their conjecture who degrade this Act of Parliament into a mere church-constitution. It is called "the court Christian," because therein the laws of Christ do or should bear the decisive sway, whilst the statutes of secular princes regulate the proceedings in other courts.

Such things as be merely spiritual—This furnisheth us with a necessary distinction of all matters, into merely and purely spiritual, and into mixedly and partly spiritual. Of the former we shall find very few, merely spiritual. For the apostles sometimes conceived, that the very distribution of alms to the poor had something of worldly drossiness therein, called by them "serving of tables," Acts vi. 2; as if only the preaching of the word were a spiritual employment. Of the latter sort many things are mixedly spiritual. For, seeing man consists of two principles, soul and body, all his actions, good or bad, as to the mind-moiety or soul-part thereof, must needs have at least a glance of spiritual reflection. Here then the query will be,—in matters mixedly spiritual, whether the spirituality of them shall refine the rest so as to exalt the same into church-

* *Chronicon Osniense.* † LINWOOD'S *Constit.* lib. ii. *tit. De Foro competenti.*

‡ *Barretor*, or *barrator*, according to PHILLIPS and KERSEY, "is a common wrangler that sets men at variance; a stirrer-up and maintainer of law-suits and quarrels."—EDIT.

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cognizance? or the corporality or earthliness of them depress them, so as to subject them to civil consideration? The decision hereof dependeth on the practice and custom of the land, as will appear hereafter.

For deadly sin—Distinguish we here betwixt a sin "deadly" to the soul, drawing damnation without repentance, and a "deadly" (commonly called a "capital") crime, deserving death by human laws. The former only is here intended, the latter belonging wholly to the common-law. Nor did the punishment of every "mortal sin," to use the language of that age, belong to churchmen; seeing, if so, as Linwood no less learnedly than modestly confesseth, *sic periret temporalis gladii jurisdictio*, "Thereby the power of the temporal sword will wholly be taken away." Long since had Doctors'-Commons eaten up all the Inns of Court, if all things reducible to deadly sins had pertained to the court Christian. And therefore the casuists themselves do qualify and confine these words of indefinite extent to such crimes, which *de sui naturâ spectant ad forum ecclesiasticum.*

As first, fornication—Here, saith Linwood, thirteen cases are *in specie* recited; though I dare not reckon them up, fearing to make them (lying so confusedly) more or less. Fornication, that is, saith the casuist, *soluti cum solutâ*, "the uncleanness of a loose" (understand "unmarried") "with a loose person."

Adultery—These two alone are specified, because lying in a middle distance, so the more conveniently to reach other sins of this kind, of higher or lower guilt: (1.) Higher, as incest: (2.) Lower, as soliciting a woman's chastity. If any say that adultery doth not belong to the court Christian, because Christ himself would not punish an adulteress taken in the act, John viii. 4—11, waving it as an improper employment; it is answered, that our Saviour, appearing in privacy and poverty, and coming not to act but to suffer, not to judge but be judged, justly declined all judicial power. But we see afterwards how the church of Corinth, by St. Paul's command, proceeded against the incestuous person; and at this time churchmen cleanly carried the cognizance of such offences. I say, "at this time;" it plainly appearing, that, in the Conqueror's time, fornication and adultery were punishable in the king's court, and the Leets especially, (by the name of *Letherwite,*) and the fines of offenders assessed to the king, though now it merely belonged to the church. As for a rape, being adultery, or, at leastwise, fornication offered with violence, the common-law hath justly reserved to itself the trial and punishment thereof.

And such like—Here is an interpretative *et-cætera* inserted in the body of a Parliament Act, and a writ grounded thereon,

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causing some differences about the dimensions thereof. For, if these words, "And such like," relate only to the last foregoing, "fornication and adultery," (in common construction most probable,) then they only fetch-in such offences which have some tincture of carnal uncleanness. But if they also refer to the mediate preceding words, "deadly sins," behold a troop cometh, beyond our power exactly to number them. And here foreign casuists bring in a bundle of mortal sins, all grist for their own mill, as of church-cognizance; namely, sacrilege, usury, heresy, simony, perjury, fortune-telling, consulting astrologers, drunkenness, &c. But it matters not how long and large their bills be from beyond the seas, seeing our common-law brings their reckonings to a new account, defalking a great part of that measure which they make to themselves in favour of church-jurisdiction.

For that the church is uncovered—It belonged ever to the priests to provide for the decent reparation of God's house. Thus Jehoiada was careful to amend the decays of the temple, 2 Chron. xxiv. 4. But though it pertained to churchmen to see the thing done, yet several persons were to do it. (1.) The steeple with the body of the church, and all chapels lying in common thereunto, are to be repaired at the joint cost of the parish. (2.) Private chapels, wherein particular persons claim a propriety of sepulture at their own charges. (3.) The chancel, at the expense of the parson. However, in all these, such respect is had to the custom of the place time out of mind, that it often over-ruleth the premisses. Query, —Whether the fences of the churchyard be to be made on the parish charges, or on the purse of the several persons whose ground surroundeth it, or abutteth on the same?

Oblations and tithes—It is a question which I believe will never be decided to the contentment of both parties, in what notion tithes belong to the court Christian.

(1.) The canonists maintain, that, originally and *ex suâ naturâ*, they are of ecclesiastical cognizance, as commonly avouched and generally believed due *jure Divino*. Besides, such the near relation of the church and its maintenance, that to part the oil from the lamp were to destroy it. They produce also the confession in the statute of the first of Richard II., that pursuit for tithes ought, and of ancient time did, pertain to the spiritual court.

(2.) The common lawyers defend, that tithes in their own nature are a civil thing, and therefore by Britton (who, being bishop of Hereford, and learned in the laws of this realm, was best qualified for an unpartial judge herein) omitted, when treating of what things the church hath cognizance. They affirm, therefore, that tithes were annexed to the spirituality. Thus they expound those pas-

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sages in statutes of tithes, anciently belonging to court Christian, as intended by way of concession, and not otherwise.*

But the canonists are too sturdy to take that for a gift which they conceive is their due, lest thanks also be expected from them for enjoying the same; and so we leave the question where we found it.

Mortuary—Because something of history is folded up in this word, which may acquaint us with the practice of this age, we will enlarge a little hereon, and show what a mortuary was, when to be paid, by whom, to whom, and in what consideration. (1.) A mortuary was the second-best quick cattle whereof the party died possessed.† If he had but two in all, (such, forsooth, the charity of the church!) no mortuary was due from him. (2.) It was often bequeathed by the dying; but, however, always paid by his executors after his death, thence called a mortuary or corse-present. (3.) *By whom*—No woman under covert-baron was liable to pay it, and, by proportion, no children unmarried, living under their father's tuition; but widows, and all possessed of an estate, were subject to the payment thereof. (4.) *To whom*—It was paid to the priest of the parish where the party dying received the sacrament, (not where he repaired to prayers,) and if his house at his death stood in two parishes, the value of the mortuary was to be divided betwixt them both. (5.) It was given in lieu of small or personal tithes, (predial tithes are too great to be casually forgotten,) which the party in his life-time had, through ignorance or negligence, not fully paid. But in case the aforesaid mortuary fell far short of full satisfaction for such omissions, casuists maintain the dying party obliged to a larger restitution. So much of mortuaries, as they were generally paid at the present, until the time of Henry VI., when learned Linwood wrote his Comment on that constitution. How mortuaries were after reduced to a new regulation by a statute, in the twenty-first of Henry VIII., pertains not to our present purpose.

For laying violent hands on a priest—The ecclesiastical judge might proceed *ex officio*, and, *pro salute animæ*, punish the offender who offered violence to a priest; but damages on action of battery were only recoverable at common-law. Note, that the arresting of a clergyman by process of law is not to be counted a violence.

And in cause of defamation—Where the matter defamatory is spiritual, as to call one "heretic," or "schismatic," &c., the plea lay in court Christian. But defamations with mixture, any matter determinable in the common-law, as "thief, murderer," &c., are to be traversed therein.

* Bracton, lib. v. fol. 401. † Linwood's "Constitutions," lib. i. fol. 2, cap. *De Consuetudine.*

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Defamation, it hath been granted—From this word "granted," common-lawyers collect, (let them alone to husband their own right!) that originally defamations pertained not to the court Christian. From the beginning it was not so, until the common-law, by Acts of Parliament, granted and surrendered such suits to the spirituality.

31. *No End can end an everlasting Difference.*

Thus by this Act and writ of *circumspectè agatis*, king Edward may seem, like an expert artist, to cleave a hair betwixt the spiritual and temporal jurisdiction, allowing the premisses to the former, and leaving whatever is not specified in this Act, to the cognizance of the common-law, according to the known and common maxim, *Exceptio firmat regulam in non-exceptis.* However, for many years after, there was constant heaving and shoving betwixt the two courts. And, as there are certain lands in the Marches of England and Scotland, whilst distinct kingdoms, termed "batable grounds," which may give for their motto, not, *Dentur justiori*, but, *Dentur fortiori*; for, always the strongest sword for the present possessed them: so, in controversial cases to which court they should belong, (sometimes the spirituality, sometimes the temporality,) alternately seized them into their jurisdiction, as power and favour best befriended them. But, generally, the clergy complained, that, as, in the blending of liquors of several colours, few drops of red will give a tincture to a greater quantity of white, so the least mixture of civil concernment in religious matters so discolorated the Christian candour and purity thereof, that they appeared in a temporal hue, and under that notion were challenged to the common-law.* Sad, when courts that should be judges, turn themselves plaintiffs and defendants about the bounds of their jurisdiction!

32. *A Transition to the entire Story of our English Jews.* *A.D.* 1290.

We long since mentioned the first coming-in of the Jews into England, (brought over by William the Conqueror,) and now are come this year to their casting-out of this kingdom; having first premised some observables concerning their continuance therein. If hitherto we have not scattered our History with any discourse of the Jews, know it done by design; that as they were enjoined by our laws to live alone in streets by themselves, (not mixing in their dwellings with Christians,) so we purposely singled out their story, and reserved it by itself, for this one entire relation thereof.

* See more hereof on *Articuli Cleri*, in the reign of Edward II.

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33. *Their principal Residence in London.*

They were scattered all over England; in Cambridge, Bury, Norwich, Lynn, Stamford, Northampton, Lincoln, York, and—where not? But their principal abode was in London, where they had their arch-synagogue at the north corner of the Old Jewry, as opening into Lothbury. After their expulsion, their synagogue was turned into the convent of the friars of the Sack, or, *De Pœnitentiâ Jesu*; and, after their suppression, it became successively the house, first of a lord, then of a merchant, since of any man for his money,—being turned into a tavern, with the sign of "the windmill:"* a proper sign to express the movableness of that place, which, with several gales of success, hath been turned about, from so many owners, and to so many uses.

34. *The Justiciary of the Jews.*

As for the civil government of Jews in England, the king set over them one principal officer, called "the Justice of the Jews," whose place in honour was next to the Barons of the Exchequer. His office was to be the patron and protector of the Jews in their just rights, to decide all suits betwixt Christians and them, and to keep the seal of the Jews' corporation, with the keys of their treasury; I conceive, of such moneys as they paid as tribute to the king: otherwise, the Jews had age enough to keep the keys of their own coffers themselves, and wit too much to trust them with others. Sir Robert de Hoo, and sir Philip Luvel, (afterward treasurer of England,) men of signal nobility, successively discharged this place. These Justices often acted very high in defence of their clients, the Jews; insomuch as I find it complained of by the English clergy,† as a great grievance, that, when a Jew was convented before the ecclesiastical judge for his misdemeanours, (as sacrilege, violence offered to some priest, adultery with a Christian woman, &c.,) their own Justice would interpose, and, by a prohibition obtained from the king, obstruct all legal proceedings against such a Jew, as only responsible in his own jurisdiction.

35. *The High-Priest or Presbyter of the Jews.*

In their spiritual government they were all under one *pontifex*, or high-priest. We find his name was Elias, who, *anno* 1254, had that office. He was also called "the presbyter of the Jews," whose place was usually confirmed at least, if not constituted, by the king, who by his patent granted the same, as may appear by this copy of king John's, as followeth:—

* Stow's "Survey of London," p. 288. † *Additamenta* Matthæi Parisiensis, p. 202.

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*Rex omnibus fidelibus suis, et omnibus Judæis, et Anglis salutem. —Sciatis nos concessisse, et præsenti chartâ nostrâ confirmasse, Jacobo Judæo de Londoniis presbyterio Judæorum, presbyteratum omnium Judæorum totius Angliæ, habendum et tenendum quamdiu vixerit liberè, et quietè, et honorificè, et integrè; ita quòd nemo ei super hoc molestiam aliquam, aut gravamen inferre præsumat: quare volumus, et firmiter præcipimus, quod eidem Jacobo quoad vixerit presbyteratum Judæorum per totam Angliam garantetis, manu teneatis, et pacificè defendatis; et si quis ei super eo forisfacere presumserit, id ei sine dilatione, (salvâ nobis emendâ nostrâ,) de forisfacturâ nostrâ emendari faciatis, tanquam Dominico Judæo nostro quem specialiter in servitio nostro retinuimus. Prohibemus etiam ne de aliquo ad se pertinente ponatur in placitum, nisi coram nobis, aut coram capitali justitiâ nostrâ, sicut charta regis Richardi, fratris nostri, testatur. Teste S. Bathomensi episcopo, &c. Dat. per manus H. Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, chancellarii nostri, apud Rothomagum, 31 die Julii, anno regni nostri primo.**

I have transcribed this patent the rather for the rarity thereof, it being a strange sight to see a Christian archbishop date an instrument for a Jewish presbyter.

36. *Jews griping Usurers.*

Their livelihood was all on usury. One verse in Deuteronomy (with their comment thereon) was more beneficial unto them than all the Old Testament besides: "Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury; but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury," Deut. xxiii. 20. Now, interpreting all strangers, who, though neighbours at the next door, were not of their own nation, they became the universal usurers of all England; and did our kingdom this courtesy, that, because all hated the Jews for their usury's sake, all also hated usury for the Jews' sake; so that Christians generally disdained to be guilty thereof. Now, seeing there are two ways to wealth,—one long and sure, by saving at home; the other short, but not so certain, (because probably it may meet with detection and punishment,) by oppressing abroad,—no wonder if the Jews, using both ways, quickly arrived at vast estates.

37. *Their Rapaciousness and Tenaciousness.*

For, first, for their fare: It was coarse in the quality, and yet slender in the quantity thereof. Insomuch, that they would, in a manner, make pottage of a flint. Swine's flesh indeed they would not eat, but dog's meat they would; I mean, beef and mutton so poor and lean, that the refuse of all Christians was the Jews' choice in the

* *Rot. Cart.* 1 *Reg. Joh.* part i. memb. 28, cart. 171.

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shambles. Clothes they wore so poor and patched, beggars would not take them up to have them. Attendants they kept none, every one waiting on himself. No wonder, then, if easily *they* did overgrow others in wealth *who* basely did under-live themselves in all convenient accommodations. Nor were they less gripple* in keeping, than greedy in catching of goods; who would as soon lose their fingers as let go what they had clutched therein.

38. *Jews might purchase Houses.*

I was of the opinion, (and perchance not without company in my mistake,) that the Jews were not permitted to purchase lands in England. I thought only the ground of their graves (generally buried without Cripplegate, in the Jews' Garden, on the west side of St. Giles's Churchyard, now turned into tenements in Red-cross-Street) could be termed theirs. But, since, I am informed that Benomy Mittun,† a Jew, (as certainly many more beside him,) was possessed of much land, and many houses, in several parishes in London. Surely, their purchases were limited within some restrictions. But the Jews generally more fancied letting-out of money, than buying-in of land, as which made their estates less subject to discovery, more plentiful in their increasing, and more portable in the removing thereof.

39. *Lay Excommunication, what it was.*

It was an usual punishment legally inflicted on these Jews, for their offences not capital, to excommunicate them. Thus, such Jews should be excommunicated who, contrary to the laws, kept Christian nurses in their houses;‡ or who cast off that badge or cognizance which they ought to have worn over their upper garment, to be distinguished from Christians. Surely, such excommunication was no ecclesiastical censure; needless to keep the Jews out of our churches, who hated all coming into them. Rather it was a civil penalty, (equivalent to the universities' discommoning a townsman in Cambridge,) whereby the Jews were debarred all commerce with Christians,—worse to them than all the plagues of Egypt; and so the mart of their profit marred, dearer unto them than life itself.

40. *Jews unfortunate at Feasts and Frays.*

Endless it were to reckon up the indignities offered unto these Jews, on occasion sometimes given, but oftener taken. Apprentices now-a-days do not throw sticks at cocks on Shrove Tuesday so commonly, as then on that day they used clubs on the Jews, if appearing

* "Miserly."—EDIT. † STOW's "Survey," pp. 288, 289. ‡ *Additamenta* MATTHÆI PARIS. p. 202.

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out of their houses: a people equally unhappy at feasts and at frays. For, whensoever the Christians at any revels made great entertainments, the Jews were made to pay the reckoning. And wheresoever any brawl began in London, it ended always in the Old Jewry, with pillaging of the people therein. What good heart can, without grief, recount the injuries offered to those who once were the only people of God? These were they who preferred Barabbas before Christ their Saviour, which Barabbas "was a robber, a raiser of insurrection, and a murderer," John xviii. 40; Mark xv. 7. And ever since that time, in all insurrections against them, when they desired and sought safety and deliverance, it hath been their constant portion to be robbed and murdered.

41. *A sad Jewish Jubilee.*

But the most terrible persecution fell upon them at the coronation of king Richard I., which, according to the Jewish computation, was their jubilee: and then busy in the observance thereof, though, alas! they had not one merry day in the compass of the whole year. They were forbidden, for fear of their enchantments, to approach the king's coronation, upon heavy penalties denounced. Now, their curiosity was so far above their covetousness, or rather, their wilfulness so far above their curiosity herein, that, out of their old spirit of contradiction, some appeared there; which caused the killing of many, robbing of more, Jews in London. On the same account, within few days after, (how quickly can cruelty ride post seven-score and ten miles!) five hundred Jews, besieged in a tower at York, first beheaded their own wives and children, and then burnt themselves, to escape more cruel torments.

42. *London Wall built with Jewish Stones.*

In the seventeenth year of the reign of king John, the barons brake into the Jews' houses, and rifled their coffers, and with the stone of their houses repaired the gates and walls of London.* Surely, such stones must be presumed very hard, like the Jews their owners, from whom they were taken; and yet they soon mouldered away with wind and weather. Indeed, plundered stones never make strong walls. And I impute it as a partial cause of the weakness of London-walls, (which no enemy ever since assaulted but he entered them,) that a great part of them, enough to infect all the rest, was built with materials got by oppression.

43. *Henry III. cruel to the Jews.*

But, of all our English kings, none ground the Jews with exactions like king Henry III. Only herein the Jews might and did

* Stow's "Survey of London," p. 288.

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comfort themselves, that the English, his native subjects, also smarted soundly under his oppression. He not only flayed the skin, but raked the flesh, and scarified the bones, of all the Jews' estates in England; *ut vivere fastidirent*, "that it was irksome for them to live."* Gold he would receive of every Jewish man or woman, always with his own hand; but consigned other officers to receive the silver from them. One offensive act he wilfully did to their conscience, in giving them leave, at their own cost and charges, to build them a new synagogue; and, when they had finished it, he commanded them to dedicate it to the virgin Mary,† whereby they utterly lost the use thereof; and afterwards the king gave it to be a cell of St. Anthony of Vienne. A vexatious deed, merely to despite them, who are, since their smarting for idolatry in the captivity of Babylon, pertinacious worshippers of one God; and nothing more retardeth their conversion to Christianity, than the scandal given daily unto them, by the popish saintship to their images.

44. *The Wonder of the Jews' speedy recruiting their Estates.*

It may justly seem admirable, whence these Jews, so often pillaged to their bare skins, so suddenly recruited themselves with wealth. What I have heard affirmed of some ground in Gloucestershire, that, in a kindly spring, "bite it bare over night, next morning the grass will be grown to hide a wand therein," is most certainly true in application to the Jews; so full and fast did wealth flow in upon them. Let their eggs not only be taken away, but their nests be plucked down; yet within few years we shall find them hatching a new brood of wealth therein. This made many suspect them for clipping and coining of money. But, to lessen the wonder of these Jews' speedy recovery, know, that, beside some of their invisible hoards escaping their plunderers' hands, the Jews in other places (where no persecution for the present) furnished them to set up trading again. Indeed, commendable was the Jews' charity to their own countrymen; save that necessity commanded them to love one another, being hated of all other nations.

45. *Crowds of counterfeit Converts.*

To avoid these miseries, they had but one shift, (and, as used by some of them, it was but a shift indeed,) to pretend themselves Christian converts, and to tender themselves to be baptized. To such persons, in a temporal respect, baptism washed away all sin; they being cleared and quitted from all ante-facts, how heinous soever, by their entrance into Christianity. Thus, *anno* 1259, Elias Biscop, a London Jew, charged with many horrible crimes,

* Matthew Paris, p. 605. † Stow's "Survey," p. 190.

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and, amongst others, that with poisoned drink he had caused the death of many English gentlemen, escaped all punishment by being baptized.* For the farther encouragement of their conversion, king Henry III. erected a small house in Chancery-Lane, (where the office of the Rolls is now kept,) for convert-Jews to dwell in, allowing a daily salary to them for their maintenance. It is to be feared many lived therein who were Jews inwardly, but not in the apostle's acceptation thereof,—"in the spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God," Rom. ii. 29; but I mean such who still retained the dregs of Judaism under the feigned profession of Christianity. Sure I am, king Edward at this time was so incensed against the Jewish nation, that now he resolved the total and final extirpation of them and theirs out of his dominions.

46. *Misdemeanours charged on the Jews.*

Many misdemeanours were laid to their charge, amongst which these following were the principal. First. Enchantments. This was an old sin of the Jews, whereof the prophets always complained: "The multitude of thy sorceries, and the great abundance of thine enchantments," Isaiah xlvii. 9. And, it seems, they still retained their old wicked wont. Secondly. Poisoning. To give the Jews their due, this was none of their faults whilst living in their own land, not meeting with the word in the whole Bible. It seems, they learned this sin after their dispersion in other nations, and since are grown exquisite in that art of wickedness. Thirdly. Clipping of money. Fourthly. Counterfeiting of Christians' hands and seals. Fifthly. Extortion. A Jew occasioned a mutiny in London, by demanding from a poor Christian above two shillings for the use of twenty shillings for one week; being, by proportion, no less than five hundred and twenty pounds *per annum* for every hundred. Sixthly. Crucifying of the children of Christians, (to keep their hands in ure,) always about Easter: so that the time pointed at their intents directly in derision of our Saviour. How sufficiently these crimes were witnessed against them, I know not. In such cases weak proofs are of proof against rich offenders. We may well believe, if their persons were guilty of some of these faults, their estates were guilty of all the rest.

47. *Jews, say others, not cast out, but craved Leave to depart.*

Now, although it passeth for an uncontrolled truth, that the Jews were by the king violently cast out of the land, yet a great lawyer† states the case much otherwise; namely, that the king did not directly expel them, but only prohibit them to put money to use;

* MATTHEW PARIS, p. 982. † SIR EDWARD COKE,

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which produced a petition from them to the king, that they might have leave to depart the land; a request easily granted unto them. Some will say, "It is all one in effect, whether one be starved or stabbed, death inevitably following from both, as here the Jews were famished, on the matter, out of England; usury being their meat and drink, without which they were unable longer to subsist." However, this took off much from the odium of the act,—that they were not immediately, but only indirectly and consequentially, banished the realm, or rather permitted a free departure on their own petition for the same. As for the sad accident, that some hundreds of them, being purposely shipped, out of a spiteful design, in a leaking vessel, were all drowned in the sea; if true, it cannot but command compassion in any Christian heart.

48. *The King gets incredible Wealth forfeited by the Jews.* *A.D.* 1294.

It is hardly to be believed what vast sums of wealth accrued to the king, by this (call it ejection, or amotion, or) decession of the Jews. He allowed them only bare *viaticum* to bear their charges, and seized on all the rest of their estates. Insomuch, that now the king needed not to listen to the counsel of William March, bishop of Bath and Wells, and treasurer of England, (but therein speaking more like a treasurer than a bishop,) advising him, if in necessity, "to take all the plate and money of churches and monasteries, therewith to pay his soldiers."* The poor Jews durst not go into France, whence lately they had been solemnly banished; but generally disposed themselves in Germany and Italy,† especially in the pope's territories therein, where profit from Jews and stews much advance the constant revenues of his Holiness.

49. *King Edward Arbitrator betwixt Balliol and Bruce.* *A.D.* 1295.

King Edward, having done with the Jews, began with the Scots, and effectually humbled them and their country. This the occasion: Two competitors appearing for the crown of Scotland, (John Balliol, [Baliol,] and Robert Bruce,) and, both referring their title to king Edward's decision, he adjudged the same to Balliol, or rather to himself in Balliol. For he enjoined him to do homage unto him, and that hereafter the Scottish crown should be held in fealty of the English. Balliol, or his necessity rather, (his person being in king Edward's power,) accepted the condition, owning in England one above himself, that so he might be above all in Scotland. But, no sooner was he returned into his own kingdom, and

* POLYDORE VIRGIL. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 427.—EDIT.

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peaceably possessed thereof, but instantly, in a letter of defiance, he disclaimed all former promises to king Edward, appealing to the Christian world, whether his own enforced obedience were more to be pitied, or king Edward's insolence (improving itself on a prince's present extremities) more to be condemned.

50. *He proveth* Malleus Scotorum. *A.D.* 1297.

Offended hereat, king Edward advanceth into Scotland, with the forces he formerly intended for France. Power and policy make a good medley, and the one fareth the better for the other. King Edward, to strengthen himself, thought fit to take in the title of Robert Bruce, (Balliol's cor-rival, hitherto living privately in Scotland,) pretending to settle him in the kingdom. Hereupon the Scots, to lessen their losses and the English victories, affirm,* that, in this expedition, their own countrymen were chiefly conquered by their own countrymen, the Brucian party assisting the English. Sure it is, that king Edward took Berwick, Dunbar, Stirling, Edinburgh, the crown, sceptre, and (out of Scone) the royal chair, and prophetical marble therein. And though commonly it be observed, that English valour, hopefully budding and blossoming on this side of Edinburgh-Frith, is frost-bitten on the north thereof; yet our victorious Edward, crossing that sea, took Montrose, and the best counties thereabout. In a word, he conquered almost all the garden of Scotland, and left the wilderness thereof to conquer itself. Then, having settled Warren, earl of Surrey, viceroy thereof, and made all the Scottish nobility (doughty Douglas alone excepted, who was committed to prison for his singular recusancy) swear homage unto him, and taking John Balliol captive along with him, he returned triumphantly into England.

SECTION VII.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

TO CLEMENT THROCKMORTON, THE ELDER, OF HASELEY, IN WARWICKSHIRE, ESQUIRE.

Let others boast of their French blood, whilst your English family may vie gentry with any of the Norman extraction. 1. For antiquity: four monosyllables being, by common pronunciation, crowded into your name;—

* G. Buchanani *Rerum Scot. libro octavo.*

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THE, ROCK, MORE, TOWN. 2. For numerosity: being branched into so many counties. 3. For ingenuity; charactered by Camden * to be fruitful of fine wits, whereof several instances might be produced.

But a principal consideration, which doth and ever shall command my respect unto your person, is, your faithful and cordial friendship, in matters of highest concernment (whatever be the success thereof) to the best of my relations, which I conceived myself obliged publicly to confess.

1. *The Pope challengeth Scotland as peculiar to himself.* 30 Edward I. *A.D.* 1301.

AMIDST these cruel wars betwixt the English and Scots, pope Boniface VIII. sent his letters to king Edward, requiring him to quit his claim, and cease his wars, and release his prisoners of the Scotch nation, as a people exempt, and properly pertaining to his own chapel. Perchance, the pope's right to the crown of Scotland is written on the backside of Constantine's donation. And it is strange, that if Scotland be the pope's peculiar demesnes, it should be so far distant from Rome, his chief mansion-house; he grounded his title thereunto, because "Scotland was first converted, by the relics of St. Peter, to the unity of the catholic faith." † But it seems not so much ambition in his Holiness made him at this present to start this pretence, but the secret solicitation of the Scots themselves, who now, to avoid the storm of the English, ran under this bush, and put themselves in the pope's protection.

2. *King Edward, assisted by his Lords, stoutly maintaineth his own Right.*

Hereupon king Edward called a council of his lords at Lincoln; where, perusing the contents of the pope's prescript, he returned a large answer; wherein he endeavoured, by evident reasons and ancient precedents, to prove his proprietorship in the kingdom of Scotland. This was seconded by another from the English peerage, subscribed with all their hands, the whole tenor whereof deserves to be inserted;‡ but this passage must not be omitted, being directed to no meaner than his Holiness himself:—"Wherefore, after treaty had, and diligent deliberation of the contents of your foresaid letters, this was the common agreement and consent with one mind, and

* "Britannia" in Warwickshire. † FOX'S "Acts and Monuments," fo. i. pp. 444, 445. ‡ It is extant in FOX *ut supra*, as also in HOLINSHED, in the 29th of the reign of king Edward I. p. 311.

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shall be without fail, in time to come, by God's grace, that our foresaid lord the king ought by no means to answer in judgment in any case, or should bring his foresaid rights into doubt, nor ought not to send any proctors or messengers to your presence; especially seeing that the premisses tend manifestly to the disheriting of the crown of England, and the plain overthrow of the state of the said realm, and also hurt of the liberties, customs, and laws of our fathers; for the keeping and defence of which we are bound, by the duty of the oath made; and we will maintain them with all power, and will defend them, by God's help, with all our strength." The pope perceived he had met with men who understood themselves, and that king Edward was no king John, to be frighted or flattered out of his right; he therefore was loath to clash his keys against the other's sword, to try which was made of the hardest metal; but, foreseeing the verdict would go against him, wisely nonsuited himself. Whereas, had this unjust challenger met with a timorous defendant, it had been enough to have created an undeniable title to him and his successors. The best is, *nullum tempus occurrit papæ*, "no process of time doth prejudice the pope's due;" but whensoever he pleaseth to prosecute his right, Scotland lieth still in the same place where it did before.

3. *One condemned for a Traitor for bringing the Pope's Bull.* *A.D.* 1302.

About this time a subject brought in a Bull of excommunication against another subject of this realm, and published it to the lord-treasurer of England; and this was, by the ancient common-law of England, adjudged treason against the king, his crown, and dignity,* for the which the offender should have been drawn and hanged; but, at the great instance of the chancellor and treasurer, he was only abjured the realm for ever. And this case is the more remarkable, because he was condemned by the common-law of England, before any particular statute was enacted in that behalf.†

4. *The Archbishop of Canterbury humbled by the King.* *A.D.* 1305.

But the courage of king Edward most appeared in humbling and ordering Robert Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury. He was an insolent man, hated even of the clergy, because, though their champion to preserve them from civil and secular burdens, yet the pope's broker, to reserve them for his unconscionable exactions, as if keeping churchmen to be wronged by none but himself. Long

* BROOK, *tit. Præmunire*, p. 10. † Fifth Part of SIR EDWARD COKE "Reports," *De Jure Reg. Ecc.* fol. 12.

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had the king looked on him with an angry eye, as opposite to his proceedings; and now at the last had him at his mercy, for plotting treason with some others of the nobility against him,* projecting to depose him, and set up his son Edward in his room.

5. Guiltiness makes proud Men base.

The archbishop, throwing himself prostrate at the king's feet, with tears and lamentation confessed his fault in a posture of cowardly dejection,† descending now as much beneath himself, as formerly he had arrogantly insulted over others.‡ Some are loath to allow him guilty of the crime objected; others conceive him only to have done this, presuming on the king's noble disposition for pardon.§ But such must yield him a traitor either to the king's crown, or to his own innocence, by his unworthy acknowledging his offence. Thus, that man who confesseth a debt which he knows not due, hoping his creditor will thereupon give him an acquittance, scarce deserveth pity for his folly, if presently sent to prison for non-payment thereof. Then he called the king "his master," a term wherewith formerly his tongue was unacquainted, (whom neither by word or letter he would ever acknowledge under that notion,) tendering himself to be disposed at his pleasure.

6. The remarkable Dialogue betwixt the King and Archbishop.

"No," quoth the king, "I will not be both party and judge, and proceed against you, as I might by the common-law of the land. I bear more respect to your Order, whereof you are as unworthy as of my favour; having formerly had experience of your malice in smaller matters, when you so rigorously used my chaplains attending on me in their ordinary service beyond the seas; so that, though I sent my letters unto you, you as lightly regarded what I wrote, as what they pleaded in their own behalf." Winchelsey, having but one guard for all blows, persisted in his submission, desiring (a precedent unparalleled) that the king would give him his blessing. "No," said the king, "it is more proper that you should give me your blessing. But, well, I will remit you to your own great master the pope, to deal with you according to your deserts."‖ But the archbishop, loath belike to go to Rome, and staying longer in England than the king's command, and (perchance) his own promise, lurked in a convent, at Canterbury, till fourscore monks ¶ were, by the king's command, thrust out of their places for relieving

* *Annal. Eccl. August. Cant.* † *Antiq. Britan.* p. 207, *ex Tho. Walsingham.* ‡ HARPSFIELD, *Hist. Eccl. Ang.* p. 446. § Worthily, see GOODWIN *De Archiepis. Cantuariens.* p. 145. ‖ *Antiquitates Britannicæ, ut prius.* ¶ *Annal. Eccl. August. Cant.*

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him out of their charity; and were not restored till the aforesaid archbishop was banished the kingdom.

7. *Winchelsey finds no Favour from the Pope, and why.*

Not long after he appeared before pope Clement V. at Bourdeaux; where, having been so great a stickler for his Holiness, (insomuch that his present disfavour with the king was originally caused by his activity for the pope,) he might rationally have expected some courtesy. But though he had used both his hands to scrape treasure for the church of Rome, the pope would not lend his least finger to his support, but suspended him from office and benefit of his place, till he should clear himself from the crime of treason wherewith he was charged. Whether done to procure reputation to the justice of the court of Rome; where, in public causes, men, otherwise privately well-deserving, should find no more favour there than they brought innocence thither: or because (which is most probable) the pope loved the archbishopric better than the archbishop; and knew, during his suspension, both to increase his profit and improve his power in England, by such cunning factors as he employed in the business; namely, William de Testa, and Peter Amaline, both strangers, to whom the pope committed the sequestration of Canterbury, whilst the cause of Winchelsey did as yet depend undetermined.

8. *A signal Piece of Justice done by foreign Sequestrators.*

These, by papal authority, summoned before them John Salmon, bishop of Norwich, for exacting the first-fruits of vacant benefices, from the clergy of his diocess. The case was this: Some sixty years since, Pandulph, an Italian, and pope's legate, (a perfect artist in progging for money,) being bishop of Norwich, pretending his church to be in debt, obtained of his Holiness the first-fruits of vacant benefices in Norfolk and Suffolk, to discharge that engagement.* This grant to him, being but personal, local, and temporary, was improved by his successors to a constant revenue; yea, covetousness being an apt scholar, and profit an easy lesson, this example was followed by other English bishops in their respective diocesses. Behold here a piece of exemplary justice! Who could have looked for less (the illegality of these payments appearing) but that the clergy should be eased of them? Whereas these foreign sequestrators did order, that, generally throughout England, the first-fruits of all spiritual promotions falling void next for three years should be paid over to the pope's chamber at Rome: only cathedral and conventual churches were excepted hercin.† No reason is rendered why the burden fell

* HARPSFIELD, *Hist. Eccl. Ang. in seculo* xiii. cap. 15. † *Antiquitates Britan.* p. 208.

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on parish-churches: except any will say, that the ass must bear more than the horse; and the load is best laid on that beast which hath least mettle to kick it off, and throw it down; the poor parochial clergy being most unable to resist the usurpation of his Holiness.

6. *England's galled Back exchanges a full Fly for a hungry one.*

Afterwards this William Testa, who, according to his name, came over "an empty shell," but departed with the kernel of the English wealth, complained of for his extortion to the parliament,* was called home, and Peter a Spanish cardinal sent in his room; where he concluded and celebrated a marriage betwixt prince Edward and Isabel, the king of France's daughter. Towards the bearing of his charges, this cardinal required twelve marks of all cathedrals and convents; and of parish-churches eight-pence out of every mark of their yearly revenue. But the king made him content with the moiety of his demand.

10. *The infinite Wealth Rome yearly drained from England.*

Mean time intolerable were the taxes which the English clergy paid to Rome. The poets feign Arethusa, a river in Armenia, to be swallowed up by the earth, and, running many miles under the ocean, in Sicily (they say) it vents itself up again. But, without any fiction, the wealthy streams, flowing from a plentiful spring in England, did suddenly disappear; and being insensibly conveyed in invisible channels, not under but over the sea, were found far off to arise afresh at Rome, in the pope's treasury; where the Italians, though (being themselves bred in a clear and subtile climate) they scorned the dulness of the wits and hated the gross air of this island, yet hugged the heaviness of the gold thereof; this kingdom being one of the best places for their profit. Although proud Harding saith, "that the pope's yearly gains out of England were but as a gnat to an elephant."† O the overgrown beast of Rome's revenues!

11. *The Death and Character of King Edward I.* A.D. 1307.

The death of king Edward I. gave a great advancement to the pope's encroaching. A worthy prince he was, fixed in his generation betwixt a weak father and son; as if made wise and valiant by their antiperistasis: equally fortunate in drawing and sheathing the sword, in war and peace; having taught the English loyalty, by them almost forgotten; and the Welsh, subjection, which they never learned before. In himself, religiously disposed; founded the

* *Contra intemperantem Testæ avaritiam publicè in Parliamento querelæ, quòd clerum immoderatè emungeret.*—HARPSFIELD, p. 431. † *In Confut. Apolog.*

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famous abbey of Vale Royal for the Cistercians in Cheshire,* and by will bequeathing thirty-two thousand pounds to the Holy War: obedient, not servile, to the see of Rome: a foe to the pride, and friend to the profession, of the clergy; whom he watered with his bounty, but would not have to spread so broad as to justle, or grow so high as to overtop the regal authority; dying in due time for himself, almost seventy years old: but too soon for his subjects, especially for his son, whose giddy youth lacked a guide to direct him. In a word: As the arm of king Edward I. was accounted the measure of a yard, generally received in England: so his actions are an excellent model and a praiseworthy platform for succeeding princes to imitate.

12. *Winchelsey, at the Request of King Edward II., restored to his Archbishopric.* 1 Edward II.

Edward his son, by letters to the pope, requested, that Robert Winchelsey might be restored to his archbishopric, which was done accordingly; though he returned too late to crown the king; which solemnity was performed by Henry Woodlock, bishop of Winchester. Here let the peaceable reader part two contrary reports from fighting together, both avowed by authors of credit. Some say, Winchelsey, after his return, received his profits maimed and mangled, scarce amounting to half; and that poor pittance he was fain to bestow to repair his dilapidated palace.† Others report, his revenues, not lessened in quantity, and increased in the entireness, were paid him all in a lump; insomuch that hereby (having learned thrift in exile to live of a little) he speedily became the richest of all his predecessors;‡ so that he gained by losses; and it was his common proverb, that there is no hurt in adversity, where there hath been no iniquity; and many make his future success an evidence of his former innocence.

13. *The Character of King Edward II.* *A.D.* 1312.

The calamitous reign of king Edward II. afforded little history of the church, though too much of the commonwealth except it had been better. A debauched prince this Edward was; his beauty being the best (not to say only) commendable thing about him. He had an handsome man-case, and better it had been empty with weakness, than (as it was) ill-filled with viciousness. Pierce Gaveston first corrupted him, maugre all the good counsel that Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, and all his good friends, could give him. And, when Gaveston was killed and taken away, the king's badness was rather doubled, than diminished; exchanging one pandar to vice for two,—the two Spencers. In a word, the court

* CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Cheshire. † HARPSFIELD, *Hist. Ecc. Ang.* p. 440. ‡ *Antiq. Brit.* p. 209, *ex Adamo Mummuten.*

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was turned tavern, stews, stage, play-house: whercin as many vain and wanton comedies were acted before the king in his life-time, so a sad and sorrowful tragedy was acted by him at his death.

14. *The fatal Defeat of the English in Scotland.* *A.D.* 1314.

Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, encouraged by the laziness of king Edward, thought this a fit time to recover his country, and which the English detained from him. Whereupon he regained Berwick, inroaded England, invaded Ireland. King Edward in wrath advanced against him, with an army rather dancing than marching, fitter for a masque than a battle; their horses rather trapped than armed. In all points it appeared a triumphant army, save that no field as yet was fought by them. Thus, excluding all influence of Divine Providence, and concluding it was fortune's duty to favour them, at Stirling they bid the Scots battle, wherein ten thousand of our men are by our own authors confessed to be slain. There fell the flower of the English nobility, the king with a few hardly saving himself by flight. Thus, as *malleus Scotorum*, "the hammer or mauler of the Scots," is written on the tomb of king Edward I. in Westminster; *incus Scotorum*, "the anvil of the Scots," might as properly be written on the monument (had he any) of Edward II.

15. *Nine eminent Schoolmen of the English Nation.*

But, leaving these fights, we proceed to other polemical digladiations, more proper for our pen; namely, the disputes of Schoolmen, which in this king's reign were heightened to perfection. Formerly those were termed *Scholastici* who in the schools were rhetoricians, making therein declamatory orations. Such exercises ceasing in this age, the term was translated to signify those who busied themselves in controversial divinity, though some will have them so called from *scholion*, "a commentary," their studies being generally nothing else than illustrations of the text of Peter Lombard, the Master of the Sentences. Take them here together at one view, intending to resume them again in their several characters:—

(1.) Alexander Hales flourished A.D. 1240, in the reign of Henry III. His title was, *Doctor Irrefragabilis*, or, *Doctor Doctorum;* his Order Franciscan. He was born at or nigh Hales, in Gloucestershire: bred in Hales, *ibidem;* and buried in the Franciscan church in Paris.

(2.) Roger Bacon flourished A.D. 1280, in the reign of Edward I. His title was, *Doctor Mirabilis;* his Order Franciscan. He was bred in Oxford, in Merton-College; and buried at Oxford.

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(3.) RICHARD MIDDLETON, or, *De Mediâ Villâ*, flourished A.D. 1290, in the reign of Edward I. His title was, *Doctor Fundatissimus;* his Order Franciscan. It is uncertain whether he was born at Middleton-Stony, in Oxfordshire, or Middleton-Cheny, in Northamptonshire. He was bred in Oxford or Paris; and buried at Paris.

(4.) JOHN DUNS SCOTUS flourished A.D. 1308, in the reign of Edward II. His title was, *Doctor Subtilis;* his Order Franciscan. He was born at Dunston, (contracted *Duns,)* in Emildon parish in Northumberland; bred in Merton-College, in Oxford; and buried at Cologne.

(5.) GUALTER BURLEY flourished A.D. 1337, in the reign of Edward III. His title was, *Doctor Approbatus.* He was a secular priest; bred in Merton-College, in Oxford; and buried at Paris.

(6.) JOHN BACONTHORPE flourished A.D. 1346, in the reign of Edward III. His title was, *Doctor Resolutus;* his Order Carmelite. He was born at Baconthorpe, in Norfolk; bred in Blackney Abbey, in Norfolk; and buried in the church of his Order in London.

(7.) WILLIAM OCHAM flourished A.D. 1347, in the reign of Edward III. His title was, *Doctor Singularis,* or, *Pater Nominalium;* his Order Franciscan. He was born at Ocham, in Surrey; bred in Merton-College; and buried at Munich, in Bavaria.

(8.) ROBERT HOLCOT flourished A.D. 1349, in the reign of Edward III. He was of the Order of Dominicans; born at Holcot, in Northamptonshire; bred in Oxford; and buried at Northampton, where he died of the plague.

(9.) THOMAS BRADWARDINE flourished A.D. 1350, in the reign of Edward III. His title was, *Doctor Profundus;* he was a secular priest; born at Bradwardine, in Herefordshire; bred in Merton-College, in Oxford; and buried in St. Anselm's chapel in Canterbury.

Beside many other Schoolmen of inferior note, whom we pass by in silence. Now we may safely dare all Christendom besides to show so many eminent School Divines, bred within the compass of so few years; insomuch that it is a truth what a foreign writer saith,* *Scholastica theologia ab Anglis, et in Angliâ, sumpsit exordium, fecit incrementum, pervenit ad perfectionem.* And although Italy falsely boasteth that Britain had her Christianity first from Rome, England may truly maintain, that from her (immediately by France) Italy first received her School-divinity.

* ALEXANDER MINUTIANUS *in Epistolâ.*

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16. *Alexander Hales their Father and Founder.*

Of these Schoolmen, Alexander Hales goeth the first, master to Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure; whose livery, in some sort, the rest of the Schoolmen may be said to wear, insisting in his footsteps. At the command of pope Innocent IV. he wrote the body of all School-divinity in four volumes. He was the first Franciscan who ever took the degree of Doctor in the university, (who formerly counted the height of a degree inconsistent with the humility of their Order,) as appeareth by the close of his epitaph:—*Egenorum fit primus Doctor eorum.* So great an honourer of the virgin Mary, that he never denied such who sued to him in her name;* as, since, our Mr. Fox is said never to have denied any who begged of him for Jesus Christ.

17. *Bacon accused for a Conjurer.*

Roger Bacon succeeds. O what a sin is it to be more learned than one's neighbours in a barbarous age! Being excellently skilled in the mathematics, (a wonder-working art, especially to ignorant eyes,) he is accused for a conjurer by Hieronymus de Esculo, minister-general of his Order, and afterwards pope by the name of Nicholas IV. The best is, this Hieronymus, before he was a pope, was not infallible, and therefore our Bacon might be scandalized by him; however, he was committed to prison at Rome, by pope Clement IV., and remained in durance a considerable time before his own innocence, with his friends' endeavours, could procure his enlargement.

18. *Many Bacons in one make a Confusion.*

For mine own part, I behold the name of Bacon in Oxford, not as of an individual man, but corporation of men; no single cord, but a twisted cable of many together. And as all the acts of strong men of that nature are attributed to an Hercules; all the predictions of prophesying women to a Sibyl; so, I conceive, all the achievements of the Oxonian Bacons, in their liberal studies, are ascribed to one, as chief of the name. And this in effect is confessed by the most learned and ingenious orator of that university.† Indeed, we find one Robert Bacon, who died *anno* one thousand two hundred forty eight, a learned doctor; and Trithemius styleth John Baconthorpe, plain Bacon, which addeth to the probability of the former assertion. However, this confounding so many Bacons in one hath caused antichronisms in many relations. For how could this Bacon ever be a Reader of Philosophy in Brasen-

* PITS's *Descript. Ang.* † SIR ISAAC WAKE in his *Rex Platonicus*, pp. 209, 210.

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nose College, founded more than one hundred years after his death? so that his brasen head, so much spoken of, to speak, must make time past to be again, or else these inconsistencies will not be reconciled. Except any will salve it with the prolepsis of Brasennose Hall, formerly in the place where the college is now erected. I have done with the Oxford Bacons: only let me add, that those of Cambridge, father and son, Nicholas and Francis, the one of Bene't, and the other of Trinity-College, do hold *(absit invidia!)* the scales of desert, even against all of their name in all the world besides.

19. *Duns Scotus, why so called. Three Kingdoms lay Claim to his Birth.*

John Duns Scotus succeeds, who some will have called Scotus, *ob profundissimam dicendi obscuritatem*,* "from his profound obscurity in writing." Indeed, there was one Heraclitus, to whom *cognomen Scoti non fecit orationis obscuritas*:† but others conceive him so called, either from Scotland his country, or John Scott his father. Nor was he called Duns, as some will have it, contractedly from Dominus, but from the place of his nativity, though three kingdoms earnestly engage to claim him for their countryman.

ENGLAND.—It is thus written at the end of his manuscript works in Merton-College in Oxford, whereof he was Fellow: *Explicit lectura Subtilis in universitate Parisiensi doctoris Joannis Duns, nati in quadam villulâ parochiæ de Emildon vocatâ Dunston, in comitatu Northumbriæ, pertinente domui scholarium de Merton-hall in Oxonia.*‡

SCOTLAND.—Although John Scott dissembled himself an Englishman, to find the more favour in Merton-College, living in an age wherein cruel wars betwixt England and Scotland; yet his tomb erected at Cologne is bold to tell the truth, whereon this epitaph: §—

Scotia me genuit, Anglia suscepit,
Gallia edocuit, Germania tenet.

Besides, the very name of Scotus avoweth him to be a Scotchman.

IRELAND.—He is called Joannes Duns, by abbreviation for Dunensis; that is, born at Down,‖ an episcopal see in Ireland, where Patricius, Dubricius, and St. Columba lie interred. And it is notoriously known to critics, that Scotus signifieth an Irishman in the most ancient acceptation thereof.

* SIXTUS SENENSIS. † SENECA *in Epist.* ‡ CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Northumberland. § ARCHBISHOP SPOTSWOOD in his "History of the Church of Scotland." ‖ HUGH CAVEL. *in Vitâ Scoti.*

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I doubt not but the reader will give his verdict, that the very Scotiety of Scotus belongeth to England as his native country; who being born in Northumberland,—which kingdom in the Saxon heptarchy extended from Humber to Edinburgh-Frith,—it was a facile mistake for foreigners to write him a Scotchman on his monument. As for the name of Scotus, it is of no validity to prove him that countryman, as a common surname amongst us; as, some four years since, when the Scotch were enjoined to depart this land, one Mr. English, in London, was then the most considerable merchant of the Scotch nation. The sad manner of Scotus's death is sufficiently known; who, being in a fit of a strong apoplexy, was, by the cruel kindness of his over-officious friends, buried whilst yet alive, and, recovering in the grave, dashed out his brains against the coffin,—affording a large field to such wanton wits in their epigrams, who could make sport to themselves on the sad accident of others.

20. *Low but learned Baconthorpe.*

I had almost over-seen John Baconthorpe, being so low in stature, as but one remove from a dwarf; of whom one saith,—

Ingenio magnus, corpore parvus erat:[*]

"His wit was tall,
In body small."

Insomuch that *corpus non tulisset quod ingenium protulit*, "his body could not bear the books which his brain had brought forth." Coming to Rome, being sent for by the pope, he was once hissed at† in a public disputation, for the badness, forsooth, of his Latin and pronunciation; but, indeed, because he opposed the pope's power in dispensing with marriages, contrary to the law of God; whose judgment‡ was afterwards made use of by the defenders of the divorce of king Henry VIII.

21. *Occam a stiff Imperialist.*

William Occam sided with Lewis of Bavaria against the pope, maintaining the temporal power above the spiritual. He was fain to fly to the emperor for his safety; saying unto him,—*Defende me gladio, et ego te defendam verbo:* "Defend me with thy sword, and I will defend thee with my word." This Occam was Luther's chief (if not sole) Schoolman, who had his works at his fingers' end; loving him, no doubt, the better for his opposition to the pope.

[*] JOHANNES TRISSA NEMAUSENSIS *in libro De Viris Illustribus.* † BALÆUS *in ejus Vitâ.* ‡ JACOBUS CALCUS PAPIENSIS.

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22. *Holcot's sudden Death.*

Robert Holcot was not the meanest among them, who died of the plague at Northampton, just as he was reading his lectures on the seventh of Ecclesiasticus; wherein as many canonical truths as in any Apocrypha chapter; and although as yet, in his public reading, he was not come to the last verse thereof, so proper for mortality, we may charitably believe he had seriously commented thereon in his private meditations: "Whatsoever thou takest in hand, remember the end, and thou shalt never do amiss."*

23. *The just Praise of Thomas Bradwardine.*

Thomas Bradwardine bringeth up the rear, though in learning and piety, if not superior, equal to any of the rest; witness his worthy book against Pelagianism, to assert the freeness of God's grace in man's conversion; which he justly entitleth, *De Causâ Dei*, "Of God's Cause:" for as God is a second in every good cause, so he is a principal in this, wherein his own honour is so nearly concerned. And though the psalmist saith, "Plead thine own cause, O Lord;" yet in this age, wherein miracles are ceased, God pleadeth his cause, not in his person, but by the proxy of the tongues and pens, hands and hearts, of his servants. This Bradwardine was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; and how highly esteemed, let Chaucer† tell you:—

> "But I ne cannot boult it to the bren,
> As can the holy Doctour St. Austin,
> Or Boece, or the Bishop Bradwardin."

This testimony of Chaucer, by the exact computation of time, [was] written within forty years after Bradwardine's death; which addeth much to his honour, that in so short a time his memory was in the peaceable possession of so general a veneration, as to be joined in company with St. Augustine and Boëthius, two such eminent persons in their several capacities.

24. *Schoolmen busied in needless Difficulties.*

The Schoolmen principally employed themselves in knotty and thorny questions of controversial divinity. Indeed, as such who live in London, and like populous places, having but little ground for their foundations to build houses on, may be said to enlarge the breadth of their houses in height; (I mean, increasing their room in many stories one above another;) so the Schoolmen in this age, lacking the latitude of general learning and languages, thought to

* BALE'S *Descript. Brit.* cent. xv. p. 434. † In the Nun's Priest's Tale.

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enlarge their active minds by mounting up; so improving their small bottom with towering speculations, though some of things mystical that might not—more of things difficult that could not—most of things curious that need not—be known unto us.

25. *Excuses for their bad Latin.*

Their Latin is generally barbarous, counting any thing eloquent that is expressive; going the nearest way to speak their own notions, though sometimes trespassing on grammar, abusing, if not breaking, Priscian's* head therein. Some impute this their bald and threadbare language to a design that no vermin of equivocation should be hid under the nap of their words; whilst others ascribe it to their want of change, and their poverty in learning, to procure better expressions.

26. *Their several Divisions in Judgment.*

Yet these Schoolmen agreed not amongst themselves in their judgments. For Burley, being scholar to Scotus, served him as Aristotle did Plato his master, maintaining a contrary faction against him. Occam his scholar, father of the Nominals, opposed Scotus the founder of the Reals; which two factions divided the Schoolmen betwixt them: Holcot, being a Dominican, stiffly resisted the Franciscans, about the conception of the Virgin Mary, which they would have without any original sin. However, the papists, when pressed that their divisions mar their unity, (a mark of the church whereof they boast so much,) evade it, by pleading that these points are not *de fide*, only in the out-skirts of religion, and never concluded in any council to be the articles of faith.

27. *All Oxford, most Merton-College.*

All of these Schoolmen were Oxford- most Merton-College-men. As the setting-up of an eminent artist in any place of a city draws chapmen unto him to buy his wares, and apprentices to learn his occupation; so after Roger Bacon had begun School-divinity in Merton-College, the whole gang and genius of that house successively applied their studies thereunto; and many repaired thither from all parts of the land for instruction in that nature. Mean time Cambridge-men were not idle, but otherwise employed, more addicting themselves to preaching, whereof though the world took not so much notice, positive divinity, not making so much noise as controversial, (where men engage more earnestness,) yet might be more to God's glory, and the saving of the souls of men.

* *Opus operatum.*

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28. *Why School-Divinity not so used in Oxford after this Age.*

Some will wonder, seeing School-divinity was so rife in Oxford in this age, for some hundred years together, (namely, from towards the end of Henry's to the end of Edward's reign, both the Third of their names,) how the study thereof should sink so suddenly in that university, which afterwards produced not such eminent men in that kind. But hereof several reasons may be assigned:—(1.) The wars betwixt York and Lancaster soon after began; a controversy, indeed, which silenced School-velitations, students being much disheartened with those martial discords. (2.) Once in an age the appetite of an university alters, as to its diet in learning; which, formerly filled (not to say, surfeited) with such hard questions, for variety' sake, sought out other employments. (3.) The sparks of scholars' wits, in School-divinity, went out for want of fuel in that subject, grown so trite and threadbare, nothing could be but what had been said of the same before. Wherefore, fine wits found out other ways to busy themselves. (4.) Only information of the brain, no benefit to the purse, accrued by such speculations; which made others, in after-ages, to divert their studies, *a quæstionibus ad quæstum*, from metaphysical queries, to case-divinity, as more gainful and profitable; best enabling them for hearing confessions, and proportioning penance accordingly. Since the Reformation, School-divinity in both the universities is not used (as anciently) for a sole profession by itself, to engross all a man's life therein, but only taken as a preparative quality to divinity; discreet men not drowning but dipping their minds in the study thereof.

29. *The sad Distemper of England at this Time.*

Return we now to the commonwealth, which we left bad, and find amended as an old sore without a plaster in cold weather. King Edward, rather wilful than weak, (if wilfulness be not weakness, and, sure, the same effects are produced by both,—ruin and destruction!) slighted his queen's company; and such a bed, if left, (where beauty without grace,) seldom standeth long empty. Queen Isabel, blinded with fury, mistook the party who had wronged her, and revengeth her husband's faults on her own conscience, living incontinently with Roger Mortimer; a man martial enough, and of much merit otherwise, save that a harlot is a deep pit, therein invisibly to bury the best deserts. The two Spencers ruled all at pleasure; and the king was not more forward to bestow favours on them, as they free to deal affronts to others their superiors in birth and estate. Thus, men of yesterday have pride too much to remember what they were the day before;* and providence too little to foresee what

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 428.—EDIT.

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they may be to-morrow. The nobility, then petty kings in their own countries, disdained such mushrooms should insult over them; and all the Spencers' insolencies being scored on the king's account, no wonder if he, unable to discharge his own engagements, was broken by suretiship for others.

30. *King Edward accused for betraying his Privileges to the Pope.*

I find it charged on this king, that he suffered the pope to encroach on the dignity of the crown, to the great damage and more dishonour of the nation. Indeed, his father left him a fair stake, and a winning hand, (had a good gamester had the playing thereof,) having recovered some of his privileges from the papal usurpation; which since, it seems, his son had lost back again, though the particulars thereof in history do not so plainly appear. Only it is plain, that, to support himself, and supply his necessities, he complied with the clergy, a potent party in that age; favourably measuring out the causes of their cognizances. For although, in the reign of his father, a hedge was made by an Act in that nature betwixt the spiritual and temporal courts, yet now a ditch (a new Act) was added to the former scene. So that hereafter (except wilfully) they could not mutually trespass on each other's jurisdictions.

SECTION VIII.

RICHARDO SEYMERE, NECESSARIO MEO.

INTER amicum meum et necessarium hoc pono discriminis, quod ille ad BENE ESSE, hic ad MEUM ESSE, quodammodo requiratur; quo nomine tu mihi es salutandus, qui sine te planè mancus mihi videor. Tuâ enim artifici dextrâ usus sum, per totum hoc opus in scutis gentilitiis depingendis. Macte, vir ingenue, ac natales tuos, generosos satis, novo splendore illustriores reddito.

1, 2. *Exeter-College founded by Bishop Stapleton, who afterwards was barbarously murdered.* 9 Edward II. *A.D.* 1316.

COLLEGES yet were few, and students now many, in Oxford: whereupon Walter Stapleton, bishop of Exeter, founded and endowed one therein, by the name of Stapleton's Inn, since called Exeter-College. This bishop was one of high birth and large bounty, being said to have expended a year's revenues of his (this rich) bishopric

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in the solemnity of his instalment. He also founded Hart-Hall in Oxford. But O the difference betwixt the elder and younger brother, though sons to the same father! the one carrying away the whole inheritance, whilst the other sometimes hath little more than himself left unto him, as here this Hall is altogether unendowed.

This worthy bishop had an unworthy and untimely death, some ten years after. For, being lord treasurer, and left by the king in his absence to govern the then mutinous city of London, the citizens, not without encouragement from the queen, furiously fell upon him, and in Cheapside most barbarously butchered him, and then (as hoping to bury their murder with his body) huddled him obscurely into a hole. But afterwards, to make his ghost some reparation, and stop the clamour of the clergy, the queen ordered the removing and interring of his body, and his brother's, (a valiant knight slain on the same account,) in the cathedral of Exeter. One would wonder this bishop was not made a martyr and sainted in that age, save that his suffering was of civil concernment, and not relating to religion.

3. *Sir William Petre's Bounty.*

This House hath since found two eminent benefactors: First. Sir William Petre, born of honest parentage in Exeter, principal secretary to four successive kings and queens: one who in ticklish and turning times did good to himself, got a great estate, injurious to none, (that I ever heard or read of,) but courteous to many, and eminently to this college, wherein he bestowed much building, and augmented it with eight fellowships.

4. *Dr. Hackwill built this Chapel.*

The other, George Hackwill, doctor of divinity, late Rector thereof, who, though married and having children, (must it not be a quick and large fountain which, beside filling a pond, had such an overflowing stream?) bestowed more than one thousand pounds in building a beautiful chapel. This is he who wrote the learned and religious "Apology for Divine Providence," proving that the world doth not decay. Many begin the reading thereof with much prejudice, but few end it without full satisfaction, converted to the author's opinion by his unanswerable arguments.

5. *Western Men here most proper.*

This college consisteth chiefly of Cornish and Devonshire men; the gentry of which latter, queen Elizabeth used to say, were courtiers by their birth. And as these western men do bear away the bell for might and sleight in wrestling, so the scholars here have always acquitted themselves with credit in *palæstrâ literariâ*.

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The Rectors of this house anciently were annual, therefore here omitted; fixed but of latter years, to continue the term of their lives.

RECTORS.—(1.) John Neale, (2.) Thomas Glasier, (3.) Thomas Holland, (4.) John Prideaux, (5.) George Hackwill, (6.) John Conant.

BISHOPS.—John Prideaux, bishop of Worcester; Thomas Winniff, bishop of Lincoln.

BENEFACTORS.—Edmund Stafford, bishop of Exeter; Mr. John Piriam, alderman of Exeter; sir John Ackland, knight, expending (beside other benefactions) eight hundred pounds in building the Hall.

LEARNED WRITERS.—Judge Dodderidge, George Hackwill, John Prideaux, sir Simon Baskerville, Dr. Velnain, Nathanael Carpenter, Nathanael Norrington, George Kendal.*

So that lately therein were maintained, one Rector, twenty-three Fellows, a Bible-Clerk, two Pensioners, Servants, Commoners, and other Students to the number of two hundred.

6. *The King's courteous Answer to the Prelates' Complaints.*

Clergymen began now to complain, that the lay judges intrenched on their privileges; and, therefore, they presented a petition to the king in his parliament at Lincoln, requesting the redress of sixteen grievances. To most of them the king returned a satisfactory answer; and so qualified his denials to the rest, that they could not but content any reasonable disposition.

7. *Made a printed Statute under the Title of* ARTICULI CLERI.

These concessions of the king were digested into laws, and are printed at large in the statutes known by the title of *Articuli Cleri*; whereon sir Edward Coke, in the second part of his "Institutes," hath made no less learned than large commentary. So that though the law of *circumspectè agatis* had stated this difference; yet it seems this statute (as *circumspectiùs agatis*) was conceived very requisite.

8. *Yet the Controversy between the two Jurisdictions still continued.*

Moreover, these statutes did not so clearly decide the difference betwixt the spiritual and temporal jurisdictions, but that many contests happened afterwards betwixt them, no longer ago than in the fifth of king James, when the Doctors of the Commons (under Richard Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, their general) opposed the judges about the indeterminable controversies of prohibitions.

* I am informe that Dr. Prideaux, in a dedication to one of his sermons, hath reckoned all the worthy writers of this House; but as yet I have not seen it.

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Add hereunto, that the clergy claimed to themselves the most favourable interpretation of all statutes in their own behalf; whilst the temporal judges, in the not sitting of parliaments, challenged that privilege to themselves.

9, 10. *Oriel-College built by King Edward II. Query about the Name thereof.* *A.D.* 1324.

The most lasting monument of the memory of woful king Edward II. was the building of Oriel-College in Oxford. Indeed, some make him, and others Adam Brown his almoner, founder thereof; and both, perchance, truly,—the king allowing, his almoner issuing, money for the building and endowing thereof. Others will have it, that his almoner persuaded him on conscientious principles to this good work, pertinently alleging and pressing this instance, to prove the king's nature not bad in itself, but too yielding to the impressions of others. Now, whereas the other alms of this king were perishing, as relieving only poor for the present; these, as more lasting, have done good to many generations.

I meet with no satisfactory reason of the name, which some will have to contain something of Easternness therein: so situated comparatively to some more ancient foundation. Others deduce it from *criolium*, an eminent room in monasteries;* and I cannot but smile at such who will have *O Royal*, as a pathetical admiration of princely magnificence.

11, 12. *Kings nursing-Fathers to this House; lately rebuilded most decently.*

However, I do not deny but that the kings of England have been very indulgent to this foundation. For, beside king Edward II., the founder thereof, his son king Edward gave unto them the hospital of St. Bartholomew's nigh Oxford, with lands, to maintain eight poor people, subject to the government of the Provost and Fellows of this college. Besides, king James, being informed of some legal defects in this foundation, granted them a new corporation cavil-proof against all exceptions.

This college being much decayed, Anthony Blencowe, late Provost, bequeathed twelve hundred pounds to the new building of a front thereof; which being done, lest it should be a disgrace to the rest of the fabric, the whole college is rebuilt in a most decent manner.

PROVOSTS.—Adam Brown, William de Leverton, William de Hawkesworth, William Daventre, William Colyntre, John Middleton, John Possell, William Corff, Thomas Lintlewarden,

* M. PARIS *in Vitis* 23, *Ab.* 5, *Albani*, p. 100.

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Henry Cayle, Nicholas Barry, John Carpenter, Walter Lyhart, John Halce, Henry Sampson, Thomas Hawkins, John Taylower, Thomas Cornish, Edmund Wylforde, James More, Thomas Ware, Henry Mynne, William Haynes, John Smith, Roger Marbeck, John Belly, Anthony Blencowe, William Lewis, John Tolson, John Sanders.

BENEFACTORS.—John Frank gave four fellowships; John Carpenter, bishop of Worcester, gave one fellowship; William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, gave one fellowship; Richard Dudley, D.D., gave two fellowships and two exhibitions.

BISHOPS.—John Carpenter, bishop of Worcester.

LEARNED WRITERS.—William Allen, cardinal; sir Walter Rayleigh;* William Prynne.

So that lately were maintained therein, one Provost, eighteen Fellows, one Bible-Clerk, twelve Exhibitioners, with Commoners and College Officers, [who] amounted to one hundred and sixty.

13. *War between the Queen and King.*

Let us cast our eye on the commonwealth only, as it is the ring wherein the diamond of the church is contained, and that now full of cracks, caused by the several state-factions. The two Spencers ruled all things, till the queen and her son (who politicly had got leave to go beyond the seas) returned into England with a navy and army, landing in Suffolk. She denounceth open war against her husband, unless he would presently conform to her desires.

14. *Counter Proclamations, and counter Rumours.*

The king proclaimed that a thousand pounds should be given to him that brought the head of Roger Mortimer. The queen proclaimed, (such who had the better purse may give the greater price,) that whosoever brought the head of the young Spencer (it seems his father was not so considerable) should have two thousand pounds. The queen's party gave out, that the king of France had sent over a vast army for her assistance, and the king's side anti-rumoured, (who could raise reports easier than armies,) that the pope had excommunicated all such who sided against him. Now, though both reports were false, they made true impressions of hope in such hearts as believed them.

15—17. *The King, unable to fight and flee, after a short Concealment, is taken.*

Three ways were presented to king Edward,—fight, flight, and concealment: the first he was unable to do, having no effectual

* Before or after of Christ-church.

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forces, only able for a time to defend the castle of Bristol, till many of his complices were taken therein; a tower therein (given out to be *undermined)* being indeed *undermonied* with bribes to the defenders thereof. Here the elder Spencer was taken and executed.

Flight was no less unsafe than dishonourable. For, his kingdom being an island, the sea would quickly put a period thereunto. Indeed, there was some thoughts of his flight into Ireland, which was no better than out of a dirty way into a very bog, besides great the difficulty to recover the sea, and greater to pass over it, all ports and passages were so waylaid.

Concealment was at the last resolved on, not as the best, but only way of his security. For a time he lay hid amongst the Welsh, (not able to help, but willing to pity him as a native of their country,) concealed in the Abbey of Neath, till men are sent down with money, (no such light as the shine of silver, wherewith to discover a person inquired for!) and soon after he was betrayed into their hands. The younger Spencer, taken with him, is hung on a gallows fifty feet high; and the promised two thousand pounds were duly paid, and equally parted betwixt several persons employed in his apprehension.

18. *King Edward resigneth his Crown.*

Many persons of quality were sent down from the parliament then sitting, to king Edward, to Kenilworth Castle, to move (*aliàs* to command) him to resign the crown; which, at last, he sadly surrendered. Sir William Trussel, a lawyer of great abused abilities, (being rather to make than find a precedent in this kind,) improved his wits in the formalities thereof. Soon after, prince Edward, his son, is crowned king, whose father is now no more than plain Edward of Caernarvon, though his mother (whose title was relative to, and a derivative from, her husband the dethroned king) was now more queen Isabel than ever before. Thus the degradation of a knight (as some have informed me) extendeth not to his wife, who, by the courtesy of England, if once, is ever a lady.

19, 20. *He is rejected by his own Wife, and cruelly murdered.*

Edward, late king, with many letters, solicited to be admitted into the queen's company. All in vain: she found embraces at a less distance, dearer unto her, preferring the society of a lord who, in effect, had deposed a king, before a king who had deposed himself. She made many excuses of sickness and indisposition, to enjoy him. So easily can that sex make plausible pretences, that they cannot what they will not do!

Roger Mortimer, whose lust and revenge were equally unsatiable.

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could not be quiet whilst king Edward was alive: he feared king Edward might play an after-game of affection in his subjects: in order therefore to his death, he is removed from Kenilworth, (where the earl of Leicester his keeper was suspected too sympathizing with his sorrow,) unto Berkeley Castle, where he was barbarously butchered, being struck into the postern of his body with a hot spit, as it is generally reported.

21, 22. *A Brace of loyal Subjects, and a loyal Priest-Chancellor.*

Nothing now remaineth in this king's reign, save to take notice how the clergy (understand such who were active, for neuters shall pass for none) stand affected in this great state-difference. I find not enough to call a number of the bishops cordial to the king. For, beside Walter Stapleton, bishop of Exeter, (of whom before,) only John Stratford, bishop of Winchester, heartily adhered unto him; and yet this Stratford was employed on a message from the parliament to the king at Kenilworth, to persuade him to resign the crown, though having no other design than the king's safety therein. He hoped that in this tempest the casting-out of the lading would save the hulk of the ship, and the surrendering of the sceptre secure the king's person.

With John Stratford let me couple Robert de Baldock, (though no bishop, a bishop's mate,) as a priest and chancellor of England. This man, unable to assist, resolved to attend the king, and was taken with him in Wales. Hence was he brought up to London, and committed to Adam Tarleton, [De Orleton,] bishop of Hereford. Here the shadow of Tarleton's mitre, if pleased to put forth his power, might have secured this his guest-prisoner from any danger; whereas, on the contrary, it is more than suspicious that he gave a signal to the tumultuous people to seize his person. For he was dragged to Newgate, and there paid his life for his loyalty; yet was never heard to complain of the dearness of his pennyworth. If any violence was secretly offered unto his person, he might endure it the more patiently, having read, that "the disciple is not above his Master, nor the servant better than his Lord," Matt. x. 24. This Baldock was a good justicer, [justiciary,] nor charged in our Chronicles with any misdemeanour, save faithfulness to an unfortunate master; and his memory will traverse his innocence, as confessing the fact, but denying any fault therein.

23. *Walter Reynolds unthankful to the King.*

But we have more than a good number of such bishops, who ungratefully sided with the queen, against her husband and their sovereign. Walter Reynolds, archbishop of Canterbury, leads

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their van, preferred to that see, at the king's great importunity, and by the pope's POWER OF PROVISION,—on the same token, that a far better man, Thomas Cobham by name, dean of Salisbury, (so learned and pious a person that he was generally called "the good clergyman,") legally elected by the commons, was put by, by the pope, to make room for this Reynolds. He afterwards complied with the queen (his new mistress) against his old master, active to perform his desires. This some seek in vain to excuse, by pleasing her imperious spirit, and this archbishop's fearfulness, alleging that cowardliness is rather a defect in nature than default in morality.

24. *The Nature of the Pope's Provisions.*

A word by the way of the nature of the POPE'S PROVISIONS, (lately mentioned,) which now began to be a general grievance of our nation. When any bishopric, abbot's place, dignity, or good living, *(aquila non capit muscas!)* was like to be void, the pope, by a profitable *prolepsis* to himself, predisposed such places to such successors as he pleased. By this device he defeated, when so pleased, the legal election of all convents, and rightful presentation of all patrons. He took up churches before they fell, yea, before they ever stumbled: I mean, whilst as yet no suspicion of sickness in incumbents younger and healthier than his Holiness himself. Yea, sometimes no Act of Provision was entered *in scriptis* in the court; only the pope was pleased to say by word of mouth, (and who durst confute him?) he had done it. So that incumbents to livings, who otherwise had a rightful title from their patrons, were, to purchase their peace, glad to buy of the pope's provisions. Yea, his Holiness sold them aforehand to several persons; so that not he who gave the *first* but the *most* money, carried away the preferment.

25. *Henry Bishop of Lincoln bad.*

Next we take notice of Henry Burwash, bishop of Lincoln, lately restored to the favour of king Edward, and by him lately esteemed. Yet no sooner did the queen appear in the field, with an army against him, but this bishop was the first and forwardest who publicly repaired unto her. This Burwash was he who, by mere might, against all right and reason, took-in the land of many poor people, (without making also the least reparation,) therewith to complete his park at Tinghurst. These wronged persons, though seeing their own bread, beef, and mutton, turned into the bishop's venison, durst not contest with him who was chancellor of England,—though neither law nor equity in this his action; only they loaded him with curses and execrations. This mindeth me of a modern accident, when, some twenty years since, a knight went

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about injuriously to enclose the commons of a town, and demanded of his bailiff what the railing-in of the same would amount to; to whom his servant answered, that, "if he would take in the commons, the country would find him railings," as here they did this injurious bishop. Otherwise, let me say, that enclosures made without oppression are a grand enriching both to private persons and to the commonwealth.

26. *Smile or frown.*

Here let the reader smile or frown, I am resolved to write what I find recorded in a grave author,* deriving it no doubt from good intelligence. This bishop Burwash is said, after his death, to have appeared to one of his former familiar friends, apparelled "like a forester, all in green-a," with his bow and quiver of arrows, and his bugle-horn hanging by his side. To him he complained, that, for the injuries done by him to [the] poor, whilst living, he was now condemned to this penance,—to be the park-keeper of that place which he so wrongfully had enclosed. He therefore desired him to repair to the canons of Lincoln, and in his name to request them, that they would take order, that, all hedges being cut down, and ditches filled up, all might be reduced to their property, and the poor men be restored to their inheritance. It is added, moreover, that one W. Batheler was employed by the canons aforesaid to see the premisses performed; which was done accordingly.

27. *A grave Foolery.*

This pretended apparition seems inconsistent with the nature of purgatory, as usually by papists represented to people. Surely, the smoke thereof would have sooted his green suit; and the penance seems so slight and light for the offence, as having so much liberty and pleasure in a place of command. Some poets would have fancied him rather conceived himself turned, Acteon-like, into a deer, to be daily hunted by his own hounds, (guilt of conscience,) until he made restitution. But, it seems, there be degrees in purgatory; and the bishop, not in the prison itself, but only within the rules thereof, privileged to go abroad, (whether on his parole, or with his keeper, uncertain,) till he could procure suffrages for his plenary relaxation.

28, 29. *A Devil preaching, and as bad writing; a strange Apparition.*

Adam Tarleton, bishop of Hereford, is the last we will insist on, born in that city, where afterward he became bishop; yet not

* GODWIN in the Bishops of Lincoln.

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honoured, but hated and feared, in the place of his nativity. He was the grand engineer and contriver of all mischief against the king: witness the sermon preached by him at Oxford, before the queen, then in hostile pursuit after her husband, taking for his text the words of the sick son of the Shunammite: "My head, my head!" Here his wit and malice endeavoured to reap what God's Spirit did never intentionally sow, and urged, that a bad king (the distempered head of a state) is past physic or surgery to be cured by receipts or plasters, but the only way is to cut it off from the body.

His writing was worse than his preaching: for when such agents set to keep king Edward in Berkeley Castle were, by secret order from Roger Mortimer, commanded to kill him, they by letters addressed themselves for advice to this bishop, then not far off, at Hereford, craving his counsel, what they should do in so difficult and dangerous a matter. He returned unto them a riddling answer, altogether unpointed, which carried in it life and death; yea, life or death, as variously construed; resolved to be guided and governed wholly by his direction, not to dispute, but do, what from him was recommended unto them, as knowing him able both in conscience and policy to advise them.

LIFE AND DEATH.—"To kill king Edward you need not to fear it is good."

LIFE.—"To kill king Edward you need not, to fear it is good."

DEATH.—"To kill king Edward you need not to fear, it is good."

30. *Arraigned for Treason, he escapes the first Time.*

This Adam Tarleton was afterwards accused of treason, in the beginning of the reign of king Edward III., and arraigned by the king's officers, when, in the presence of the king, he thus boldly uttered himself:—"My lord the king, with all due respect unto your majesty, I Adam, a humble minister and member of the church of God, and a consecrated bishop, though unworthy, neither can nor ought to answer unto so hard questions, without the connivance and consent of my lord archbishop of Canterbury, my immediate judge under the pope, and without the consent of other bishops who are my peers." Three archbishops were there present in the place,—Canterbury, York, and Dublin, by whose intercession Tarleton escaped at that time.

31. *Arraigned again, and protected by the Clergy.*

Not long after, he was arraigned again at the King's Bench; the news whereof so startled the clergy, that the foresaid archbishops erected their standards, (I mean, set up their crosses,) and, with ten bishops more, attended with a numerous train of well-weaponed

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servants, advanced to the place of judicature. The king's officers, frighted at the sight, fled away, leaving Tarleton the prisoner alone at the bar; whom the archbishops took home into their own custody, denouncing a curse on all such who should presume to lay violent hands upon him.

32. *Cast the third Time by a lay Jury, and proscribed.*

The king, offended hereat, caused a jury of laymen to be empannelled, and to inquire, according to form of law, into the actions of the bishop of Hereford. This was a leading case, and the first time that ever laymen passed their verdict on a clergyman. These jurors found the bishop guilty; whereupon the king presently seized on his temporals, he proscribed the bishop, and despoiled him of all his movables. However, afterwards he came off, and was reconciled to the king, and by the pope made bishop of Winchester, where he died, a thorough old man, and blinded with age; many envying so quiet a death to one who, living, had been so turbulent a person. But these things happened many years after.

SECTION IX.

TO MASTER THOMAS WILLIAMS, AND MASTER WILLIAM VANBRUGH, OF LONDON, MERCHANTS.

Astronomers affirm that some planets, Saturn, Jupiter, &c., are by many degrees greater than the moon itself; and this they can easily evidence by demonstration. However, the moon is bigger, and shows brighter, to men's eyes, because of the vicinity thereof; whilst other stars are dimmed and diminished by their distance.

He is not the happiest man who has the highest friends, too remote to assist him; whilst others lesser might be nearer at his need. My own experience can avouch the truth thereof, in relation to your courtesies bestowed upon me.

1. Defunctus amabitur idem. *King Edward II. half-sainted.* 1 Edward III. *A.D.* 1326.

Soon after his death, king Edward was much lamented by those of whom, in his life-time, he was never beloved. Whether this pro-

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ceeded from the mere mutability of men's minds, weary to loiter long in the lazy posture of the same affection; or whether it proceeded from the pride of Mortimer, whose insolence grew intolerable; or whether it was because his punishment was generally apprehended to be too heavy for his fault; so that deposition without death, or, at the worst, death without such unhuman cruelty, had been sufficient.

One of our English poet-historians * acquainted us with a passage, which to my knowledge appeareth not in other authors:—

> "At Gloucester entombed faire, and buried
> Where some say God shewed for him great grace
> Sith that time, with miracles laudified
> Oft-times, in diverse many case
> As is written there, in that same place.
> For which king Richard, called the Second,
> To translate him was purposed whole and sound."

It is much that one, but a small saint whilst alive, should be so great an one when dead as to be miraculously illustrious. But every man may believe his proportion.†

2. *A Pair of Kings well-matched.*

Indeed, great was the conformity betwixt this king Edward and that king Richard, both being *secundi*, "the second" of their name: but not *secundi*, "happy" in their success. And had king Richard II. known aforehand what casualty did attend him, no wonder if he secretly sympathized with his condition: both sons of valiant and beloved fathers; both of proper and amiable persons; both debauched by the ill counsel of their dissolute companions; both deposed from their crowns; both murdered whilst prisoners, in a clandestine and (as some report) self-same way of cruelty.

3. *King Edward not active in his Father's Deposing.*

Ingenuous people are very loath to believe king Edward III. accessary to his father's death, otherwise than by accepting the crown which he should have refused, and antedating his own sovereignty: which may be excused by his tender years,—thirteen as some, fifteen as others, compute them. Nor is it a weak argument of his innocence with impartial people, because he reigned above fifty years, and lived to be a thorough old man: a happiness promised by God to such who are obedient to their parents. Besides, it is considerable, that this king having a numerous issue of active children of both sexes, none visibly appear a cross unto him for any notorious undutifulness.

* JOHN HARDING in the Life of King Edward II. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 336.—EDIT.

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4, 5. *His admirable Success in his Wars, and Humility.*

The former part of this king's reign affords but little church-history, as totally taken up with his achievements in Scotland and France, where his success by sea and land was above belief, and even to admiration. He conquered both before his face and behind his back, whence he came and whither he went, north and south; the one in his person, the other by his substitutes in his absence. Insomuch that he got more than he knew what to do with, exhausting the land to man the cities which he had gained. Herein he stands without a parallel,—that he had both the kings he fought against, namely, John de Valois of France, and David the king of Scotland, his prisoners at one time, not taken by any cowardly surprise, but by fair fight in open field.

It soundeth much to the commendation of his modesty and moderation, that, intending to found an Order of knighthood at his castle of Windsor,* where he had these two royal prisoners; in the institution thereof he neither had any insolent relation to his own conquest, nor opprobrious reflection on his enemies' captivity, but began the innocent Order of the Garter, unreferring to any of his former achievements. But, more hereof in due time.

6. *England hitherto ignorant in curious Clothing.* *A.D.* 1336.

The king and state began now to grow sensible of the great gain the Netherlands got by our English wool; in memory whereof the duke of Burgundy, not long after, instituted the Order of the Golden Fleece; wherein, indeed, the *fleece* was ours, the *golden* theirs,—so vast their emolument by the trade of clothing. Our king therefore resolved, if possible, to reduce the trade to his own country, who as yet were ignorant of that art, as knowing no more what to do with their wool than the sheep that wear it, as to any artificial and curious drapery; their best clothes then being no better than friezes, such their coarseness for want of skill in their making. But soon after followed a great alteration, and we shall enlarge ourselves in the manner thereof.

7—10. *The King's Agents tempt the Dutch Apprentices to come over into England; and obtain their Desire. Their welcome Reception.*

The intercourse now being great betwixt the English and the Netherlands, (increased of late, since king Edward married the daughter of the earl of Hainault,) unsuspected emissaries were employed by our

* Others say, in London town.

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king into those countries, who wrought themselves into familiarity with such Dutchmen as were absolute masters of their trade, but not masters of themselves, as either journeymen or apprentices. These bemoaned the slavishness of these poor servants, whom their masters used rather like Heathens than Christians, yea, rather like horses than men! Early up and late in bed, and all day hard work and harder fare, (a few herrings and mouldy cheese,) and all to enrich the churls their masters, without any profit unto themselves.

But O how happy should they be if they would but come over into England, bringing their mystery with them, which would provide their welcome in all places! Here they should feed on fat beef and mutton, till nothing but their fulness should stint their stomachs: yea, they should feed on the labours of their own hands, enjoying a proportionable profit of their pains to themselves; their beds should be good, and their bed-fellows better; seeing the richest yeomen in England would not disdain to marry their daughters unto them; and such the English beauties, that the most envious foreigners could not but commend them.

Liberty is a lesson quickly conned by heart; men having a principle within themselves to prompt them, in case they forget it. Persuaded with the premisses, many Dutch servants leave their masters and make over for England. Their departure thence (being picked here and there) made no sensible vacuity; but their meeting here all together amounted to a considerable fulness. With themselves, they brought over their trade and their tools; namely, such which could not as yet be so conveniently made in England.

Happy the yeoman's house into which one of these Dutchmen did enter, bringing industry and wealth along with them. Such who came in strangers within their doors, soon after went out bridegrooms, and returned son-in-laws, having married the daughters of their landlords who first entertained them. Yea, those yeomen in whose houses they harboured soon proceeded gentlemen, gaining great estates to themselves, arms and worship to their estates.

11. *The King politicly disperseth the Dutch.*

The king, having gotten this treasury of foreigners, thought not fit to continue them all in one place, lest on discontent they might embrace a general resolution to return; but bestowed them through all the parts of the land, that clothing thereby might be the better dispersed. Here I say nothing of the colony of old Dutch, who, frighted out of their own country with an inundation, about the reign of king Henry I., possibly before that nation had attained the cunning of cloth-making, were seated only in Pembrokeshire. This new generation of Dutch was now sprinkled every where, so that England

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(in relation, I mean, to her own counties) may bespeak these inmates in the language of the Poet:—

Quæ regio in terris vestri non plena laboris?

Though generally, where left to their own choice, they preferred a maritime habitation.

EAST.—(1.) Norfolk, Norwich Fustians; (2.) Suffolk, Sudbury Baize; (3.) Essex, Colchester Sayes and Serges; (4.) Kent, Kentish Broad Cloths.

WEST.—(1.) Devonshire, Kerseys; (2.) Gloucestershire, Cloth; (3.) Worcestershire, Cloth; (4.) Wales, Welsh Friezes.

NORTH.—(1.) Westmoreland, Kendal Cloth; (2.) Lancashire, Manchester Cotton; (3.) Yorkshire, Halifax Cloths.

SOUTH.—(1.) Somersetshire, Taunton Serges; (2.) Hampshire, Cloth; (3.) Berkshire, Cloth; (4.) Sussex, Cloth.

I am informed, that a prime Dutch cloth-maker in Gloucestershire had the surname of WEB given him by king Edward there; a family still famous for their manufacture. Observe we here, that Mid-England,—Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, and Cambridge,—having most of wool, have least of clothing therein.

12. *Fullers' Earth a precious Commodity.*

Here the Dutchmen found fullers' earth a precious treasure; whereof England hath, if not more, better than all Christendom besides: a great commodity of the quorum to the making of good cloth; so that nature may seem to point out our land for the staple of drapery, if the idleness of her inhabitants be not the only hinderance thereof. This fullers' earth is clean contrary to our Jesuits, who are needless drugs, yet still staying here, though daily commanded to depart; whilst fullers' earth, a precious ware, is daily scoured hence, though by law forbidden to be transported.

13. *Woollen Cloth the English Wealth.*

And now was the English wool improved to the highest profit, passing through so many hands, every one having a fleece of the fleece,—sorters, combers, carders, spinsters, weavers, fullers, dyers, pressers, packers: and these manufactures have been heightened to a higher perfection since the cruelty of the duke de Alva drove over more Dutch into England. But enough of this subject: which let none condemn for a deviation from Church History: First. Because it would not grieve one to go a little out of the way, if the way be good, as this digression is, for the credit and profit of our country. Secondly. It reductively belongeth to the Church History, seeing many poor people, both young and old, formerly charging the

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parishes, (as appeared by the accounts of the church-officers,) were hereby enabled to maintain themselves.

14, 15. *The Pope's Italian Usurers turn Merchants; but at last are prohibited by the King.*

The extortion of the pope being now somewhat abated in England, the Caursines or Lombards, formerly the money-merchants of his Holiness, and the grand usurers of England, did not drive so full a trade as before. Whereupon they betake themselves to other merchandise, and began to store England with foreign commodities, but at unreasonable rates, whilst England itself had as yet but little and bad shipping, and those less employed.

But now king Edward, to prevent the engrossing of trade into the hand of foreigners, and to restore the same to his native subjects, took order that these aliens should no longer prey on the radical moisture of this land; but began to cherish navigation in his own subjects, and gave a check to such commodities which foreigners did import, as in ancient poems is largely described; whereof so much as concerneth our purpose:—

> "He made a statute for Lombards in this land,
> That they should in no wise take on hand
> Here to inhabit, here to charge and discharge,
> But forty dayes no more time had they large,
> This good king by wit of such appriefe
> Kept his merchants and the sea-from mischiefe." *

But this was a work of time to perform, and took not full effect to the end of this king's reign; yea, the Lombards were not totally routed till the reign of king Richard III.

16, 17. *A Survey made of the Clergy's Glebe-Land; partly useless by ill engrossing.*

About this time the clergy were very bountiful in contributing to the king's necessities, in proportion to their benefices. Hereupon a survey was exactly taken of all their glebe-land; and the same, fairly engrossed in parchment, was returned into the Exchequer, where it remaineth at this day, and is the most useful record for clergymen (and also for impropriators as under their claim) to recover their right. Many a straggling acre, wandering out of the way, had long since by sacrilegious guides been seduced into the possession of false owners, had not this record directed them at last to their true proprietary.

The worst is, whilst some diocesses in this terrier were exactly done, and remain fairly legible at this day, others were so slightly

* *Liber de Custodiâ Maris*, extant in HAKLUYT's "Voyages," book i. p. 191.

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slubbered over, that, though kept with equal carefulness, they are useless in effect, as not to be read: thus I was informed from a clerk in that office lately deceased,* who, when living, was older and as able as any therein. And thus manuscripts, like those men who wrote them, though starting with their equals, hold not all out to the same length, their *humidum radicale* (their ink, I mean) not lasting alike in all originals.

18, 19. *Clergymen engross all Offices: several Opinions of the Causes thereof.*

It was now generally complained of as a grand grievance, that the clergy engrossed all places of judicature in the land. Nothing was left to laymen, but either military commands,—as general, admiral, &c.,—or such judges' places as concerned only the very letter of the common-law; and those also scarcely reserved to the students thereof. As for embassies into foreign parts, noblemen were employed therein, when expense, not experience, was required thereunto, and ceremony the substance of the service; otherwise, when any difficulty in civil-law, then clergymen were ever entertained. The lord chancellor was ever a bishop, as if against equity to employ any other therein;† yea, that court generally appeared as a synod of divines, where the clerks were clerks, as generally in Orders. The same was also true of the lord treasurer and barons of the Exchequer.

Some imputed this to the pragmaticalness of the clergy, active to insinuate themselves into all employment, how improper soever to their profession. Others ascribed it to the king's necessity: the war engrossing the main of his men of merit; so that he was necessitated to make use of clergymen. Others attributed it to the king's election, (no way weak in head or hand, plotting or performing,) finding such the fittest to serve him; who, being single persons, and having no design to raise a family, were as knowing as any in the mysteries of money,‡ and safest to be entrusted therein. But more hereof hereafter.

20. *The Founding of Queen's-College in Oxford by Robert Eglesfield. A.D.* 1340.

Robert Eglesfield, bachelor of divinity, chaplain to queen Philippa, wife to king Edward III., founded a college on his own ground, by the name of Queen's-College, commending the patronage thereof to his lady the queen, and to the queens of England successively; which he endowed with lands and revenues for the

* WALTER HILLARY. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 429.—EDIT.
‡ Matters of weight.

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maintenance of a Provost and twelve Fellows, who were to be augmented as the revenues increased.

21. *A Pair of Princes bred therein.*

Now, though this was called Queen's, from their honorary patronesses, it may be styled Princes'-College from those pair of students therein,—Edward the Black Prince, who presently after this foundation had his education therein, and Henry V., (as yet prince of Wales,) under Henry Beaufort, chancellor of this university, and his uncle; his chamber was over the college gate, where his picture at this day remaineth in brass with this inscription under it:—

IN PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM.

Imperator Britanniæ,
Triumphator Galliæ,
Hostium victor, et sui,
Henricus quintus, hujus collegii
Et cubiculi (minuti satis)
Olim magnus incola.[*]

Which lodging hath for this sixteen years belonged to my worthy friend Mr. Thomas Barlow, that most able and judicious philosopher and divine, being a library in himself, and keeper of another, that of sir Thomas Bodley's erection, out of which he hath courteously communicated to me some rarities of this university.

22, 23. *Queens Nursing-Mothers to this College. Queen Elizabeth's singular Bounty.*

Now, according to the care and desire of the founder, the queens of England have ever been nursing-mothers to this foundation. O what advantage they have when lying in the bosoms of their royal consorts, by whom they cannot be denied what is equal, and of whom they will not desire what is otherwise! Thus queen Philippa obtained of her husband, king Edward III., the hospital of St. Julian's in Southampton, commonly called God's House; queen Elizabeth, wife to king Edward IV., procured of him the priory of Sherborne in Hampshire; and queen Mary, by her intercession, prevailed with king Charles for the perpetual patronage of certain benefices in the same county.

Nor let not our virgin-queen be forgotten, as, in effect, refoundress of this, from the third year of her reign: being informed that the title of the foundation thereof, with the lands thereunto belonging, were in question, and subject to eviction, [she] by Act of Parliament conferred a sure estate of the same.

[*] ROSSUS WARWICENSIS *MS. in Henrico quinto.*

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24. *This College parted between two Archbishops.*

I meet, in the records of the Tower rolls, with a passage concerning this college; and though I do not perfectly understand, I will exemplify it.

"And a little after, upon divers matters moved between the said archbishop," (Thomas Arundel,) "and the archbishop of York," (Henry Bowet,) "upon certain privileges pretended by the said archbishop of York in the college called Queen-Hall in the university of Oxford: The said archbishop of Canterbury in presence of the king and of the lords promised, that if the said archbishop of York could sufficiently show any privilege, or specialty of record, wherefore the said archbishop of Canterbury ought not to use his visitation of the said college, he would then abstain: saving to himself always the visitation of the said scholars abiding in the said college, according to the judgment and decrees, made and given by king Richard II. and by our lord king Henry that now is, as, in the record thereof made,* thereof more plainly is declared."†

It seems hereby, so far as I can apprehend, this college was so parted betwixt the two metropolitans, that the dead moiety, namely, the lands and revenues thereof, belonged to the inspection of the archbishop of York; whilst the living half, namely, the scholars, especially in matters concerning their religion, pertained to the visitation of the archbishop of Canterbury.

PROVOSTS.—Richard de Retteford, John de Hotham, Henry Whitfield, Thomas de Carlile, Roger Whelpdale, Walter Bell, Rowland Byris, William Spenser, Thomas Langton, Christopher Bainbridge, Edward Rigge, John Pantrey, William Denys, [Devenish,] Hugh Hodgson, Thomas Francis, Lancelot Shaw, Alane Scot, Bartholomew Bowsefield, Henry Robinson, Henry Airay, Barnabas Potter, Christopher Potter, Gerard Langbaine.

BENEFACTORS.—Robert Langton, Thomas Langton, Edmund Grindal, Christopher Bainbridge, William Fettiplace, Henry Robinson, Henry Airay.

BISHOPS.—Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester and cardinal of St. Eusebius; Christopher Bainbridge, archbishop of York and cardinal of St. Praxeas; Henry Robinson, bishop of Carlisle; Barnabas Potter, bishop of Carlisle.

LEARNED WRITERS.—John Wickliffe,‡ John de Trevisa, of whom hereafter, *anno* 1397. This house hath lately been happy in learned lawyers, sir John Banks, sir Robert Berkeley, sir Thomas Tempest, attorney-general of Ireland, judge Atkins, courteous to

* *Ex Rot. Parl. Henrici quarti anno* 13. † See this recorded at large in the next book, sect. ii. parag. 24—27, pp. 484—486. ‡ Balliol, Merton, and Queen's Colleges claim him; and all, perchance rightly, at several times.

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all men of my profession, and myself especially. Sir Thomas Overbury, Christopher Potter, in his excellent work of "Charity Mistaken;" Gerard Langbaine, eminent for his "Review of the Council of Trent." Thomas Barlow.

So that at this present are maintained therein, one Provost, fourteen Fellows, seven Scholars, two Chaplains, two Clerks, and other Students about one hundred and sixty.

25. *The Pope makes Use of the King's Absence.*

In the mean time the pope was not idle, but laid about him for his own profit; knowing king Edward could not attend [to] two things at once. And therefore, whilst he was busied about his wars in France, his Holiness bestirred him in England, cropping the flowers of the best livings in their bud before they were blown. Yea, in a manner, he may be said to "seethe the kid in the mother's milk." So that before livings were actually void, he provisionally pre-provided incumbents for them, and those generally aliens and his own countrymen.

26, 27. *The Statute of Provisions reasonably made. Man's Anger worketh God's Pleasure. A.D.* 1343.

Though late, the king got leisure to look on his own land, where he found a strange alteration; for as France lately was made English by his valour, England was now turned Italian by the pope's covetousness. In prevention, therefore, of future mischief, this Statute of Provisions was made, whereby such forestalling of livings to foreigners was forbidden.

Our authors assign another accidental cause of the king's displeasure with the pope; namely, that when his Holiness created twelve cardinals at the request of the king of France, he denied to make one at the desire of this king of England. Surely, it was not reasonable in proportion, that his Holiness, giving the whole dozen to the king of France, might not allow the advantage to the king of England. However, betwixt both, this statute was made, to the great enriching of the kingdom, and contentment of the subjects therein.

28. *Statutes of Provisions not presently obeyed.*

Yet this law of Provisions, as all others, did not, at the first making, meet with present and perfect obedience. The papal party did struggle for a time, till at last they were patient per-force, finding the king's power predominant. True it is, this grievance did continue, and was complained of, all this and most of the next king's reign, till the Statute of *Præmunire* was made, which clinched the

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nail which now was driven in. So that afterwards the land was cleared from the encumbrance of such Provisions.

29. *Papal Power in England declines.* *A.D.* 1345.

A good author tells us, *Habent imperia suos terminos; huc cùm venerint, sistunt, retrocedunt, ruunt:* "Empires have their bounds; whither when they come, they stand still, they go back, they fall down." This is true in respect to the papal power in England. It went forward until the Statute of Mortmain was made, in the reign of king Edward I. It went backward slowly when this Statute of Provisions, swiftly when this Statute of *Præmunire*, was made. It fell down when the papacy was abolished in the reign of king Henry VIII.

30. *The Pope takes Wit in his Anger.* *A.D.* 1346.

Three years after the Statute against the pope's Provisions was made, the king presented unto him Thomas Hatlife [De Hatfield] to be bishop of Durham, one who was the king's secretary; and when this is, all is, said that can be, in his commendation, as utterly devoid of all other episcopal qualifications. However, the pope confirmed him without any dispute or delay; and, being demanded why he consented to the preferment of so worthless a person, he answered, that, *rebus sic stantibus*, if the king of England had presented an ass unto him, he would have confirmed him in the bishopric. Indeed, as yet, his Holiness was in hope, that either the king would revoke the foresaid statute, or else moderate the execution thereof.

31. *The Institution of the Knights of the Garter.* *A.D.* 1350.

This year, authors generally agree, (some few making it later, namely, after John king of France was taken prisoner,) king Edward instituted the Order of the Garter,* consisting of

(1.) One chief guardian or sovereign, being the king of England.

(2.) Five-and-twenty knights, whereof the first set were termed "Founders," and their successors ever since called "Fellows" or "Companions" of the Order.

(3.) Fourteen canons † resident, being secular priests.

(4.) Thirteen vicars, or choral priests.

(5.) Twelve military gentlemen of the meaner sort, decayed in age and estate, commonly called "the poor Knights of Windsor."

(6.) One Prelate of the Garter, being always the bishop of Winchester.

(7.) One chancellor thereof, being anciently the bishop of Salis-

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 430.—EDIT. † "Thirteen only with the Dean," says Heylin; which mistake Fuller acknowledges, and promises to rectify.—EDIT.

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bury, in whose diocess Windsor is; but lately a lay person. The truly honourable and well-experienced statesman and traveller, sir Thomas Row (if I mistake not) was the last chancellor of the Garter.

(8.) One register, being generally * the dean of Windsor.

(9.) One usher, who is one of the ushers of the king's chamber, called "the Black Rod."

(10.) A chief herald, added for the more solemnity by king Henry V., and called "Garter." This Order the king founded within his castle of Windsor, to the honour of Almighty God, and the blessed virgin Mary, and of the glorious martyr St. George, and to the exaltation of the holy catholic faith.

32—34. *The Qualification of these Knights; their Habits; their Oath.*

Four essentials are requisite in the persons eligible into this Order: First. That they be gentlemen of name and arms by fathers' and mothers' side, for three descents. Secondly. That he be without spot or foul reproach; understand it, not convicted of heresy, or attainted of treason. Thirdly. That he have a competent estate to maintain the dignity of the Order. Fourthly. That he never fled in the day of battle, his sovereign lord or his lieutenant being in the field.

Their habiliments are either *ordinary*, as a blue ribbon with the picture of St. George appendant, and the sun in his glory on the left shoulder of their cloak, added, as some say, by king Charles, being for their daily wearing: or *extraordinary*, as their collar of S. S., their purple mantle, their gown, kirtle, chaperon, and chiefly their garter. This being made of blue is, with, *Hony soit qui male pense*, in golden letters, enchased with precious stones, fastened with a buckle of gold, and worn on the left leg of the Fellows of this Order.

They take an oath, that to their power, during the time that they are Fellows of the Order, they shall defend the honour, quarrel, rights, and lordships of their sovereign; that they shall endeavour to preserve the honour of the Order, and, without fraud or covin, well observe the statutes thereof. This is taken absolutely by the natives of this kingdom, but by foreigners relatively and in part, with their reference to some former Order.

35. *Other Rites they are bound to observe.*

They oblige themselves, first, to be personally present (without a just cause specified to and accepted by the sovereign or his

* "Always" was the word employed by Fuller, who, at Heylin's suggestion, promises that "it shall be reformed." See the "Appeal of injured Innocence." p. 431.—EDIT.

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deputy) at Windsor on the festival of St. George. Secondly. That if coming within two miles of that place, (except hindered by some important business,) they repair thither, put on their mantles, (lying constantly liegers there,) proceed to the chapel, and there make their offering. Thirdly. That they be never openly seen without their GEORGES, which they shall neither engage, aliene, sell, nor give away on any necessity whatsoever. Lastly. That they take order, their garter at their death be safely and solemnly sent back to the sovereign, to confer the same on one to succeed him in the Order.

36. *Order, how voided.*

I have done when I have told, that their places may be vacated, on three occasions: First. By death, which layeth this (as all other) "honour in the dust." Secondly. By deprivation, on the person's misdemeanour or want of the aforesaid qualifications. Thirdly. By cession or surrender, when a foreign prince (entering into enmity with this crown) is pleased to send his garter back again.

37, 38. *Excess in Apparel restrained. A.D.* 1361.

Excess in apparel began now to be great in England, which made the state take order to retrench it. Some had a project, that men's clothes might be their signs to show their birth, degree, or estate; so that the quality of an unknown person might, at the first sight, be expounded by his apparel. But this was soon let fall as impossible; statesmen in all ages, notwithstanding their several laws to the contrary, being fain to connive at men's riot in this kind, which maintaineth more poor people than their charity. However, the ensuing passage must not be omitted:—

"Item, that the clerks which have a degree in a church, cathedral, collegial, or in schools, and the king's clerks which have such an estate that requires fur,* do and use according to the constitution of the same; and all other clerks which have about two hundred marks' rent *per annum* use and do as knights of the same rent; and other clerks under that rent use as squires of an hundred pound rent. And that all those, as well knights as clerks, which by this ordinance may use fur in winter, by the same manner may use it in summer."†

39, 40. *Clergymen enjoined to take up Arms. More scared than hurt. A.D.* 1368.

Pass we now from soft fur to hard steel; I mean, a command from the king for the arming of all clergymen:—

* *Pellure* in the French original. † *Rot. Tur. Lon. anno Edwardi III.* 37.

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"And beside this, the king commands and requires all the prelates there assembled, that, in respect of the great danger and damage which perhaps might happen to the realm and church of England, by reason of this war, in case his adversary should enter the kingdom to destroy and subvert the same, that they will put to their aid in defence of the kingdom, and cause their subjects to be arrayed, as well themselves and their religious men, as parsons, vicars, and other men of holy church whatsoever, to abate the malice of his enemies, in case they should enter the kingdom; which prelates granted to do this, in aid and defence of the realm and holy church." And so the parliament ended.*

Here we see, *in hostes publicos omnis homo miles*, none are dispensed with to oppose an invading enemy. But where were these foreign foes? France and Scotland being now both of them ordered into a defensive posture, whose invasion was expected? Possibly these dangers were represented through state-multiplying glasses, to quicken the care and continue the taxes on the English nation.

41—43. *A Petition against Clergymen's Employment in secular Places. The Answer, in Effect, a Denial.* A.D. 1370.

The Lords and Commons in Parliament began now to find themselves much aggrieved, that the clergy engrossed all secular offices; and thereupon presented the ensuing petition to the king, according to this effect, insisting only in the substance thereof:—

"And because that in this present Parliament it was declared to our lord the king, by all the Earls, Barons, and Commons of England, that the government of the kingdom hath been performed, for a long time, by the men of Holy Church, which are not justifiable in all cases,† whereby great mischiefs and damages have happened in times past, and more may happen in time to come in disheriting of the crown and great prejudice of the kingdom for divers causes that a man may declare——that it will please our said Lord the king, that the laymen of the said kingdom which are sufficient and able of estate may be chosen for this, and that no other person be hereafter made chancellor, treasurer, clerk of the privy seal, barons of the exchequer, chamberlains of the exchequer, controller, and all other great officers and governors of the said kingdom, and that this thing be now in such manner established in form aforesaid, that by no way it may be defeated or any thing done to the contrary in any time to come; saving always to our

* *Rot. in Turr. Londin. anno Edwardi III.* † *Justifiables* in the French originals, Quere, Whether "not able to do justice," or, "not to be justified in their employment," as improper for it?

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lord the king the election and removing of such officers, but that always they be laymen, such as is abovesaid." *

To this petition the king returned, that he would ordain upon this point as it shall best seem to him by the advice of his good council. He, therefore, who considereth the present power of the clergy, at the council-table, will not wonder, if all things remained in their former condition, till the nobility began more openly to favour John Wickliffe's opinions; which the next book, God willing, shall relate.

44. *Simon Mepkam, Archbishop of Canterbury.*

We will close this with a catalogue of the archbishops of Canterbury, contemporary with king Edward III.; and begin with Simon Mepham, made archbishop in the first year of his reign: so that the crown and the mitre may seem in some sort to have started together; only here was the odds,—the king was a young (yea, scarce a) man, whereas the archbishop was well stricken in years. Hence their difference in holding out—the king surviving to see him buried and six more, (whereof four Simons inclusively,) heart-broken, as they say, with grief. For when John Grandison, bishop of Exeter, (making much noise with his name, but more with his activity,) refused to be visited by him, (the pope siding with the bishop,) Mepham so resented it that it cost him his life.

45, 46. *John Stratford his Successor. His last his best Days.*

John Stratford was the second; consecrated, first, bishop of Winchester on the Lord's day, whereon it was solemnly sung, "Many are the afflictions of the righteous:" whereof he was very apprehensive then, and more afterwards, when his own experience had proved a comment thereon. Yet this might comfort him, whilst living, and make others honour his memory,—that a good conscience, without any great crime, generally caused his molestation. For, under king Edward II. he suffered for being too loyal a subject, siding with the king against the queen and her son; and under king Edward III. he was molested for being too faithful a patriot, namely, in pitying his poor countrymen's taxations; for which he was accused for correspondency with the French, and complying with the pope, (pope and king of France then blowing in one trumpet,) whereat king Edward was highly incensed.

However, Stratford did but say what thousands thought: namely, that a peace with France was for the profit of England, especially as proffered upon such honourable conditions. This the archbishop

* *Ex Rot. Parl. in Turre Londinensi in 45 Edwardi III.*

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was zealous for, upon a threefold account. First. Of piety, to save the effusion of more Christian blood. Secondly. Of policy, suspecting success, that the tide might turn, and what was suddenly gotten might be as suddenly lost. Thirdly. On charity, sympathizing with the sad condition of his fellow-subjects, groaning under the burden of taxes to maintain an unnecessary war. For England sent over her wealth into France, to pay their victorious soldiers, and received back again honour in exchange, whereby our nation became exceeding proud and exceeding poor. However, the end as well as the beginning of the psalm was verified of this archbishop: "The Lord delivereth them out of all:" dying in great honour and good esteem with the king,—a strong argument of his former innocence.

47, 48. *Thomas Bradwardine the third Archbishop; the best Archbishop of that See.*

The third was Thomas Bradwardine, whose election was little less than miraculous. For, commonly, the king refused whom the monks chose; the pope rejected whom the monks and king did elect; whereas all interests met in the choice of Bradwardine. Yea, which was more, the pope, as yet not knowing that the monks and the king had pre-elected him, of his own accord, as by supernatural instinct, appointed Bradwardine for that place, who little thought thereon. Thus *omne tulit punctum;* and no wonder, seeing he mingled his profitable doctrines with a sweet and amiable conversation. Indeed, he was skilled in School-learning, which one properly calleth *spinosa theologia;* * and though some will say, "Can figs grow on thorns?" yet his thorny divinity produced much sweet devotion.

He was confessor to king Edward III.; whose miraculous victories in France some impute more to this man's devout prayers, than either to the policy or prowess of the English nation. He died before he was enthronized, few months after his consecration, though now advanced on a more glorious and durable throne in heaven, where *he* hath received the crown from God, *who* here defended "the cause of God." † I behold him as the most pious man who, from Anselm (not to say Augustine) to Cranmer, sat on that seat; and a better St. Thomas (though not sainted by the pope) than one of his predecessors commonly so called.

49. *Simon Islip, next Archbishop.*

Simon Islip was the fourth, a parsimonious (but no avaricious) man; thrifty whilst living, therefore clandestinely enthronized;

* CAMDEN in "Elizabeth." † He wrote *De Causâ Dei.*

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and, when dead, secretly interred without any solemnity. Yet his frugality may be excused (if not commended) herein, because he reserved his estate for good uses, founding Canterbury-College in Oxford: thus generally bishops, founders of many colleges therein,* denominated them either from that saint to whom they were dedicated, or from their see, (as Exeter, Canterbury, Durham, Lincoln,) putting thereby a civil obligation on their successors to be as visitors so benefactors thereunto. This Canterbury-College is now swallowed up in Christ-Church, which is no single star as other colleges, but a constellation of many put together.

50. *Langham, Whittlesey, and Sudbury.*

Simon Langham is the fifth, much meriting by his munificence to Westminster Abbey. He was made cardinal of St. Praxeas, and by the pope bishop of Prænestе in Italy, with a faculty to hold as many ecclesiastical preferments as he could get. Hereupon he resigned his archbishopric of Canterbury, lived for a time at Avignon in France, and there buried (according to his own directions) in a temporary tomb, in a religious house of his own, till three years after removed to Westminster. William Whittlesey succeeded him, famous for freeing the university of Oxford from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Lincoln, formerly the diocesan thereof. As for Simon Sudbury, the last archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of king Edward III., of him, God willing, hereafter.

* *Excipe* Merton-College.

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THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK IV.

FROM THE FIRST APPEARING OF JOHN WICKLIFFE, UNTIL THE REIGN OF KING HENRY VIII.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JAMES HAY,

EARL OF CARLISLE,

VISCOUNT DONCASTER, BARON OF SAULEY AND WALTHAM.

We read in Holy Writ, when the Israelites fled before the Philistines, who spoiled a field of barley, how Eleazar, the son of Dodo, made them pay dear for their trespass; so stopping them in the full speed of their conquest, that he "saved Israel by a great deliverance," 1 Chron. xi. 14.

Inspired truths need not the security of human history to pass them into our belief. However, other writers afford examples how one man, in a manner, hath routed a whole army, and turned the flight of his party into an unexpected victory.

Thus the Chronicles * inform us, that when the Scots fled from the Danes, (at a place called Long-Carty,) one Hay, a husbandman, then at plough with his two sons, snatching the yoke into his hand, (it is the man makes the weapons, not the weapons the man,) not only stopped the enemies' further pursuit, but beat them back with a great overthrow: whose valour king Keneth II. (seven hundred years since) rewarded with as much ground of the best in Scotland as a falcon flew over at one flight before it did take a stand. And the memory hereof is

* George Buchanani *Rerum Scoticarum Hist.* book vi. p. 55.

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continued in your arms, who doth carry a chronicle in your coat, crest, and supporters.

Let none quarrel at your supporters, being two men holding each a yoke in his hand; seeing they are the supporters-general of all mankind, Solomon (being himself a king) observing, that "the king himself is maintained by husbandry," Eccles. v. 9. Besides, those yokes procured the Scotch liberty, who otherwise had been miserably enslaved to the Danish insolence. And if the bearing of arms were so ancient amongst the Jews as the Rabbies will have it, it is proportionably probable that the posterity of Shamgar gave the goad for the hereditary ensigns of their family, Judges iii. 31.

Nor must your motto be forgotten, CONSCIENTIA MILLE SCUTA, "A good conscience is a thousand shields," and every one of proof against the greatest peril. May your Honour therefore be careful to preserve it; seeing, "lose the shield, and lose the field,"—so great the concernment thereof.

No family in Christendom hath been ennobled on a more honourable occasion, hath flourished for longer continuance, or been preserved in a more miraculous manner.

It is reported of the Roman Fabii, no less numerous than valiant, (three hundred and sixty patricians flourishing of them at once,) they were all slain in one battle, one only excepted, who, being under age to bear arms, was preserved alive." *

A greater fatality befell your family in a fight at Duplin Castle, in the reign of our Edward I., when the whole household of Hayes was finally extirpated, and not one of them visible in the whole world. Only it happened, that the chief of them left his wife at home big with child, from whom your name is recruited, all springing as it were from a dead root, and thence deriving a posthume pedigree.†

* TITUS LIVIUS, *libro secundo.* † CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in *Scot. Stratherne*, p. 705.

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This puts me in hopes, that God, who so strangely preserved your name in Scotland, will not suffer it so soon to be extinct in England, but give you posterity by your noble consort, when it shall seem seasonable to his own will and pleasure.

All that I will add is this,—that seeing your Honour beareth three smaller shields, or in-escutcheons, in your arms, the shadow of the least of them, with its favourable reflection, is sufficient effectually to protect and defend the weak endeavours of

Your most obliged servant and chaplain,
THOMAS FULLER.

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THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK IV.

SECTION I.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY, CONTINUED.

1. *Several Causes of the speedy spreading of Wickliffe's Doctrine.* 45 Edward III. *A.D.* 1371.

THE Romanists observe, that several advantages concurred to the speedy propagation of Wickliffe's opinions; as, namely, First, the decrepit age of Edward III. and infancy of Richard his successor, being but a child, as his grandfather was twice a child; so that the reins of authority were let loose. Secondly. The attractive nature of novelty, drawing followers unto it. Thirdly. The enmity which John of Gaunt bare unto the clergy, which made him out of opposition to favour the doctrine and person of Wickliffe. Lastly. The envy which the pope had contracted by his exactions and collations of ecclesiastical benefices.* We deny not, these helps were instrumentally active in their several degrees, but must attribute the main to Divine Providence, blessing the gospel,† and to the nature of truth itself, which, though for a time violently suppressed, will seasonably make its own free and clear passage into the world.

2. *Wickliffe guilty of many Errors.*

And here we will acquaint the reader, that, being to write the History of Wickliffe, I intend neither to deny, dissemble, defend, nor excuse any of his faults. "We have this treasure," saith the apostle, "in earthen vessels," 2 Cor. iv. 7; and he that shall endeavour to prove a pitcher of clay to be a pot of gold, will take great pains to small purpose. Yea, should I be over-officious to

* HARPSFIELD in his *Historia Wicliffiana*, cap. i. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 434.—EDIT.

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retain myself to plead for Wickliffe's faults, that glorious saint would sooner chide than thank me,—unwilling that, in favour of him, truth should suffer prejudice. He was a man, and so subject to error; living in a dark age, more obnoxious to stumble; vexed with opposition, which makes men reel into violence; and therefore it is unreasonable, that the constitution and temper of his positive opinions should be guessed by his polemical heat, when he was chafed in disputation. But besides all these, envy hath falsely fathered many foul aspersions upon him.

3. *The Learning of Wickliffe.*

We can give no account of Wickliffe's parentage, birth-place, or infancy; only we find an ancient family of the Wickliffes in the bishopric of Durham,* since by match united to the Brackenburies, persons of primé quality in those parts. As for this our Wickliffe, history at the very first meets with him a man, and full grown, yea, graduate of Merton-College in Oxford.† The fruitful soil of his natural parts he had industriously improved by acquired learning; not only skilled in the fashionable arts of that age, and in that abstruse, crabbed divinity, all whose fruit is thorns: but also well-versed in the scriptures,—a rare accomplishment in those days. His public Acts in the Schools, he kept with great approbation; though the echo of his popular applause sounded the alarm to awaken the envy of his adversaries against him.

4. *Wickliffe accused for Ambition and Discontent.*

He is charged by the papists, as if discontent first put him upon his opinions. For, having usurped the Headship of Canterbury-College,‡ (founded by Simon Islip,) since, like a tributary brook, swallowed up in the vastness of Christ Church, after a long suit he was ejected by sentence from the pope, because, by the statutes, only a monk was capable of the place. Others add, that the loss of the bishopric of Worcester, which he desired, incensed him to revenge himself by innovations. And can true doctrine be the fruit where ambition and discontent hath been the root thereof? Yet such may know, that God often sanctifies man's weakness to his own glory; and that wise Architect makes, of the crookedness of men's conditions, straight beams in his own building, to raise his own honour upon them. Besides, these things are barely said, without other evidence: and if his foes' affirming be a proof, why should not his friends' denial thereof be a sufficient refutation? Out of the same mint of malice another story is coined against him,

* CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in the Bishopric of Durham. † BALÆUS, cent. vi. num. 1. ‡ HARPSFIELD, *Hist. Wicklifflana*, cap. i.

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—how Wickliffe, being once gravelled in public disputation, preferring rather to say nons—— than nothing, was forced to affirm that an accident was a substance.* Yet, methinks, if the story were true, such as defend the doctrine of accidents subsisting in the sacrament without a substance, might have invented some charitable qualification of this paradox; seeing those that defend falsehoods ought to be good fellows and help one another.

5. *The Employment of Wickliffe in Oxford.*

Seven years Wickliffe lived in Oxford, in some tolerable quiet, having a professor's place, and a cure of souls; on the week-days, in the Schools, proving to the learned what he meant to preach; and, on the Lord's day, preaching in the pulpit, to the vulgar, what he had proved before: not unlike those builders in the second temple, holding a sword in one hand, and a trowel in the other, Neh. iv. 17; his disputing making his preaching to be strong, and his preaching making his disputations to be plain. His speculative positions against the real presence in the eucharist did offend and distaste, but his practical tenets against purgatory and pilgrimages did enrage and bemad his adversaries; so woundable is the dragon, under the left wing, when pinched in point of profit. Hereupon they so prevailed with Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, that Wickliffe was silenced and deprived of his benefice; notwithstanding all which, he wanted nothing, secretly supplied by invisible persons; and he felt many a gift from a hand that he did not behold.

6. *Difference in the Number of Wickliffe's Opinions.*

Here it will be seasonable to give-in a list of Wickliffe's opinions, though we meet with much variety in the accounting of them.

(1.) Pope Gregory XI.† observed eighteen principal errors in his books; and Wickliffe is charged with the same number,‡ in the convocation at Lambeth.

(2.) Thomas Arundel,§ archbishop of Canterbury, in a synod held at Preaching-Friars, in London, condemned three-and-twenty of his opinions; the ten first for heretical, and the thirteen last for erroneous.

(3.) In the council at Constance,‖ five-and-forty articles of false doctrines were exhibited against Wickliffe, then lately deceased.

(4.) Thomas Waldensis computed fourscore errors in him.

(5.) John Lucke,¶ doctor of divinity in Oxford, brings up the account to two hundred sixty-six.

* HARPSFIELD, cap. 1. † *Idem*, p. 684. ‡ FOX's "Martyrology," p. 398.
§ *Idem*, p. 401. ‖ *Idem*, p. 414. ¶ HARPSFIELD, *Hist. Wickliff.* p. 669.

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Lastly, and above all, John Cochlæus* (it is fit that the latest edition should be the largest) swells them up to full three hundred and three.

Wonder not at this difference, as if Wickliffe's opinions were like the stones on Salisbury-Plain,—falsely reported that no two can count them alike. The variety ariseth, first, because some count only his primitive tenets, which are breeders; and others reckon all the young fry of consequences derived from them. Secondly. Some are more industrious to seek, perverse to collect, captious to expound, malicious to deduce, far-distant consequences; excellent at the inflaming of a reckoning, quick to discover an infant or embryo-error, which others overlook. Thirdly. It is probable, that, in process of time, Wickliffe might delate himself in supplemental and additional opinions, more than he at first maintained: and it is possible that the tenets of his followers in after-ages might be falsely fathered upon him. We will tie ourselves to no strict number or method, but take them as we find them, out of his greatest adversary, with exact quotation of the tome, book, article, and chapter, where they are reported.

Thomas Waldensis accuseth Wickliffe to have maintained these dangerous heretical Opinions.

OF THE POPE.

(1.) That it is blasphemy to call any "Head of the Church" save Christ alone. Tome iv. book ii. article 1, chapter 1.

(2.) That the election of the pope by cardinals is a device of the devil. T. i. b. ii. art. 3, chap. 39.

(3.) That those are heretics who say, that Peter had more power than the other apostles. T. i. b. ii. art. 1, chap. 2.

(4.) That James, bishop of Jerusalem, was preferred before Peter. T. i. b. ii. art. 1, chap. 4.

(5.) That Rome is not the seat in which Christ's vicar doth reside. T. i. b. ii. art. 3, chap. 41.

(6.) That the pope, if he doth not imitate Christ and Peter in his life and manners, is not to be called "the successor of Peter." T. i. b. ii. art. 3, chap. 35.

(7.) That the imperial and kingly authority are above the papal power. T. i. b. ii. art. 3, chap. 38.

(8.) That the doctrine of the infallibility of the church of Rome, in matters of faith, is the greatest blasphemy of anti-christ. T. i. b. ii. art. 3, chap. 48.

* *In Historia Hussitarum in Prolog. tomi primi.*

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(9.) That he often calleth the pope "anti-christ." T. i. b. ii. art. 3, chap. 54.

(10.) That Christ meant the pope, by "the abomination of desolation, standing in the holy place," Matt. xxiv. 15. T. i. b. ii. art. 3, chap. 32.

OF POPISH PRELATES.

(11.) That from the words, and works, and silence of prelates in preaching,* it seemeth probable that they are devils incarnate. T. i. b. ii. art. 2, chap. 16.

(12.) That bishops' benedictions, confirmations, consecrations of churches, chalices, &c., be but tricks to get money. T. i. b. ii. art. 3, chap. 57.

OF PRIESTS.

(13.) That plain deacons and priests may preach without licence of pope or bishop. T. i. b. ii. art. 3, chap. 71.

(14.) That in the time of the apostles, there were only two orders, namely, priests and deacons, and that a bishop doth not differ from a priest. T. i. b. ii. art. 3, chap. 60.

(15.) That it is lawful for laymen to absolve no less than for the priests. T. iii. chap. 68.

(16.) That it is lawful for clergymen to marry. T. ii. chap. 128.

(17.) That priests of bad life cease any longer to be priests.† Chap. 61.

OF THE CHURCH.

(18.) That he defined the church to consist only of persons predestinated. T. i. b. ii. chap. 8.

(19.) That he divideth the church into these three members,—clergymen, soldiers, and labourers. T. i. b. ii. art. 1, chap. 12.

(20.) That the church was not endowed with any immovable possessions, before Constantine the Great. T. i. b. iv. art. 3, chap. 37.

(21.) That it is no sacrilege to take away things consecrated to the church. T. i. b. iv. art. 3, chap. 16, 41.

(22.) That all beautiful building of churches is blameworthy, and savours of hypocrisy. T. i. chap. 143.

OF TITHES.

(23.) That parishioners by him were exhorted not to pay tithes to priests of dissolute life. T. i. b. ii. art. 3, chap. 65.

(24.) That tithes are pure alms, and that pastors ought not to exact them by ecclesiastical censures. T. i. b. ii. art. 3, chap. 64.

* *Ex verbo, opere, et taciturnitate prælatorum.* † WALDENSIS in several places of his book.

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OF THE SCRIPTURE.

(25.) That wise men leave that as impertinent which is not plainly expressed in scripture. T. i. b. ii. art. 2, chap. 23.

(26.) That he slighted the authority of general councils. T. i. b. ii. art. 2, chap. 26.

OF HERETICS.

(27.) That he called all writers since the thousandth year of Christ, "heretics." T. ii. chap. 81.

OF PRAYER.

(28.) That men are not bound to the observation of vigils, or canonical hours. T. iii. chap. 23, 25.

(29.) That it is vain for laymen to bargain with priests for their prayers. T. iii. chap. 11.

(30.) That to bind men to set and prescript forms of prayers, doth derogate from that liberty God hath given them. T. iii. chap. 21.

(31.) That, to depress the benefit of other men's purchased prayers, he recommended all men to hope and trust in their own righteousness. T. iii. chap. 8.

OF ALMS.

(32.) That we ought not to do any alms to a sinner, whilst we know him to be so. T. i. b. ii. art. 3, chap. 71.

OF THE SACRAMENTS.

(33.) That chrism, and other such ceremonies, are not to be used in baptism. T. iii. chap. 45, 46.

(34.) That those are fools and presumptuous who affirm such infants not to be saved, who die without baptism: and also, that he denied, that all sins are abolished in baptism. T. ii. chap. 99, 108.

(35.) That baptism doth not confer, but only signify, grace, which was given before. T. ii. chap. 98.

(36.) That in the sacrament of the altar, the host is not to be worshipped; and such as adore it are idolaters. T. ii. chap. 26.

(37.) That the substance of bread and wine still remain in the sacrament.*

(38.) That God could not, though he would, make his body to be at the same time in several places. T. ii. chap. 55.

(39.) That the sacrament of confirmation is not much necessary to salvation. T. i. chap. 109.

(40.) That confession, to a man truly contrite, is superfluous,

* This is scattered in several places of his book.

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used by anti-christ to know the secrets, and gain the wealth, of others. T. iii. chap. 147.

(41.) That that is no due marriage which is contracted without hope of having children. T. ii. chap. 130.

(42.) That extreme unction is needless, and no sacrament. T. ii. chap. 163.

OF ORDERS.

(43.) That religious sects confound the unity of Christ's church, who instituted but one order of serving him. T. ii. b. ii. art. 2, chap. 15.

(44.) That he denied all sacred initiations into Orders, as leaving no character behind them. T. ii. chap. 109.

(45.) That vowing of virginity is a doctrine of devils. T. iii. chap. 91.

OF SAINTS.

(46.) That such Christians who do worship saints border on idolatry. T. iii. chap. 130.

(47.) That it is needless to adorn the shrines of saints, or to go in pilgrimage to them. T. iii. chap. 133.

(48.) That miracles conceived done at saints' shrines may be delusions of the devil. T. iii. chap. 124, 125.

(49.) That saints' prayers (either here or in heaven) are only effectual for such as are good. T. iii. chap. 115.

OF THE KING.

(50.) That it is lawful in causes ecclesiastical, and matters of faith, after the bishop's sentence, to appeal to the secular prince. T. i. b. ii. art. 3, chap. 79.

(51.) That dominion over the creature is founded in grace. T. i. b. iii. art. 1, chap. 81.

(52.) That God divesteth *him* of all right *who* abuseth his power. T. i. b. iii. art. 3, chap. 83.

OF CHRIST.

(53.) That Christ was a man, even in those three days wherein his body did lie in the grave. T. i. b. ii. art. 3, chap. 43.

(54.) That the humanity of Christ, being separated, is to be worshipped with that adoration which is called *latria*. T. i. b. ii. art. 3, chap. 44.

(55.) That Christ is the humanity by him assumed. T. i. b. i. art. 3, chap. 44.

OF GOD.

(56.) That God loved David and Peter as dearly when they grievously sinned, as he doth now when they are possessed of glory. T. ii. chap. 160.

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(57.) That God giveth no good things to his enemies. T. i. b. ii. art. 3, chap. 82.

(58.) That God is not more willing to reward the good than to punish the wicked. T. ii. chap. 135.

(59.) That all things come to pass by fatal necessity.*

(60.) That God could not make the world otherwise than it is made. T. i. b. i. art. 1, chap. 13.

(61.) That God cannot do any thing which he doth not do. T. i. b. i. art. 1, chap. 10.

(62.) That God cannot make that something should return into nothing.

7. *Much Pity that Wickliffe's own Books are lost.*

Here the ingenuous reader must acknowledge, that many of these opinions are truths, at this day publicly professed in the protestant church. For the rest, what pity is it that we want Wickliffe's Works, to hear him speak in his own behalf! Were they all extant, therein we might read the occasion, intention, and connexion of what he spake; together with the limitations, restrictions, distinctions, qualifications, of what he maintained. There we might see what was the overplus of his passion, and what the just measure of his judgment. Many phrases, heretical in sound, would appear orthodox in sense. Yea, some of his poisonous passages, dressed with due caution, would prove not only wholesome but cordial truths; many of his expressions wanting, not *granum ponderis*, but *salis*, "no weight of truth, but some grains of discretion." But now, alas! of the two hundred books † which he wrote, being burnt, not a tittle is left, and we are fain to borrow the bare titles of them from his adversaries; ‡ from whom also these his opinions are extracted, who winnow his works, as satan did Peter, Luke xxii. 31, not to find the corn, but the chaff therein. And how candid some papists are in interpreting the meaning of protestants, appears by that cunning chymist,§ who hath distilled the spirits of Turcism out of the books of Calvin himself.

8. *Wickliffe appears before the Synod in St. Paul's.* *A.D.* 1376.

Now a synod was called by Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, at Paul's in London, the Parliament then sitting at Westminster; whither Wickliffe was summoned to appear; who came accordingly, but in a posture and equipage different from expectation. Four friars were to assist, the lord Percy to usher,

* WALDENSIS in several places layeth this to his charge. † ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, *Hist. Bohem.* p. 78. ‡ So JOHN BALE confesseth, cent. vi. p. 451. § See the book called *Calvino-Turcismus*.

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John duke of Lancaster to accompany, him. These lords' enmity with the prelates was all Wickliffe's acquaintance with them; whose eyes did countenance, hands support, and tongues encourage him, bidding him to dread nothing, nor to shrink at the company of the bishops; "for they are all unlearned," said they, "in respect of you." Great was the concourse of people; as, in populous places, when a new sight is to be seen, there never lack lookers-on; and, to see this man-baiting, all people of all kinds flocked together.

6. *The Brawl betwixt the Bishop and the Lords in the Church.*

The lord Percy, lord marshal of England, had much ado to break through the crowd in the church; so that the bustle he kept with the people highly offended the bishop of London, as profaning the place, and disturbing the assembly. Whereon followed a fierce contention betwixt them; and, lest their interlocutions should hinder the entireness of our discourse, take them *verbatim* in a dialogue, omitting only their mutual railing; which as it little became persons of honour to bring, so it was flat against the profession of a bishop to return; who, by the apostle's precept, must be "patient, not a brawler," 1 Tim. iii. 3.

Bishop Courtenay.—Lord Percy, if I had known beforehand what masteries you would have kept in the church, I would have stopped you out from coming hither.

Duke of Lancaster.—He shall keep such masteries here, though you say "Nay."

Lord Percy.—Wickliffe, sit down; for, you have many things to answer to, and you need to repose yourself on a soft seat.

Bishop Courtenay.—It is unreasonable, that one, cited before his ordinary, should sit down during his answer. He must and shall stand.

Duke of Lancaster.—The lord Percy's motion for Wickliffe is but reasonable. And as for you, my lord bishop, who are grown so proud and arrogant, I will bring down the pride, not of you alone, but of all the prelacy in England.

Bishop Courtenay.—Do your worst, sir.

Duke of Lancaster.—Thou bearest thyself so brag upon thy parents,* who shall not be able to help thee; they shall have enough to do to help themselves.

Bishop Courtenay.—My confidence is not in my parents, nor in any man else, but only God, in whom I trust, by whose assistance I will be bold to speak the truth.

* His father, Hugh Courtenay, earl of Devonshire.

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Duke of Lancaster.—Rather than I will take these words at his hands, I will pluck the bishop by the hair out of the church.*

These last words, though but softly whispered by the duke, in the ear of one next unto him, were notwithstanding overheard by the Londoners; who, enraged that such an affront should be offered to their bishop, fell furiously on the lords, who were fain to depart for the present, and for a while by flight and secrecy to secure themselves; whilst, what outrages were offered to the duke's palace and his servants, historians of the state do relate.

10. *Why the Archbishop and Wickliffe silent the while.*

Wonder not that two persons, most concerned to be vocal, were wholly mute at this meeting; namely, Simon the archbishop, and Wickliffe himself. The former, rather acted than active in this business, seeing the brawl happened in the cathedral of London, left the bishop thereof to meddle; whose stout stomach, and high birth, made him the meeter match to undertake such noble adversaries. As for Wickliffe, well might the client be silent, whilst such counsel pleaded for him. And the bishops found themselves in a dangerous dilemma about him; it being no pity to permit, nor policy to punish, one protected with such potent patrons. Yea, in the issue of this synod, they only commanded him to forbear hereafter from preaching or writing his doctrine; and how far he promised conformity to their injunctions, doth not appear.

11. *Wickliffe's Opinions marvellously spread, and why.*

In all this synod, though Wickliffe made but a dumb show, rather seen than heard, yet the noise of his success sounded all over the kingdom. For, when a suspected person is solemnly summoned, and dismissed without censure; vulgar apprehensions, not only infer his innocence, but also conclude either the ignorance or injustice of his adversaries. In public assemblies, if the weaker party can so subsist as not to be conquered, it conquers in reputation, and a drawn battle is accounted a victory on that side. If Wickliffe was guilty, why not punished? if guiltless, why silenced? And it much advantaged the propagating of his opinions, that at this very time happened a dangerous discord at Rome, long lasting, for above forty years, and fiercely followed; begun betwixt Urban VI. and Clement VII., one living at Rome, the other residing at Avignon. Thus Peter's chair was like to be broken, betwixt two sitting down at once. Let Wickliffe alone to improve this advantage; pleading, that now the Romish church (having two) had no legal head; that

* Fox's "Martyrs," p. 393, and HARPSFIELD *in Hist. Wicklifiana*, cap. v. p. 683.

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this monstrous apparition presaged the short life thereof; and these two anti-popes made up one anti-christ. In a word, there was opened unto him a great door of utterance, made out of that crack, or cleft, which then happened in this seasonable schism at Rome.

12. *The Death and Character of King Edward III.* 1 Richard II. *A.D.* 1377.

Edward, the third of that name, ended his life, having reigned a jubilee, full fifty years. A prince no less successful than valiant: like an amphibion, he was equally active on water and land. Witness his naval victory nigh Sluys, and land-conquest at Cressy, Poictiers, and elsewhere. Yet his achievements in France were more for the credit than commodity, honour than profit, of England. For, though the fair provinces he conquered therein seemed fat enough to be stewed in their own liquor; I mean, rich enough to maintain themselves; yet we find them to have sucked up much of our English sauce, to have drained the money and men of this land to defend them. This made king Edward to endeavour to his power to preserve his people from popish extortions, as knowing that his own taxes did burden, and the addition of those other would break, the backs of his subjects. He was himself not unlearned, and a great favourer of learned men; colleges springing up by pairs out of his marriage-bed; namely, King's-Hall, founded by himself in Cambridge; and Queen's-College, by Philippa his wife in Oxford. He lived almost to the age, and altogether to the infirmities, of king David; but had not, with him, a virgin Abishag, a virgin-concubine, to heat him: but, which is worse, in his decrepit age, kept Alice Pierce, a noted strumpet, to his own disgrace, and his people's disprofit. For, she, (like a bad tenant, who, holding an expiring lease without impeachment of waste, cares not what spoil he maketh thereon,) sensible of what ticklish terms she stood on, snatched all she could rape and rend unto herself. In a word, the bad beginning of this king, on the murder of his father, must be charged on his mother's and Mortimer's account. The failings at his end may be partly excused by the infirmities of his age; the rather because, whilst he was himself, he was like himself; and whilst master of his own actions, he appeared worthy of all commendations. Richard II., his grandchild by Edward the Black Prince, succeeded him, being about twelve years of age, and lived under his mother's and uncle's tuition.

13. *Laity bandying against the Clergy and Parliament.*

A parliament was called at Westminster, wherein old bandying betwixt the laity and the clergy. The former moving, "That no

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officer of the holy church should take pecuniary sums, more or less, of the people, for correction of sins, but only enjoin them spiritual penance, which would be more pleasing to God, and profitable to the soul of the offender: * the clergy stickled hereat; for, by this craft they got their gain; and no greater penance can be laid on them than the forbidding them to impose money-penance on others. But here the king interposed,—"That prelates should proceed therein as formerly, according to the laws of the holy church, and not otherwise." Yea, many things passed in this parliament in favour of the clergy; as that,—"That all prelates and clerks shall from henceforth commence their suits against purveyors and buyers disturbing them (though not by way of crime) by actions of trespass, and recover treble damages." Also, "That any of the king's ministers, arresting people of the holy church in doing divine service, shall have imprisonment, and thereof be ransomed at the king's will, and make gree † to the parties so arrested."

14. *Wickliffe wonderfully preserved from Prosecution.* *A.D.* 1378.

About this time Wickliffe was summoned personally to appear before Simon archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the bishops, in his chapel at Lambeth. He came accordingly: and now all expected he should be devoured, being brought into the lions' den; when, in comes a gentleman and courtier, one Lewis Clifford,‡ on the very day of examination, commanding them not to proceed to any definitive sentence against the said Wickliffe. Never before were the bishops served with such a prohibition: all agreed, the messenger durst not be so stout, with a *mandamus* in his mouth, but because backed with the power of the prince that employed him. The bishops, struck with a panic fear, proceeded no farther, the rather, because the messenger so rudely rushed into the chapel; and the person of this John Wickliffe was so saved from heavy censure, as was once the doctrine of his godly namesake, for "they feared the people," Mark xi. 32. Only the archbishop summoned a synod at London, himself preaching at the opening thereof. We find nothing of his sermon; but his text was excellent, "Watch and pray." Four constitutions he made therein; § three whereof concerned confession, grown now much into discredit and disuse, by Wickliffe's doctrine, and therefore conceived more needful to press the strict observation thereof.

* *Ex Rotulis in Turre Londinensi primo Richardi II.* —EDIT.

‡ *Antiq. Brit.* p. 258, and FOX, p. 505.

† "Give satisfaction."

§ LINWOOD'S Provinciale, lib. v. fol. 183.

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15, 16. *Transactions in the Parliament of Gloucester. Sanctuaries shrewdly shaken.*

In the parliament kept at Gloucester this same year, the Commons complained, that many clergymen, under the notion of *sylva cædua*, "lopwood," took tithes even of timber itself; requesting, that, in such cases, prohibitions might be granted to stop the proceedings of the court Christian. It was moved also, that *sylva cædua*, though formerly accounted wood above twenty years old, might hereafter be declared that which was above the growth of ten years,* and the same to be made free from tithes. But this took no effect, the king remitting things to their ancient course. To cry quits with the Commons in their complaints, the archbishop of Canterbury inveighed, as bitterly, of the franchises infringed of the abbey-church of Westminster; wherein Robert de Hanley, Esquire, with a servant of that church, were both despitefully and horridly slain therein, at the high-altar, even when the priest was singing high mass; and pathetically desired reparation for the same.

Some of the lords rejoined on their parts, that such sanctuaries were abused by the clergy, to protect people from the payment of their due debts; the aforesaid Hanley being slain in a quarrel on that occasion. And, whereas upon the oaths and examination of certain doctors in divinity, canon, and civil-law, it appeared, that immunity in the holy church was only to be given to such who, upon crime, were to lose life or limb, the same was now extended to privilege people in actions of account, to the prejudice of the creditor. They added, moreover, that neither God himself, (saving his Perfection,) nor the pope, (saving his Holiness,) nor any lay prince, could grant such privilege to the church: and the church, which should be the favourer of virtue and justice, ought not to accept the same, if granted.† The bishops desired a day to give-in their answer, which was granted them: but I find not this harsh string touched again all this parliament; haply for fear but to make bad music thereon. Complaints were also made against the extortion of bishops' clerks; who, when they should take but eight-pence for the probate of a will,‡ they now exacted greater sums than ever before: to which as to other abuses, some general reformation was promised.

17. *Aliens debarred from holding Benefices. A.D.* 1379.

In the next parliament called at Westminster, one of the greatest grievances of the land was redressed; namely, foreigners holding of ecclesiastical benefices. For, at this time the church of England

* *Ex Rot. in Turre Londin.* 2 *Richardi II. parte primâ*, num. 45. † *Idem*, part ii. num. 28. ‡ *Ibid.* num. 46.

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might say with Israel, "Our inheritance is turned to strangers, our houses to aliens," Lam. v. 2. Many Italians—who knew no more English than the difference between a teston and a shilling, a golden noble and an angel, in receiving their rents—had the fattest livings in England, by the pope, collated upon them. Yea, many great cardinals,* resident at Rome, (those hinges of the church must be greased with English revenues,) were possessed of the best prebends and parsonages in the land, whence many mischiefs did ensue. First. They never preached in their parishes: of such shepherds it could not properly be said, that "he leaveth the sheep, and fleeth," John x. 12, who, though taking the title of "shepherd" upon them, never saw their flock, nor set foot on English ground. Secondly. No hospitality was kept for relief of the poor; except they could fill their bellies on the hard names of their pastors, which they could not pronounce;—lord cardinal of Agrifolio, lord cardinal de St. Angelo, lord cardinal Veverino, &c. Yea, the Italians generally farmed out their places to proctors, their own countrymen; who, instead of filling the bellies, grinded the faces, of poor people: so that, what betwixt the Italian hospitality, which none could ever see, and the Latin service, which none could understand, the poor English were ill fed, and worse taught. Thirdly. The wealth of the land leaked out into foreign countries, to the much impoverishing of the commonwealth. It was high time, therefore, for the king and parliament to take notice thereof; who now enacted, that no aliens should hereafter hold any such preferments, nor any send over unto them the revenues of such benefices: as in the printed statutes more largely doth appear.

18. *The Rebellion of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw. A. D.* 1380.

While at this time clergy and laity cast dirt each in other's faces, and neither washed their own; to punish both, burst forth the dangerous rebellion of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, with thousands of their cursed company. These all were pure levellers, (inflamed by the abused eloquence of one John Ball, an excommunicated priest,) who, maintaining that no gentry was *jure Divino*, and all equal by nature,

> "When Adam delved, and Eve span,
> Who was then the gentleman?"

endeavoured the abolishing of all civil and spiritual degrees and distinctions. Yea, they desired to level men's parts, as well as their purses; and, that none should be either wealthier or wiser than his fellows, projected the general destruction of all that were

* See the Catalogue of their names and numbers in MR. FOX, p. 562.

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a pen-and-ink-horn about them, or could write or read. To effect this design, they pretended the people's liberty, and the prince's honour; and, finding it difficult to destroy the king, but by the king, they advanced *the name*, to pluck down *the thing signified* thereby; crying up, that all was for king Richard! They seemed also to be much for reformation; which cloak they wore, to warm themselves therewith, when naked and first setting up; but afterwards cast it off in the heat of their success, as not only useless but burdensome unto them.

19. *The Rabble divided into three Companies.*

As the Philistines "came out in three companies," 1 Sam. xiii. 17, to destroy all the swords and smiths in Israel; so this rabble of rebels, making itself tripartite, endeavoured the rooting-out of all penknives, and all appearance of learning: one in Kent, under the aforesaid Wat and John; the second in Suffolk; the third under John Littstarre, a dyer in Norfolk. The former of these is described in the Latin verses of John Gower, prince of poets in his time; of whom we will bestow the following translation:—

Watte vocat, cui Thome venit, neque Symme retardat,
Betteque Gibbe simul Hykke venire jubet.
Colle furit, quem Gibbe juvat, nocumenta parantes,
Cum quibus ad damnum Wille cōre vovet.
Grigge rapit, dum Davve strepit, comes est quibus Hobbe,
Lorkin et in medio non minor esse putat.
Hudde ferit, quos Judde terit, dum Tebbe juvatur,
Jakke domosque viros vellit, et ense necat.

"Tom comes thereat,
When call'd by Wat,
And Simm as forward we find;
Bet calls as quick,
To Gibb and to Hykk,
That neither would tarry behind.

"Gibb, a good whelp
Of that litter, doth help
Mad Colle more mischief to do;
And Will he doth vow,
The time is come now,
He'll join with their company too.

"Davie complains,
While Grigg gets the gains,
And Hobb with them doth partake;
Lorkin aloud,
In the midst of the crowd,
Conceiveth as deep is his stake.

"Hudde doth spoil,
Whom Judde doth foil,
And Tebb lends his helping hand;
But Jack, the mad patch,
Men and houses doth snatch,
And kills all at his command."

O, the methodical description of a confusion! How doth Wat lead the front, and Jack bring up the rear! For, confusion itself would be instantly confounded, if some seeming superiority were not owned amongst them! All men without surnames: Tyler was but the addition of his trade, and Straw a mock-name, assumed by himself; though Jack Straw would have been *John of Gold*, had

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this treason taken effect: so obscure they were and inconsiderable! And, as they had no surnames, they deserved no Christian names for their heathenish cruelties; though, to get them a name, they endeavoured to build this their Babel of a general confusion.

20. *The barbarous Outrages by them committed.*

Many and heinous were the outrages by them committed, especially after they had possessed themselves of London. All shops and cellars were broken open; and *they* now rustled in silk, formerly rattling in leather, now soaked themselves in wine, *who* were acquainted but with water before. The Savoy in the Strand, being the palace of John duke of Lancaster, was plundered; so was the hospital of St. John's, and sir Robert Hales, lord prior therein, and treasurer of England, slain. But as their spite was the keenest at, so the spoil the greatest on, the law; well knowing, that, while the banks thereof stood fully in force, the deluge of their intended anarchy could not freely overflow. They ransacked the Temple, not only destroying many present pleas, written between party and party, (as if it would accord plaintiff and defendant, to send them both jointly to the fire,) but also abolished many ancient records, to the loss of learning and irrecoverable prejudice of posterity. The church fared as ill as the Temple; and Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, after many indignities offered him, was at last by them beheaded on Tower-Hill, patiently ending his life, and dying a state-martyr. But most fiercely fell their fury on the Dutch in London, offended, belike, with them for engrossing of trade; and these words, "Bread and cheese," were their neck-verse, or *Shibboleth*, to distinguish them; all pronouncing "*Broad and cause*" being presently put to death. Of all people only some Franciscan friars found favour in their sight,* whom they intended to preserve. What quality (to us occult) commended them to their mercy? Was it because they were the most ignorant of other friars, and so the likest to themselves? But perchance these rebels, if demanded, were as unable to render a reason why they spared these, as why they spoiled others; being equally irrational in their kindnesses as in their cruelties.

21. *Judas and Wat Tyler paralleled.*

When I read that passage of Judas in the counsel of Gamaliel, Acts v. 37, it seemeth to me plainly to describe the rising, increase, and ruin of these rebels:—

(1.) *Rising*—"There rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the taxing:" So Tyler appeared; and this rebellion was caused by poll-

* See GODWIN'S Catalogue of the Bishops of Norwich in Hen. Spencer.

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money, heavily imposed by the king, and the arrears thereof more cruelly exacted by his courtiers that farmed it. And pity it is, so foul a rebellion could pretend so fair an occasion for the extenuating thereof.

(2.) *Increase*—"And drew away much people after him:" So the snowball increased here. John Gower* telleth us, in his parallel of the martyring of Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, with Thomas Becket, his predecessor:—

Quatuor in mortem spirarunt fœdera Thomæ;
Simonis et centum mille dedere necem.

"But four conspired Thomas's blood to spill;
While hundred thousands Simon help to kill."

Nor was this any poetical hyperbole, but a historical truth, if the several numbers of their three armies were summed up together.

(3.) *Ruin*—"He also perished; and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed:" So here, no sooner was Wat Tyler, their general, as I may term him, killed by valiant Walworth, the lord mayor of London, and his assistants, (for it was John Cavendish, Esq.,† that despatched him with a mortal wound,) in Smithfield; and Jack Straw, their lieutenant-general, legally beheaded,‡ (too brave a death for so base a fellow,) but all the rest mouldered away, and vanished.

In memory of sir William Walworth's valour, the arms of London, formerly a plain cross, were augmented with the addition of a dagger, to make the coat in all points complete. Happy, when the cross (as first there in place) directeth the dagger, and when the dagger defendeth the cross; when religion sanctifieth power, and power supporteth religion.

22. *Cope chargeth all this Rebellion on Wickliffe's Doctrine.*

But Harpsfield (for he it is whose "Ecclesiastical History of England" goes under the name of Alanus Copus,) heavily chargeth all this rebellion on the account of Wickliffe's doctrine; whose scholars, saith he,§ to promote their master's opinions, stirred up this deadly and damnable sedition, and sounded the first trumpet thereunto: adding moreover, that Wickliffe's tenet, that "dominion is founded in grace," and that "a king guilty of mortal sin is no longer lord of any thing," was *cos hujus seditionis*, "the whetstone of this sedition." But to what liar the whetstone doth properly belong, will presently appear.

* In his book called *Vox Clamantis*, lib. i. cap. 14. † WEAVER'S "Funeral Monuments," p. 693. ‡ STOW'S "Survey of London," p. 55. § In his *Historia Wicliffiana*, cap. 12.

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23. *His malicious Slander confuted.*

It is no news for the best of God's children to be slandered in this kind. Jeremy was traduced: "Thou fallest away to the Chaldeans," Jer. xxxvii. 13. St. Paul was accused: "We have found this man a pestilent fellow, a mover of sedition," Acts xxiv. 5. Yea, our Saviour himself was charged, that he made himself a king, and was a traitor to Cæsar, John xix. 12. But, as these were foul and false aspersions, so will this appear, if we consider,—

(1.) When John Ball was executed at St. Alban's, and Jack Straw * at London, not the least compliance with Wickliffe or his doctrine is either charged on them, or confessed by them.

(2.) No wild beast will prey on his own kind. Now, it is certainly known, that John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, was the principal patron and supporter of Wickliffe; whose life they sought to destroy, and whose palace in the Strand they pillaged.

(3.) Wickliffe himself came within the compass of their destructive principles,—designing the death of all who wore a pen and ink. And, that Wickliffe had both pen and ink, Cope himself doth know, and the court of Rome with shame and sorrow will confess.

(4.) Wickliffe lived some years after, and died peaceably possessed of the living of Lutterworth in Leicestershire. Surely, had he been reputed the inflamer of this rebellion, the wisdom of the king and council would have taken another order with him.

(5.) Amongst the articles laid to the charge of Wickliffe and his followers, in this king's reign, examined at Oxford and elsewhere, not a tittle of this rebellion is pressed upon them; which their malicious adversaries would not have omitted, if in any hope to make good that accusation against them.

(6.) Whereas it is charged on Wickliffe, that he held, that "dominion was founded in grace," which occasioned this rebellion; we know this, that Huss, his scholar, though he did hold, that "a king, being in mortal sin, was only called a king *æquivocâ denominatione;*" yet the same Huss confesseth, to use his own words,† *Ipsum Deum approbare hujusmodi regem, quoàd esse principem exterius*, "that God himself allows such a king to be a prince in all outward matters." So that, leaving him to Divine justice, he never dreamed of any resistance or rebellion to be made against him.

(7.) The modern protestants (heirs, say the papists, to Wickliffe's doctrine) so far abominate the revelling and ignorant principles of these rebels, that they are known both to maintain distances of people, and to have been the restorers of lost, yea, the revivers of

* See his confession at large in STOW's "Survey of London," p. 54. † HUSS *Tract. de Decimis*, p. 128. See BISHOP DAVENANT'S Thirty Determinations.

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dead, learning and languages. How had the mathematics measured their own grave, Greek turned barbarism, Hebrew (as it readeth) gone backward, never to return again, had not protestant critics, with vast pains and expense, preserved them!

(8.) It is more suspicious that this rebellion came out of the Franciscan convent, because some of these, belike, were the rebels' white-boys; and (as is afore-mentioned) to be spared in a general destruction.

In a word: I wonder, how any ingenuous papists can charge Wickliffe of rebellion, in maintaining dominion to be founded in grace; when the grandees of their own religion—Aquine, Cajetane, Bellarmine, Suarez—maintain, that dominion is so founded in grace, (in the pope,) that a king, by him excommunicate, may lawfully be deposed and murdered.

24. *Archbishop Courtenay persecutes the Wickliffians. A.D.* 1382.

William Courtenay, archbishop of Canterbury, in the place of Simon Sudbury, lately slain, made cruel canons, in a synod at London, against the maintainers of Wickliffe's opinions. And I wonder, that in Linwood's "Constitutions" no mention at all of any canons made by this archbishop, who sate above ten years in the see. As for the heavy persecution which soon after he raised against Robert Rug, Thomas Britwell, Nicholas Herford, Philip Ripington, &c., nothing can be added to what Mr. Fox hath related.

25, 26. *Wickliffe's miraculous Deliverance. His quiet Death. A.D.* 1384.

In my mind it amounteth to little less than a miracle, that, during this storm on his disciples, Wickliffe their master should live in quiet. Strange that he was not drowned in so strong a stream as ran against him; whose safety, under God's Providence, is not so much to be ascribed to his own strength in swimming, as to such as held him up by the chin,—the greatness of his noble supporters. About this time he ended his translation of the Bible into English, (a fair copy whereof in Queen's-College in Oxford, and two more in the university library,) done, no doubt, in the most expressive language of those days, though sounding uncouth to our ears. "The KNAVE of Jesus Christ," for *servant*; "And Philip baptized THE GELDING," for *eunuch*, Acts viii. 38; so much our tongue is improved in our age. As for the report of Polydore Virgil, making him to fly out of England in the time of Edward III., *et in magno pretio apud Bohemos fuisse*, "and to have been of high esteem amongst the Bohemians;" it is true of Wickliffe's writings, but not of his person, who never departed his native country.

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Not long after, therein he ended his life, at his cure at Lutterworth in Leicestershire, of the palsy.* Admirable, that a hare, so often hunted with so many packs of dogs, should die at last quietly sitting in his form. Parsons the Jesuit snarls at Mr. Fox for counting Wickliffe a martyr in his Calendar; as so far from suffering violent death, that he was never so much as imprisoned for the opinion he maintained. But the phrase may be justified in the large acceptation of the word, for "a witness of the truth." Besides, the body of Wickliffe was martyred as to shame, though not to pain, (as far as his adversaries' cruelty could extend,) being taken up and burned many years after his death; as, God willing, we shall show hereafter.

27. *New-College built by Bishop Wickham. A.D.* 1386.

William Wickham about this time finished his beautiful college in Oxford.† Some have raised a scandal of him,—that he was no scholar at all; from which the very meanest scholar in his foundation can acquit him, by that rule in logic, *Quod efficit tale, magis est tale*, "What maketh the same is more the same." By which *his* learning must be inferred *whose* bounty caused so many learned men. Now, because the maxim runneth with a limitation, *Si sit tale*, "if it be the same;" the truth hereof also appears from the learned pen,‡ who, writing Wickham's Life, has proved him to have been a sufficient scholar, skilled in other arts, as well as in practical mathematics and architecture.

28. *Industry and Judgment in Architecture, the Cause of his Advancement.*

Now, as Solomon, when about to build his house at Millo, seeing Jeroboam to be an industrious man, 1 Kings xi. 27, made him master of his fabric; so Edward III., discovering the like sufficiency in this great clerk, employed him in all his stately structures; witness this in motto at Windsor castle, "This made Wickham;" meaning that the building of that castle gave occasion to his wealth and honour; whereas on this college he might write, "This Wickham made;" the building and endowing thereof being the effect of his bounty alone. Hence it is that this college giveth the arms of Wickham, namely, two Cheverons betwixt three Roses, each Cheveron alluding to two Beams fastened together,§ (called "couples" in building,) to speak his skill in architecture.

* LELAND *ex Chronico Tenerisie Monasterii.* † It was begun A.D. 1375.
‡ DR. MARTIN, who wrote a book in vindication of his learning. § *Rex Platonicus*, p. 144.

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29. *A Castle-College designed for Defence.*

This college he built very strong, out of a design that it should be able to hold out a siege of itself,* if need so required it; though may it never have a temptation in that kind, to try the strength of the walls thereof! Indeed, this college, with Bourges in France, may lay claim to the name of BITURIS:—*Turribus a binis inde vocor* BITURIS: so called from "two towers" therein, as this hath the like; one over the gate, the other over the porch in the entrance into the hall; so that it may seem a castle-college, and made as well for defence as habitation. So that at this present are maintained therein, a Warden, seventy Fellows and Scholars, ten Chaplains, three Clerks, one Organist, sixteen Choristers, besides Officers and Servants of the foundation, with other Students, being in all one hundred thirty-five.

30. *A College at Winchester built also by Bishop Wickham. A.D.* 1392.

Pass we now from his orchard of grown trees, to his nursery of grafts,—the college at Winchester, which, few years after, the same bishop finished; not much inferior to the former for building and endowments, as wherein he established one Warden, ten Fellows, two Schoolmasters, and seventy Scholars, with Officers and Servants, who are all maintained at his charge; out of which school he ordained should be chosen the best scholars always to supply the vacant places of the Fellows of this college.

31. *His Care for his Kindred.*

As his charity so his faith ("he that provideth not for his house is worse than an infidel!") appeared in this his foundation; ordering that his own kinsmen should be preferred before others. Let their parents therefore but provide for their nursing when infants, their breeding when children, and he hath taken order for their careful teaching at Winchester, when youth; liberal living at Oxford, when men; and comfortable subsistence in their reduced age, in those many and good patronages he hath conferred on the college. And, truly, as these his kindred have been happy in him, so Wickham hath been happy in his kindred; many of them meriting the best preferment, without any advantage of his relation. And as this Wickham was the first in that kind so provident for his kindred, his practice hath since been precedential to some other colleges, as the statutes of this House are generally a direction to other later foundations. To take our leave of this bishop: Who-

* So say the Statutes of this college.

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soever considers the vast buildings and rich endowments made by this prelate, beside his expense in repairing the cathedral at Winchester, will conclude such achievements unpossible for a subject, until he reflect on his vast offices of preferments,—being bishop of Winchester, rector of St. Martin's-le-Grand, holding twelve prebends *in commendam* with it, lord privy-seal, chancellor, and treasurer of England; besides other places of meaner consequence.

WARDENS.—Richard Toneworth, Nicholas Wickham, Thomas Cranely, Richard Malforde, John Bowke, William Escot, Nicholas Osylbury, Thomas Chaundler, Walter Hill, William Porter, John Reade, John Younge, John London, Henry Cole, Ralph Skinner, Thomas White, Martin Culpepper, George Rives, Arthur Lake, Robert Pink, Henry Stringer, George Marshall.

BENEFACTORS.—Mr. Rawlins, sir Richard Read, knight, Dr. Newman, Dr. Reeve, Warden, Dr. Martin, Robert Bell, Dr. Smith.

BISHOPS.—William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury; William Wainflete, bishop of Winchester; John White, bishop of Winchester; Thomas Bilson, bishop of Winchester; William Knight, bishop of Bath and Wells; James Turberville, bishop of Exeter; Robert Sherbourne, bishop of Chichester; Arthur Lake, bishop of Bath and Wells.

LEARNED WRITERS.—Thomas Harding, Thomas Nele, Nicholas Sanders, Nicholas Harpsfield, William Reynolds,* Thomas Hide, John Marshall, Thomas Stapleton, John Fenne, Richard White,† John Pits; all violent maintainers of the popish religion. Sir Henry Wotton; Dr. Tooker, dean of Lichfield; Dr. James Cook, archdeacon of Winchester; sir Thomas Rives, (beside other elegant works,) for his "Vicar's Plea;" sir James Hassee; sir Henry Martin; Dr. Meredith, dean of Wells; Arthur Lake, bishop of Bath and Wells; William Twisse; John White.

One may defy the suspicion of flattery, if adding Dr. Harris, the reverend Warden of Winchester; Dr. Richard Zouch, not beholden to his noble extraction for his repute, founded on his own worth, and books reprinted beyond the seas; Dr. Merick, late judge of the prerogative; but it is better to leave the characters of their worth to the thankfulness of the next age to describe.

32. *Good Laws in due Season.* *A.D.* 1393.

Lately the pope's usurpation was grown so great in intrenching on the crown, that there was an absolute necessity seasonably to

* He was brother to Dr. John Reynolds the great protestant. † He wrote a History of England.

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retrench his usurpation. For albeit the kings of England were as absolute in their domains, their prelacy and clergy as learned, their nobility as valiant and prudent, their commons as free and wealthy, as any in Christendom; yet had not some Laws of Provision now been made, England had long since been turned part of St. Peter's patrimony in domains: yea, the sceptre [would have been] wrested out of their kings' hands, her prelates made the pope's chaplains and clerks, nobility his servants and vassals, commons his slaves and villains, had not some seasonable Statutes of Manumission been enacted.

33. *The Maul-Popes Statute of* PRÆMUNIRE.

For now came the Parliament wherein the statute was enacted, which mauled the papal power in England. Some former laws had pared the pope's nails to the quick; but this cut off his fingers, in effect, so that hereafter his hands could not grasp and hold such vast sums of money as before. This is called "THE STATUTE OF PRÆMUNIRE;" and let not the reader grudge the reading thereof, which gave such a blow to the church of Rome, that it never recovered itself in this land, but daily decayed till its final destruction.

"Whereas the Commons of the realm in this present Parliament have sued to our redoubted lord the king, grievously complaining, that whereas the said our lord the king and all his liege people, ought of right, and of old time were wont, to sue in the king's court, to recover their presentments to churches, prebends, and other benefices of holy church, to the which they had right to present, the cognizance of plea of which presentment belongeth only to the king's court, of the old right of his crown, used and approved in the time of all his progenitors, kings of England: And when judgment shall be given in the same court upon such a plea and presentment, the archbishops, bishops, and other spiritual persons, which have institution of such benefices within their jurisdictions, be bound and have made execution of such judgments by the king's commandments of all the time aforesaid, without interruption, (for another lay person cannot make such execution,) and also be bound of right to make execution of many other of the king's commandments, of which right the crown of England hath been peaceably seized, as well in the time of our said lord the king that now is, as in the time of all his progenitors till this day. But now of late divers processes be made by the bishop of Rome, and censures of excommunication upon certain bishops of England, because they have made execution of such commandments, to the open disherison of the said crown, and destruction of our said lord the king, his law, and all his realm, if remedy be not provided. And also it is said, and a common

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clamour is made, that the said bishop of Rome hath ordained and purposed to translate some prelates of the same realm, some out of the realm, and some from one bishopric into another within the same realm, without the king's assent and knowledge, and without the assent of the prelates which so shall be translated, which prelates be much profitable and necessary to our said lord the king, and to all his realm: By which translations, (if they should be suffered,) the statutes of the realm should be defeated and made void, and his said liege sages of his council without his assent, and against his will, carried away and gotten out of his realm, and the substance and treasure of the realm shall be carried away, and so the realm destitute as well of counsel as of substance, to the final destruction of the same realm. And so the crown of England which hath been so free at all times, that it hath been in no earthly subjection, but immediately subject to God in all things touching the reality of the same crown, and to none other, should be submitted to the pope, and the laws and statutes of the realm by him defeated, and avoided at his will, in the perpetual destruction of the sovereignty of the king, our lord, his crown, his regality, and of all his realm, which God defend.

"And moreover the Commons aforesaid say, that the things so attempted be clearly against the king's crown and regality, used and approved of the time of all his progenitors. Wherefore they, and all the liege Commons of the same realm, will stand with our said lord the king, and his said crown, and his regality, in the cases aforesaid, and in all other cases attempted against him, his crown, and his regality, in all points, to live and to die. And moreover they pray the king, and him require by way of justice, that he would examine all the lords in Parliament, as well spiritual as temporal, severally, and all the States of the Parliament, how they think of the cases aforesaid, which be so openly against the king's crown, and in derogation of his regality, and how they will stand in the same cases with our lord the king, in upholding the rights of the said crown and regality. Whereupon the lords temporal, so demanded, have answered every one by himself, that the cases aforesaid be clearly in derogation of the king's crown, and of his regality, as it is well known, and hath been of a long time known, and that they will be with the same crown and regality, in these cases especially, and in all other cases which shall be attempted against the same crown and regality, in all points with all their power. And moreover it was demanded of the lords spiritual there being, and the procurators of others being absent, their advice and will in all these cases, which lords, that is to say, the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, being in the said Parliament severally examined, making protesta-

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tions, that it is not their mind to deny nor affirm, that the bishop of Rome may not excommunicate bishops, nor that he may make translation of prelates, that if any execution of processes, made in the king's court, (as before,) be made by any, and censures of excommunication to be made against any bishops of England, or any other of the king's liege people, for that they have made execution of such commandments, and that if any executions of such translations be made of any prelates of the same realm, which prelates be very profitable and necessary to our said lord the king and to his said realm, or that the sage people of his council without his assent, and against his will, be removed and carried out of the realm, so that the substance and treasure of the realm may be consumed, that the same is against the king and his crown, as it is contained in the petition before-named. And likewise the same procurators every one by himself, examined upon the said matters, have answered and said in the name and for their lords, as the said bishops have said and answered, and that the said lords spiritual will, and ought to be with the king in these cases, in lawfully maintaining of his crown, and in all other cases touching his crown, and his regality, as they be bound by their liegeance [allegiance]. Whereupon our said lord the king, by the assent aforesaid, and at the request of his said Commons, hath ordained and established, that if any purchase, or pursue, or cause to be purchased or pursued, in the court of Rome, or elsewhere, any such translations, processes, sentences of excommunications, bulls, instruments, or any other things whatsoever, which touch the king, against him, his crown and his regality, or his realm, as is aforesaid; and they which bring within the realm, or them receive, or make thereof notification, or any other execution whatsoever within the same realm or without, that they, their notaries, procurators, maintainers, abettors, fautors, and counsellors, shall be put out of the king's protection, and their lands and tenements, goods and chattels, forfeit to our lord the king; and that they be attached by their bodies, if they may be found, and brought before the king and his council, there to answer to the cases aforesaid, or that process be made against them, by *Præmunire facias*, in manner as it is ordained in other Statutes of Provisors: and other which do sue in any other court in derogation of the regality of our lord the king."

34. *The Occasion of this Statute.*

Something of the occasion, name, and use of this statute: The first is notoriously known from the papal encroachments on the crown. No bishopric, abbacy, dignity, or rectory, of value in England, was likely to fall but a successor in reversion was, by the

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pope's "provisions," fore-appointed for the same. To make sure work, rather than they would adventure to take the place at the first rebound, they would catch it before it lit on the ground. This was imputed to the pope's abundance (yea, superfluity) of care *ne detur vacuum* in the church; and rather than a widow-benefice should mourn itself to death, a second husband had his license for marriage before the former was deceased. But great parishes, where small the profit and numerous the people, and where, indeed, greatest care ought to be had of their souls, were past-by in the pope's Bulls; his Holiness making no "provisions" for those livings, which livings had no "provisions" for his Holiness.

35. *Why called* PRÆMUNIRE.

Some will have it called *Præmunire*, from fencing or fortifying the regal power from foreign assaults; as indeed this was one of the best bulwarks and sconces of sovereignty: others, that *Præmunire* signifieth the crown fortified before the making of this statute, as fixing no new force therein, but only declaring a precedent and foregoing just right and due thereof. Others conceive the word *Præmonere* turned, by corruption of barbarous transcribers, interpreters, and pronouncers, into *Præmunire*. Others allege the figure of the effect for the cause, and the common proverb, *Præmonitus, Præmunitus*. Most sure it is, that *Præmunire facias* are operative words, in the form of the writ grounded on the statute, which may give denomination to the whole.

36. *Popes' Covetousness odious to the Clergy.*

It may seem strange such a statute could pass in Parliament, where almost sixty spiritual barons (bishops and abbots) voted according to papal interest; except any will say, that such who formerly had much of a pope in their bellies, had now more of patriots in their breast, being weary of Rome's exactions. Indeed, no man in place of power or profit loves to behold himself buried alive, by seeing his successor assigned unto him; which caused all clergymen to hate such superinductions, and many friends to the pope were foes to his proceedings therein.

37. *The Pope's Letter against this Statute.*

This law angered all the veins in the heart of his Holiness: the statute of Mortmain put him into a sweat, but this into the fit of a fever. The former concerned him only mediately in the abbeys, his darlings; this touched him in his person: and how choleric he was, will appear by the following letter, here inserted (though written some fifty years after) to make the story entire:—

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Martinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio nobili viro Johanni, Duci Bedford, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.—Quamvis dudum in regno Angliæ, jurisdictio Romanæ ecclesiæ et libertas ecclesiastica fuerit oppressa, vigore illius EXECRABILIS STATUTI, *quod omni divinæ et humanæ rationi contrarium est: tamen adhuc non fuit ad tantam violentiam prolapsum, ut in sedis apostolicæ nuncios et legatos manus temerè mitterentur; sicut novissimè factum est in personâ dilecti filii Johannis de Oisis, palatii apostolici causarum auditoris, et in præfato regno nuntii, et collectoris nostri, quem audivimus ex hâc solâ causâ, quod literas apostolicas nostro nomine præsentabat, fuisse per aliquos de ipso regno carceribus mancipatum. Quæ injuria nobis, et apostolicæ sedi illata, animum nostram affecit admiratione, turbatione, et molestiâ singulari. Miramur enim, stupescimus, et dolemus, quod* TAM FŒDUM ET TURPE FACINUS *in illo regno commissum sit, contra sedem B. Petri, et nuntios ejus, præsertim cum literæ illæ nostræ, nil aliud quam salutem animarum, honorem regni, et per omnia paternas et sanctas admonitiones continerent. Fuit enim semper etiam apud Gentiles, qui nullam tenebant veræ fidei rationem, inviolabile nomen* NUNCII; *atque legati etiamsi ab hostibus mitterentur semper salvi, et hodiè apud Saracenos et Turcos, a quibusdam tutè destinantur legationes et literæ; etiamsi illis ad quos deferuntur molestæ sint et injuriosæ. Et nuncius noster, vir humanus et moderatus, et continuâ conversatione notissimus in regno Angliæ, quod devotione fidei, et cultu divino se jactat, omnes alias Christianas rationes superare turpiter captus est, nihil impium nec hostile deferens, sed literas salutares et justas. Sed revereantur aliquando illi qui sic contumaciter et superbè ecclesiam Dei contemnent, et sedis apostolicæ authoritatem, ne super ipsos eveniat justa punitio, ex Christi judicio, qui eam instituit et fundavit. Caveant ne tot cumulatis offensis Deum irritent ad ultionem, et tarditatem supplicii gravitate compensent. Non videbatur eis satis offendisse Deum statuta condendo contra vicarium ejus, contra ecclesiam et ecclesiæ caput, nisi, pertinaciter perseverantes in malo proposito, in nuntium apostolicum violentas manus injicerent? Quod non dubitamus tuæ Excellentiæ, quæ ecclesiæ et regni honorem diligit, displicere, et certi sumus quod si fuisses in Angliâ, pro tuâ naturali prudentiâ, et pro fide et devotione quam geres erga nos, et ecclesiam Dei, illos incurrere in hunc furorem nullatenus permisisses. Verùm cum non solùm ipsis qui hoc fecerunt, sed toti regno magna accederit ignominia, et dietim, si perseverabit in errore, accessura sit major; generositatem tuam, in quâ valdè confidemus, exhortamur, et affectuosè*

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rogamus, ut circa hæc provideas, prout sapientiæ tuæ videbitur, honori nostro, et ecclesiæ, ac saluti regni convenire. Datum Romæ apud Sanctos Apostolos, VI Kal. Junii, pontificatûs nostri anno 12*mo.**

Give winners leave to laugh, and losers to speak, or else both will take leave to themselves. The less the pope could bite, the more he roared; and, as it appears by his language, he was highly offended thereat. This penal statute, as a rod, was for many years laid upon the desk, or rather locked up in the cupboard; no great visible use being made thereof, until the reign of king Henry VIII., whereof hereafter.

38. *More scared than hurt.*

Since the Reformation, the professors of the common-law have taken much advantage out of this statute, threatening therewith such as are active in the ecclesiastical jurisdictions, as if their dealings tended to be the disherison of the crown; a weapon wherewith they have rather flourished than struck, it being suspicious, that that appearing sword is but all hilt, whose blade was never drawn out, as this charge hath never been driven home against them. But, herein let us hearken to the learned judgment of sir Thomas Smith, secretary of state, who well knew the interest of his sovereign therein.

39. *Sir Thomas Smith's Judgment herein.*

"Because the court, which is called *curia Christianitatis*, is yet taken for an extern and foreign court, and differeth from the polity and manner of government of the realm, and is another court, as appeareth by the Act and Writ of Præmunire, than *curia regis aut reginæ;* yet, at this present, this court, as well as others, hath her force, power, authority, rule, and jurisdiction from the royal majesty and the crown of England, and from no other foreign potentate or power, under God; which being granted, as indeed it is true, it may now appear by some reason, that the first statute of Præmunire, whereof I have spoken, hath now no place in England, seeing there is no pleading *alibi quam in curiâ regis ac reginæ.*"† All I will add of this statute is this: That it hath had the hard hap not to be honoured with so many readings therein, as other statutes; perhaps because not bringing in προσάλφιτα, in proportion to the pains which must be laid out thereon; and therefore I would invite some ingenious in our common-law (and with such, no doubt, it

* The original of this Bill was in the study of sir Nicholas Bacon, lord chancellor, whence the archbishop of Armagh had this his copy, from which that of sir Robert Cotton is derived.

† "Commonwealth of England," book iii. chap. 11.

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aboundeth) to bestow their learned endeavours thereon, to their own honour, and advancement of the truth in so noble a subject.

40. *The solemn Form of an Abjuration.* *A.D.* 1395.

Many poor souls at this time were, by fear or flattery, moved to abjure the truth, and promise future conformity to the church of Rome. In proof whereof, let not the reader think much to peruse the following instruments: First. For the authenticness thereof, being truly copied out of the originals of the Tower. Secondly. Because it contains some extraordinary formalities of abjuration. Lastly. Because the four persons mentioned therein have escaped Mr. Fox's observation,—seeing no drag-net can be so carefully cast as to catch all things which come under it.

"*Memorand. quod primo die Septembris, anno regni regis Richardi Secundi, post Conquestum decimo-nono, Will. Dynet, Nic. Taillour, Nic. Poucher, et Will. Steynour de Notyngham, in cancellar. ipsius regis personaliter constituti, sacra divisim prestiterunt sub eo qui sequitur tenore:*—*

"I, William Dynet, be-for yhow worshipefull father and lord archbishop of Yhorke, and yhother clergie with my free will and full avysede swere to God and tò all his sayntes upon this holy gospells, yat fro this day forwarde I shall worship ymages with preying and offeryng unto hem in the worschep of the sayntes that yey be made after. And alsoe I shall never more despise pygremage ne states of holy chyrche, in no degree. And alsoe I shall be buxum to the laws of holy chyrche and to yhowe as myn archbishop, and to myn oyer ordinares and curates, and kepe yo lawes upon my power and meynten hem. And alsoe I shall never more meynten, ne tochen, ne defenden errours, conclusions, ne techyngs of the Lollardes, ne swych conclusions and techynges that men clepyth Lollardes doctryn, ne I shall her bokes. Ne swych bokes ne hem or any suspeict or diffamede of Lolardery resceyve, or company withall wyttyngly or defende in yo matters, and yf I know ony swich, I shall wyth all the haste that y may do yhowe or els your ner officers to wyten, and of her bokes. And also I shall excite and stirre all you to goode doctryn yat I have hindered with myn doctryn up my power, and also I shall stonde to your declaracion which es heresy or errour and do thereafter. And also what penance yhe woll for yat I have don for meyntenyng of this false doctryn in myud mee and I shall fulfill it, and I submit me yer to up my power, and also I shall make no othir glose of this my oth, bot as ye wordes stonde, and if it be so that I come againe or doe again

* *Ex Rotulo Clausar. de anno regni regis decimo-nono Richardi II.* memb. 18.

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this oath or eny party thereof I yhelde me here cowpable as an heretyk, and to be punyshed be the lawe as an heretyk, and to forfet all my godes to the kynges will withowten any othir processe of lawe, and yerto I require ye notarie to make of all this, ye whych is my will, an instrument agayns me.

"*Et ex habundanti idem Will. Dynet eodem die voluit et recognovit quod omnia bona et catalla sua mobilia nobis sint forisfca in casu quo ipse juramentum prædictum seu aliqua in eodem juramento contenta de cetero contravenerit ullo modo.*"

41. *Take it, Faults and all.*

We have here exemplified this abjuration just according to the originals, with all the faults and pseudography thereof. For I remember, in my time, an under-clerk at court threatened to be called before the Green-Cloth for an innovation from former bills, though only writing *sinapi* with an s, contrary to the common custom of the clerks of the kitchen, formerly writing of it with a c; so wedded are some men to old orders, and so dangerous in their judgment is the least deviation from them!

42. *Some Observations on this Abjuration.*

The archbishop of York mentioned therein was Thomas Arundel, then chancellor of England; and in all probability this instrument was dated at York. For I find that at this very time, Thomas Arundel, to humble the Londoners, (then reputed disaffected to the king,) removed the terms and courts to York,* where they continued for some short time, and then returned to their ancient course. Whereas he is enjoined point-blank to worship images, it seemeth that the modern nice distinction of worshipping of *saints* IN IMAGES was not yet in fashion. It appeareth herein that relapse after abjuration was not as yet (as afterwards) punishable with death, but only with forfeiture of goods to the crown.

43—45. *The Death of John de Trevisa; who translated the Bible into English, yet escaped Persecution.* *A.D.* 1397.

This year a godly, learned, and aged servant of God ended his days; namely, John de Trevisa, a gentleman of an ancient family,† (bearing Gules, a Garbe, Or,) born at Crocadon in Cornwall, a secular priest, and vicar of Berkeley; a painful and faithful translator of many and great books into English, as "Polychronicon," written by Ranulphus of Chester, Bartholomæus *De Rerum Proprietatibus*, &c. But his master-piece was the translating of the

* GODWIN, in his "Catalogue of the Archbishops of York." † CAREW'S "Survey of Cornwall," p. 114.

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Old and New Testament; justifying his act herein by the example of Bede, who turned the Gospel of St. John into English.

I know not which more to admire, his ability, that he could—his courage, that he durst—or his industry, that he did—perform so difficult and dangerous a task; having no other commission than the command of his patron, Thomas lord Berkeley:* which lord, as the said Trevisa observeth,† had the Apocalypse in Latin and French, then generally understood by the better sort as well as English, written on the roof and walls of his chapel at Berkeley; and which not long since, (namely, *anno* 1622,) so remained, as not much defaced. Whereby we may observe, that, midnight being past, some early risers even then began to strike fire, and enlighten themselves from the scriptures.

It may seem a miracle, that the bishops being thus busy in persecuting God's servants,‡ and Trevisa so obnoxious to their fury for this translation, that he lived and died without any molestation. Yet was he a known enemy to monkery; witness that (among many other) of his speeches, that he "had read how Christ had sent apostles and priests into the world, but never any monks or begging friars."§ But, whether it was out of reverence to his own aged gravity, or respect to his patron's greatness, he died full of honour, quiet, and age, little less than ninety years old. For, (1.) He ended his translation of "Polychronicon," (as appeareth by the conclusion thereof,) the 29th of Edward III., when he cannot be presumed less than thirty years of age. (2.) He added to the end thereof, fifty (some say more) ‖ years of his own historical observations. Thus, as he gave a Garbe or Wheat-sheaf for his arms, so, to use the prophet's expression, "the Lord gathered him as a sheaf into the floor," Micah iv. 12, even full ripe and ready for the same.

46—49. *As did his Contemporary Geoffry Chaucer. His Parentage and Arms. He refined our English Tongue. A great Enemy to Friars. A.D.* 1399.

We may couple with him his contemporary, Geoffry Chaucer, born (some say) in Berkshire, others in Oxfordshire, most and truest in London. If the Grecian Homer had seven, let our English have three, places contest for his nativity. Our Homer, I say; only herein he differed: *Mœonides nullas ipse reliquit opes:*

"Homer himself
Did leave no pelf:"

whereas our Chaucer left behind him a rich and worshipful estate.

His father was a vintner in London; and I have heard his arms

* Balæus *De Script. Angl.* cent. vii. num. 18. † "Polychronicon," fol. 2.
‡ See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 434.—Edit. § Balæus, *ut prius.*
‖ Pitzæus *De Script. Angl.*

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quarrelled at, being Argent and Gules strangely contrived, and hard to be blazoned. Some more wits have made it the dashing of white and red wine, (the parents of our ordinary claret,) as nicking his father's profession. But were Chaucer alive, he would justify his own arms in the face of all his opposers, being not so devoted to the Muses, but he was also a son of Mars. He was the prince of English poets; married the daughter of Pain Roëc, king of arms in France, and sister to the wife of John of Gaunt, king of Castile.

He was a great refiner and illuminer of our English tongue; and, if he left it so bad, how much worse did he find it! Witness Leland thus praising him:—

Prædicat Algerum meritò Florentia Dantem,
Italia et numeros tota, Petrarche, tuos.
Anglia Chaucerum veneratur nostra Poëtam,
Cui Veneres debet patria lingua suas.

"Of Alger Dants, Florence doth justly boast,
Of Petrarch brags all the Italian coast.
England doth poet Chaucer reverence,
To whom our language owes its eloquence."

Indeed, Verstegan, a learned antiquary,* condemns him for spoiling the purity of the English tongue, by the mixture of so many French and Latin words. But he who mingles wine with water, though he destroys the nature of water, improves the quality thereof.

I find this Chaucer fined in the Temple two shillings for striking a Franciscan friar in Fleet-street; and it seems his hands ever after itched to be revenged, and have his pennyworths out of them; so tickling religious Orders with his tales, and yet so pinching them with his truths, that friars, in reading his books, know not how to dispose their faces betwixt crying and laughing. He lies buried in the south aisle of St. Peter's, Westminster; and since hath got the company of Spencer and Drayton,† a pair royal of poets, enough almost to make passengers' feet to move metrically, who go over the place where so much poetical dust is interred.

50—53. *A short Quiet in the Church. The Character of Richard II. Conspired against by Henry IV., and resigneth the Crown.*

Since the abjuration last exemplified, we meet in this king's reign no more persecution from the bishops. We impute this, not to their pity, but other employment,—now busy in making their applications to the new king, on the change of government, king Richard being now deposed.

He was one of a goodly person, of a nature neither good nor bad

* In his "Restitution of decayed Intelligence," p. 203. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 438.—EDIT.

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but according to his company, who commonly were of the more vicious. His infancy was educated under several lord Protectors successively, under whom his intellectuals thrived, as babes battle* with many nurses, commonly the worse for the change. At last he grew up to full age and empty mind, judicious only in pleasure, giving himself over to all licentiousness.

As king Richard was too weak to govern; so Henry duke of Lancaster, his cousin-german, was too wilful to be governed. Taking advantage, therefore, of the king's absence in Ireland, he combined with other of the discontented nobility, and draws up articles against him; some true, some false, some both; as wherein truth brought the matter, and malice made the measure. Many misdemeanours (more misfortunes) are laid to his charge,—murdering the nobility, advancing of worthless minions, sale of justice, oppression of all people with unconscionable taxations. For, such princes as carry a fork in one hand must bear a rake in the other; and must covetously scrape to maintain what they causelessly scatter.

Looseness brings men into straits at last, as king Richard may be an instance thereof. Returning into England, he is reduced to this doleful dilemma,—either voluntarily, by resigning, to depose himself; or violently, by detrusion, to be deposed by others. His misery and his enemies' ambition admit of no expedient. Yea, in all this act his little judgment stood only a looker-on, whilst his fear did what was to be done, directed by the force of others. In hopes of life, he solemnly resigneth the crown; but all in vain. For, cruel thieves seldom rob but they also kill; and king Henry his successor could not meet with a soft pillow so long as the other wore a warm head. Whereupon, not long after, king Richard was barbarously murdered at Pontefract Castle. But of these transactions the reader may satisfy himself at large out of our civil historians.

54. *The Baseness of the disloyal Clergy.*

Only we will add, that the clergy were the first that led this dance of disloyalty. Thomas Arundel, now archbishop of Canterbury, in the room of William Courtenay deceased, made a sermon on Samuel's words, *Vir dominabitur populo.* He showed himself a satirist in the former, a parasite in the latter part of his sermon, a traitor in both. He aggravated the childish weakness of king Richard, and his inability to govern; magnifying the parts and perfections of Henry duke of Lancaster. But, by the archbishop's leave, grant Richard either deservedly deposed or naturally dead without issue, the right to the crown lay not in this Henry, but in Roger Mortimer, earl of March, descended, by his mother Philippa,

* A play on the old word *battel*, "to fatten."—EDIT.

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from Lionel duke of Clarence, elder son to Edward III.* This the archbishop did willingly conceal. Thus, in all state-alterations, be they never so bad, the pulpit will be of the same wood with the council-board. And thus ambitious clergymen abuse the silver trumpets of the sanctuary; who, reversing them, and putting the wrong end into their mouths, make what was appointed to sound religion to signify rebellion.

55—59. *The courageous Conscience of the Bishop of Carlisle. Innocency the best Armour. Activity will be tampering. A Bishop not triable by his Peers. A seasonable Expedient.* 2 Henry IV. *A.D.* 1400.

But whilst all other churches in England rung congratulatory peals to king Henry's happiness, one jarring bell almost marred the melody of all the rest, even Thomas Merks, bishop of Carlisle. For, when the lords in Parliament, not content to depose king Richard, were devising more mischief against him, up steps the aforesaid bishop, formerly chaplain to the king, and expresseth himself as followeth:—"There is no man present worthy to pass his sentence on so great a king, as to whom they have obeyed, as their lawful prince, full two-and-twenty years. This is the part of traitors, cut-throats, and thieves. None is so wicked, none so vile, whom, though he be charged with a manifest crime, we should think to condemn before we heard him. And you,—do ye account it equal to pass sentence on a king anointed and crowned, giving him no leave to defend himself? How unjust is this! But let us consider the matter itself. I say, (nay, openly affirm,) that Henry duke of Lancaster, whom you are pleased to call your king, hath most unjustly spoiled Richard, as well his sovereign as ours, of his kingdom."† More would he have spoken, when the Lord Marshal enjoined him silence, for speaking too much truth in so dangerous a time. Since, it seems, some historians have made up what more he would have said, spinning these his heads into a very large oration, though tedious to none save those of the Lancastrian faction.

Here, if ever, did the proverb take effect, "Truth may be blamed, but cannot be shamed;" for, although the rest of the bishops, being guilty themselves, condemned him, as discovering more convent-devotion (who originally was a monk of Westminster) than court-discretion, in dissenting from his brethren; yet generally he was beheld as loyalty's confessor, speaking what became his calling, in discharge of his conscience. Yea, for the present, such the reverence to his integrity, no punishment was imposed upon him.

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 439.—EDIT. † BISHOP GODWIN in the Bishops of Carlisle.

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Merks was conceived, in the judgment of most moderate men, abundantly to have satisfied his conscience with his speech in Parliament. But how hard is it to stop an active soul in its full speed! He thought himself bound, not only to speak, but do, yea, and suffer too, if called thereunto, for his sovereign. This moved him to engage with Henry Hotspur, and other discontented lords, against king Henry; on whose defeat, this bishop was taken prisoner, and judicially arraigned for high treason.

This is one of the clearest distinguishing characters betwixt the temporal and spiritual lords,—that the former are to be tried *per pares*, "by their peers," being barons of the realm; * the latter are by law and custom allowed a trial only by a jury of able and substantial persons. Such men found bishop Merks guilty of treason, for which he was condemned and sent prisoner to St. Alban's.†

The king would gladly have had a fair riddance of this bishop, whom he could not with credit keep here, nor send hence; as to deprive him of life, it was dangerous in those days, when some sacredness was believed inherent in episcopal persons. Here his Holiness helped the king with an handsome expedient to salve all matters, by removing Merks to be bishop of Samos, in Grecia.‡ I find three Grecian islands of the same name, and a critic § complaineth they are often confounded. The best is, it is not much material of which of them Merks was made bishop, having only a title (to starve in state) without a penny profit thereby. But before his translation was completed, he was translated into another world.

SECTION II.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

TO SIR GERARD NAPIER, OF DORSETSHIRE, BARONET.

I HAVE read, that a statute was made to retrench the number of great men keeping their retainers, in the reign of king Henry VII.; and that politicly done, in those mutinous times, to prevent commotions; lest some popular person should raise a little army, under the

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 440.—EDIT. † MR. SELDEN in a late small "Treatise of Parliaments." ‡ GODWIN in his Bishops. § CAROLUS STEPHANUS *in Dictionario Poëtico.*

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covert of his great attendance: a law improved to rigour, though certainly (as all other penal statutes) intended but to terror; insomuch that the earl of Oxford, more meriting of king Henry VII. than any other subject, was even delivered to the king's attorney,* and, as report saith, fined fifteen thousand marks for exceeding the proportion legally allowed.

I confess, we live in as dangerous days, and affording as great jealousies, as those. But I have cause to be right glad, (as deeply concerned therein,) that though a statute hath forbidden many to depend on one, none hath prohibited one to depend on many patrons; but any author of a book may multiply them *sans* number, as driving on no hurtful design, but only the protection of his own endeavours.

On this account I tender these my labours unto you, knowing the very name of Napier acceptable to all scholars ever since the learned laird of Marchistown (no stranger to your blood, as I am informed) by his logarithms contracted the pains, and so by consequence prolonged the time and life, of all employed in numeration.

1. *King Henry bloody against poor Christians, yet asserts his regal Power against the Pope's Encroachments.* 10 Henry IV. *A.D.* 1408.

KING Henry, being conscious that he had got and did keep the crown by a bad title, counted it his wisest way to comply with the clergy, whose present power was not only useful but needful for him. To gain their favour, he lately enacted bloody laws for the extirpation of poor Christians, under the false notion of heretics, condemning them to be burnt;† a torment unheard-of in such cases till that time: and yet it appeareth, that the pope, in this age, was not possessed of so full power in England, whatsoever the catholics pretend, but that this politic prince kept the reins, though loose, in his own hand. For, in this time it was resolved,‡ "that the pope's collector, though he had the pope's Bull for that purpose, had no jurisdiction within this realm; and that the archbishops and bishops of England were the spiritual judges in the king's behalf." As it was also enacted,§ "if any person of religion obtained of the

* LORD VERULAM in his "Life," p. 211. † Statute 2 of Henry IV. cap. 15.
‡ 1 Henry IV. fol. 19. § Statute 2 Henry IV. cap. 3.

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bishop of Rome to be exempt from obedience, regular or ordinary, he was in a premunire." Yea, this very statute, which gave power to a bishop in his diocess to condemn a heretic, plainly proveth, that the king by consent of parliament directed the proceedings of the ecclesiastical court, in cases of heresy;* so that the pope, even in matters of spiritual cognizance, had no power over the lives of English subjects.

2. *William Sautre the Proto-Martyr of English Protestants.*

The first on whom this cruel law was handselled, was William Sautre, formerly parish-priest of St. Margaret in the town of Lynn, but since of St. Osyth in the city of London. This was he whose faith fought the first duel with fire itself, and overcame it. Abel was the first martyr of men, St. Stephen the first of Christian men, St. Alban the first of British Christians, and this Sautre the first of English protestants, as by prolepsis I may term them. Scriveners use with gaudy flourishes to deck and garnish the initial characters of copies; which superfluous pains may be spared by us, in adorning this leading letter in the pattern of patience; seeing it is conspicuous enough in itself, dyed red with its own blood. Some charge this Sautre with fear and fickleness, because formerly he had abjured those articles for which afterwards he died before the bishop of Norwich. But let those who severely censure him for *once* denying the truth, and do know who it was that denied his Master *thrice*, take heed they not do as bad a deed more than *four times* themselves. May Sautre's final constancy be as surely practised by men, as his former cowardliness, no doubt, is pardoned by God! Eight errors were laid to his charge in order as followeth:—

(1.) Imprimis, He saith, that he will not worship the cross on which Christ suffered, but only Christ that suffered upon the cross. (2.) Item, That he would sooner worship a temporal king than the aforesaid wooden cross. (3.) Item, That he would rather worship the bodies of the saints than the very cross of Christ on which he hung, if it were before him. (4.) Item, That he would rather worship a man truly contrite than the cross of Christ. (5.) Item, That he is bound rather to worship a man that is predestinate than an angel of God. (6.) Item, That if any man would visit the monuments of Peter and Paul, or go on pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas, or any whither else, for the obtaining of any temporal benefit, he is not bound to keep his vow, but may distribute the expenses of his vow upon the alms of the poor. (7.) Item, That every priest and deacon is more bound to preach the word of God than to say the canonical hours. (8.) Item, That after the pronouncing of the

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 440, 467.—EDIT.

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sacramental words of the body of Christ, the bread remaineth of the same nature that it was before, neither doth it cease to be bread."

3. *Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, solemnly pronounceth Sautre an Heretic convicted.*

These were the opinions wherewith Sautre is charged in their own registers, which, if read with that favour which not charity but justice allows of course to human frailty, will be found not so heinous as to deserve fire and faggot; seeing his expressions are rather indiscreet, than his positions damnable. But Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, before whom Sautre was convented, in the convocation, at St. Paul's in London, principally pinched him with the last about transubstantiation in the sacrament. Thus their cruelty made God's table a snare to his servants; when their other nets broke, this held; what they pretended a sacrifice for the living and dead proved, indeed, the cause of the sacrificing of many innocents; and cavils about the corporal presence was the most compendious way to dispatch them: for the denial whereof, the aforesaid archbishop solemnly pronounced Sautre an heretic convicted.

4. *Sautre's indiscreet Denying of himself.*

Here happened a passage in Sautre, which I must not omit; which either I do not understand, or cannot approve in him. For, being demanded whether or no he had formerly abjured these opinions, he denied the same; whereas his formal abjuration of them, the last year, before the bishop of Norwich, was produced in presence; an action utterly inconsistent with Christian sincerity, to deny his own deed; except any will say, that he was not bound to accuse himself, and to confess, in that court, what he had done elsewhere, to his own prejudice. Thus offenders, who formerly have confessed their fact, in their private examinations before a justice of peace, yet plead "Not Guilty" when they are brought before the assizes, accounting themselves innocent in that court till, by the verdict of the jury, they are proved otherwise. However, I am rather inclined to suspect my ignorance than condemn his innocence, conceiving there is more on his side than appeareth in his behalf.

5. *Sautre, by a second Sentence, is adjudged to be degraded and deposed.*

The reader, I presume, will pardon our largeness (which we will recompense with brevity in the rest) in relating the proceedings against this first martyr; who being, as I may say, the eldest, and the heir in our History, may justly challenge a double portion

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thereof. Yea, the archbishop, who in his condemnation did not follow but make a precedent therein, was very punctual and ceremonious in his proceedings, that he might set the fairer copy for the direction of posterity; and that the formality of his exemplary justice might, for the terror of others, take the deeper impression in all that did see it, or should hear thereof. And now his former abjuration plainly appearing, Arundel, by a second sentence, adjudged him re-fallen into heresy, and incorrigible, and therefore to be degraded and deposed.

6. *The Order of his Degradation.*

For, lest priesthood should suffer in the person of Sautre, (and all the clergy present, out of a religious sympathy, were tender of the honour of their own profession,) he was there solemnly degraded in order as followeth:—

(1.) From the order of Priest; by taking from him the patin, chalice, and plucking the chasule [chasuble] from his back. (2.) From the order of Deacon; by taking from him the New Testament and the stole. (3.) From the order of Sub-deacon; by taking from him the alb and the maniple. (4.) From the order of Acolyte; by taking from him the candlestick, taper, urceolum. (5.) From the order of Exorcist; by taking from him the book of conjurations. (6.) From the order of Reader; by taking from him the book of church-legends. (7.) From the order of Sexton; by taking from him the key of the church-door and surphee.

How many steps are required to climb up to the top of popish priesthood! But, as, when a building is taken down, one would little think so much timber and stone had concurred thereunto, until he sees the several parcels thereof lie in ruinous heaps; so it is almost incredible how many trinkets must be had to complete a priest, but that here we behold them solemnly taken asunder in Sautre's degradation. And now he, no longer priest, but plain layman, with the tonsure on his crown rased away, was delivered to the secular power, with this compliment, worth the noting: "Beseeching the secular court, that they would receive favourably the said William unto them thus re-committed." But who can excuse their double-dealing herein from deep hypocrisy, seeing the bishops, at the same time, (for all their fair language,) ceased not to call upon the king to bring him to speedy execution?

7. *The King's Warrant for the Burning of Sautre.*

Hereupon the king in parliament issued out his warrant to the mayor and sheriffs of London, that the said William, being in their custody, should be brought forth into some public or open place,

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within the liberty of the city, and there "really to be burned to the great horror of his offence, and manifest example of other Christians;"* which was performed accordingly. Thus died this worthy man; and though we be as far from adoring his relics, as such adoration is from true religion, yet we cannot but be sensible of the value of such a saint: nor can we mention his memory without paying an honourable respect thereunto. His death struck a terror into those of his party who hereafter were glad to enjoy their conscience in private, without public professing the same. So that now the ship of Christ, tossed with the tempest of persecution, had all her sails taken down; yea, her mast cut close to the deck; and, without making any visible show, was fain to lie poor and private till this storm was overpassed; the archbishop Arundel being most furious and cruel in detecting and suppressing all suspected of piety.

8. *A Surfeit of Synods in Archbishop Arundel's Time.*

Synods of the clergy were never so frequent before or since, as in his time, when scarce a year escaped without a synod called or continued therein. Most of these were but ecclesiastical meetings for secular money. Hereupon, a covetous ignorant priest, guilty of no Greek, made this derivation of the word "synodus," (far-fetched in itself, but coming close to him,) from *crumena sine nodo*, because, at such assemblies, the purse ought ever to be open, without knots tied thereon, ready to disburse such sums as should be demanded. Indeed, the clergy now contributed much money to the king; having learned the maxim commended in the comedian, *Pecuniam in loco negligere maximum interdum est lucrum;*† and, perceiving on what ticklish terms their state stood, were forced to part with a great proportion thereof to secure the rest, the parliament‡ now shrewdly pushing at their temporal possessions. For although, in the first year of king Henry, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland came from him to the clergy with a compliment, that "the king only desired their prayers, and none of their money,"§ (kingdoms have their honey-moon, when new princes are married unto them!) yet how much afterwards he received from them, the ensuing draught of synods summoned in his days doth present:—

(1.) At St. Paul's in London. A.D. 1399. *The President:* The prior and chapter of Canterbury, in the archbishop's absence. *The Preacher:* William bishop of Rochester. *His Text: Cor*

* FOX'S "Martyrology," p. 477, out of whom the effect of this story is taken.
† TERENTII *Adelphi.* ‡ *Vide infrà* in the History of Abbeys, lib. vi. cap. 1.
§ *Antiq. Brit.* p. 273; and HARPSFIELD, *Hist. Ang.* p. 618; out of whom the following table of synods is composed.

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meum diligit principes Israel. Money granted the King: Nothing at this time, but the Clergy's prayers required. *The other Acts thereof:* The king, at the request of the universities, promised to take order with the pope's Provisions and Preventions, that so learned men might be advanced. St. Gregory's day made holy.

(2.) *Ibidem.* A.D. 1400. *The President:* Thomas Arundel. *Money granted the King:* A tenth and half. For a single tenth was first proffered him, and he refused it. *The other Acts thereof:* Nothing else of moment passed, save Sautre's condemnation.

(3.) *Ibidem.* A.D. 1402. *The President:* Thomas Arundel. *Money granted the King:* At the instance of the earl of Somerset, and lord Ross the treasurer, a tenth was granted. *The other Acts thereof:* The clergy renewed their petition of right to the king, that they should not be proceeded against by temporal judges, nor forced to sell their goods, for provision for the king's court. No answer appears.

(4.) *Ibidem.* A.D. 1404. *The President:* Henry bishop of Lincoln, the archbishop being absent in an embassy. *Money granted the King:* A tenth towards the king's charges in suppressing the late rebels. *The other Acts thereof:* Constituted, that the obsequies of every English bishop deceased should be celebrated in all the cathedrals of the kingdom.

(5.) *Ibidem.* A.D. 1405. *The President:* Thomas Arundel. *Money granted the King:* A tenth; when the laity in parliament gave nothing. *The other Acts thereof:* Nothing of consequence.

(6.) *Ibidem.* A.D. 1406. *The President:* Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, the archbishop being absent. *The Preacher:* Thomas bishop of Carlisle. *His text: Magister adest, et vocat te. Money granted the King:* A tenth. *The other Acts thereof:* Nothing of moment.

(7.) *Ibidem.* A.D. 1408. *The President:* Thomas Arundel. *The Preacher:* John Monke of St. Augustine's in Canterbury. *His text: Faciet unusquisque opus suum. The other Acts thereof:* This synod was principally employed in suppressing of schism; and the following synod in the same year to the same purpose.

(8.) *Ibidem. The President:* Thomas Arundel. *The Preacher:* John Botel, General of the Franciscans. *His text: Vos vocati estis in uno corpore.*

(9.) *Ibidem.* A.D. 1411. *The President:* Henry bishop of Winchester, the archbishop being abroad in an embassy. *The Preacher:* John Langdon, monk of Canterbury. *His text: Stellæ dederunt lumen. Money granted the King:* A tenth,

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and a subsidy granted, saith Matthew Parker; * but, others† say, the clergy accused themselves, as drained dry with former payments. Also the pope's agent, progging for money, was denied it. *The other Acts thereof:* Little else save some endeavours against Wickliffe's opinions.

(10.) *Ibidem.* A. D. 1412. *The President:* Thomas Arundel. *The Preacher:* John Godmersham, monk of Canterbury. *His text: Diligite lumen sapientiæ omnes qui præestis. Money granted the King:* A tenth. The clergy complained to the king of their grievances, but received no redress. *The other Acts thereof:* The pope's rents sequestered into the king's hands, during the schism betwixt Gregory XII. and Benedict.

We will not avouch these all the conventions of the clergy in this king's reign, who had many subordinate meetings in reference to their own occasions, but these of most public concernment. Know this also, that it was a great invitation (not to say an enforcement) to make them the more bountiful in their contributions to the king, because their leaders were suspicious of a design now first set on foot, in opposition to all religious houses, as then termed, to essay their overthrow; which project now, as a pioneer, only wrought beneath ground, yet not so insensibly but that the church-statists got a discovery thereof, and, in prevention, were very satisfying to the king's pecuniary desires; insomuch that it was, in effect, but "Ask and have,"—such their compliance to all purposes and intents; the rather because this king had appeared so zealous to arm the bishops with terrible laws against the poor naked Lollards, as then they were nick-named.

9—12. *A new Chronology. A severe Motion against the Welsh, moderated by the King. The Cause of his Anger. A.D.* 1412.

Now we pass from the Convocation to the Parliament, only to meddle with church-matters therein; desiring the reader to dispense in the margin with a new chronology of this king's reign; assuring him that whatsoever is written is taken out of the authentic records of the Parliament in the Tower.

It was moved in Parliament, that no Welshman, bishop or other, be justice, chamberlain, chancellor, treasurer, sheriff, constable of a castle, receiver, escheator, coroner, or chief forester, or other officer whatsoever, or keeper of records,‡ or lieutenant in the said offices, in any part of Wales, or of counsel to any English lord, notwithstanding any patent made to the contrary; *Cum clausulâ, Non obstante, licet Wallicus natus.*

* *Antiq. Brit.* p. 274. † HARPSFIELD, *Ecc. Ang.* p. 616. ‡ *Ex Rot. Par. in Tur. Lond in hoc anno.*

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It was answered, that "the king willeth it, except the bishops; and for them and others, whom he hath found good and loyal lieges towards him, our said lord the king will be advised by the advice of his council."

Such as wonder why the parliament was so incensed against the Welsh, (seeing Henry prince of Wales was their own countryman, born at Monmouth,) may consider, how now or very lately Owen Glendower, a Welsh robber, (advanced by the multitude of his followers into the reputation of a general,) had made much spoil in Wales. Now commendable was the king's charity, who would not return a national mischief for a personal injury; seeing no man can choose the place of his nativity, though he may bemoan and hate the bad practices of his own nation.

13. *The Quaternion of Welsh Bishops, who and what at this Time.*

The king's courteous exception for the Welsh bishops putteth us upon a necessary inquiry, who and what they were, placed in sees at this time.

ST. DAVID'S.—Guido de Mona, or, of Anglesey; a true Briton by birth, witnessed by his name. He was at the present lord treasurer of England;* in whom the king much confided, though T. Walsingham be pleased to dash his memory, that "he was the cause of much mischief."

LANDAFF.—Thomas Peverell. His surname speaks him English by extraction, and he was of no remarkable activity.

BANGOR.—Richard Young. He might be English or Welsh by his name; but I believe the latter: a man of merit sent by the king into Germany, to give satisfaction of king Henry's proceedings.

ST. ASAPH.—John Trevaur, second of that Christian and surname bishop of that see; a Welshman, no doubt. He was sent, saith T. Walsingham, to Spain, to give account of the king's proceedings: very loyal at the present, but, after his return home, he sided with Owen Glendower.

But though the English at this time were so severe against the Welsh, king Henry VII. (born in the bowels of Wales, at Pembroke, and assisted in the gaining of the crown by the valour of his countrymen) some years after plucked down this partition-wall of difference betwixt them; † admitting the Welsh to English

* GODWIN'S "Catalogue of Bishops in St. David's." † In his *Examen Historicum*, Heylin remarks: "King Henry the seventh did not break down the partition between England and Wales. That was a work reserved for king Harry the eighth; in the 27th of whose reign there passed an Act of Parliament, by which it was enacted *That the*

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honours and offices,—as good reason, equality of merits should be rewarded with equality of advancement.

14. *The Petition of the Lords and Commons to the King against Lollards.*

Sir John Tiptoft, made afterwards earl of Worcester, put up a petition to the parliament, touching Lollards; which wrought so on the lords, that they joined in a petition to the king, according to the tenor following:—

"To our most redoubted and gracious sovereign the king.—Your humble son, Henry prince of Wales, and the lords spiritual and temporal in this present parliament, humbly show,—that the church of England hath been, and now is, endowed with temporal possessions, by the gifts and grants as well of your royal progenitors, as by the ancestors of the said lords temporal, to maintain Divine service, keep hospitality, &c., to the honour of God, and the souls' health of your progenitors, and the said lords temporal.

"Yet now of late, some, at the instigation of the enemy against the foresaid church and prelates, have, as well in public sermons, as in conventicles and secret places called *schools*, stirred and moved the people of your kingdom to take away the said temporal possessions from the said prelates, with which they are as rightly endowed, as it hath been, or might be, best advised or imagined, by the laws and customs of your kingdom, and of which they are as surely possessed as the lords temporal are of their inheritances.

"Wherefore, in case that this evil purpose be not resisted by your royal Majesty, it is very likely that, in process of time, they will also excite the people of your kingdom for to take away, from the said lords temporal, their possessions and heritages, so to make them common to the open commotion of your people.

"There be also others, who publish, and cause to be published evilly and falsely among the people of your kingdom, that Richard late king of England—who is gone to God, and on whose soul God through his grace have mercy!—is still alive. And some have writ and published divers false pretended prophecies to the people;

country of Wales should be, stand, and continue for ever, from thenceforth, united and annexed to and with this realm of England: And that all and singular person and persons born, and to be born, in the said principality, country, or dominion of Wales shall have, enjoy, and inherit all and singular freedoms, liberties, rights, privileges, and laws within this realm, and other the king's dominions, as other the king's subjects naturally born within the same have, and enjoy, and inherit. Between the time which our author speaks of, being the 14th year of king Henry IV., and the making of this Act by king Henry VIII., there passed above a hundred and twenty years; which intimates a longer time than *some years after*, as our author words it." In his "Appeal," (p. 443,) Fuller says, in reply, "The intentions of king Henry VII. were executed by king Henry VIII.; and all shall be reformed in my book accordingly."—EDIT.

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disturbing them who would to their power live peaceably, serve God, and faithfully submit and obey you their liege lord.

"Wherefore may it please your royal Majesty, in maintenance of the honour of God, conservation of the laws of the holy church, as also in the preservation of the estate of you, your children, and the lords aforesaid, and for the quiet of all your kingdom, to ordain by a statute, in the present parliament, by the assent of the lords aforesaid and the commons of your kingdom, that in case any man or woman, of what estate or condition they be, preach, publish, or maintain, hold, use, or exercise any *schools*, if any sect or doctrine hereafter against the catholic faith either preach, publish, maintain, or write a schedule, whereby the people may be moved to take away the temporal possessions of the aforesaid prelates, or preach and publish, that Richard late king, who is dead, should still be in full life, or that *the fool in Scotland* is that king Richard who is dead; or that publish or write any pretended prophecies to the commotion of your people, that they and every of them be taken, and put in prison, without being delivered in bail, or otherwise, except by good and sufficient mainprise, to be taken before the chancellor of England," &c.*

15, 16. *The Prince made a Party against Wicklivites. Complication of royal and prelatical Interest.*

See we here the policy of the clergy, who had gained prince Henry (set as a transcendent by himself in the petition) to their side, entering his youth against the poor Wicklivites; and this earnest engaged him to the greater antipathy against them, when possessed of the crown.

Observe also the subtlety of the clergy in this medley petition, interweaving their own interest with the king's, and endeavouring to possess him, that all the adversaries to their superstitions were enemies also and traitors to his Majesty.

17, 18. *Wicklivists' Schools. Lollards, why so called.*

Now as "conventicles" were the name of disgrace cast on, "schools" was the term of credit owned by, the Wicklivists for the place of their meeting; whether because "the school of Tyrannus," wherein St. Paul disputed, Acts xix. 9, was conceived by them senior in scripture to any material church; or that their teaching therein was not in entire discourses, but admitted (as in the Schools) of interlocutory opposition on occasion.

By "Lollards" all know the Wicklivites are meant, so called

* Contracted by myself (exactly keeping the words) out of the original.

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from Walter Lollardus,* one of their teachers in Germany; (and not as the monk alluded,† *quasi lolia in arâ Domini;)* flourishing many years before Wickliffe, and much consenting with him in judgment. As for the word "Lollard" retained in our statutes since the Reformation, it seems now, as a generical name, to signify such who in their opinions oppose the settled religion of the land; in which sense the modern sheriffs are bound by their oath to suppress them.

19, 20. *A charitable Parenthesis. King Richard, why believed alive.*

The parenthesis concerning king Richard—"Who is gone to God, and on whose soul God through his grace have mercy!"—is according to the doctrine of that age. For they held all in purgatory, "gone to God," because assured in due time of their happiness; yet so that the suffrages of the living were profitable for them. Nor feared they to offend king Henry by their charitable presumption of the final happy estate of king Richard, his professed enemy; knowing he cared not where king Richard was, so be it not living and sitting on the English throne.

As for the report of king Richard's being still alive, it is strange any should believe it; if it be true, that his corpse for some days was at London exposed to open view: understand it done at distance, lest coming too near might discover some violence offered on his person. It is probable, that the obscurity of his burial (huddled into his grave at Langley in Hertfordshire) gave the lustre to the report that he was still alive, believed of those who desired it.

21—23. *No Woman-Lollard Martyr. Who meant by* "THE FOOL *in Scotland.*" *Cruel Persecution.*

Whereas this law against Lollards extended to women; though many of the weaker sex were in trouble upon that account, yet, on my best inquiry, I never found any one put to death; Anna Ascough being the first who, in the reign of king Henry VIII., was burned for her religion.

A Scotch writer tells us,‡ that king Richard fled disguised into Scotland, discovered himself to, and was honourably entertained by, Robert the king thereof; adding, that Richard, who would no more of the world, gave himself wholly to contemplation, lived, died, and was buried at Stirling. Possibly some mimic might personate him there, and is the fool mentioned in this petition.

Hereupon it was that the poor Lollards were prosecuted with such cruelty, that the prisons were full of them; many forced to abjure,

* TRITHEMIUS *in Chron. anno* 1315. † Of *St. Aug. Cont. MS. anno* 1406.
‡ HECTOR BOETIUS, *lib.* 16.

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and such who refused used without mercy, as in Mr. Fox is largely related.

24, 25. *Archbishop Arundel, going to visit Oxford, is resisted by the Chancellor.*

Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, came to Oxford, with a pompous train, accompanied with many persons of honour, and particularly with his nephew, Thomas Fitz-Allen, earl of Arundel. His intent was juridically to visit the university, expecting to be solemnly met, and sumptuously entertained, according to his place and dignity.

But, see the spite of it! Richard Courtenay, the chancellor of Oxford, (whom, by his surname and high spirit, I should guess descended from the earls of Devonshire,) with Benedict Brent and John Birch, the two proctors, denied the archbishop entrance into the university under the notion of A VISITOR; though as a stranger, great prelate, and privy counsellor, all welcome was provided for him and his retinue. Arundel was angry with the affront; and, finding force both useless, (the scholars siding with the chancellor,) and inconsistent with his gravity, was fain fairly to retreat, *re infectâ*, to London; the rather because the chancellor had submitted the cause in controversy to the hearing and determining of his Majesty.

26. *The King determines the Cause for the Archbishop.*

King Henry, at the joint instance of both parties, summoned them to Lambeth, to hear and determine the controversy. The chancellor of Oxford produceth an army of large Bulls of the pope. Archbishop Arundel brought forth one champion; namely, an instrument in the reign of king Richard II., wherein the king adjudged all their papal privileges void, as granted to the damage of the crown, and much occasioning the increase of Lollards: not that it was so done intentionally by his Holiness; (for who can suspect the pope turned Lollard?) but accidentally it came to pass, that, the university of Oxford freed from archiepiscopal visitation, by virtue of those Bulls, the Wicklivists therein escaped from consistorian censure. Hereupon king Henry pronounced sentence on the archbishop's side, on Friday, February 9th, as by the ensuing instrument will plainly appear:—

Et ulterius tam auctoritate suâ regiâ, quàm virtute submissionis prædictæ sibi factæ ad tunc ibidem, arbitratus fuit, ordinavit, consideravit, decrevit, et adjudicavit, quòd prædictus archiepiscopus et successores sui in perpetuum habeant visitationem et jurisdictionem in universitate prædictâ, tam cancellarii commissariorum, quàm procuratorum ejusdem universitatis, qui pro tempore fue-

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rint, necnon omnium doctorum, magistrorum, regentium et non-regentium, ac scholarium ejusdem universitatis quorumcunque eorumque servientium, aliarumque personarum cujuscunque statûs et conditionis extiterint, et etiam ejusdem universitatis ut universitatis, et quòd cancellarius, commissarii, procuratores universitatis prædictæ, qui pro tempore fuerunt, eorumque successores, et omnes alii in dictâ universitate pro tempore commorantes, futuris temporibus eidem archiepiscopo, et successoribus suis in visitatione et jurisdictione universitatis prædictæ etiam ut universitatis, in omnibus pareant et obediant. Et quòd nec dictus cancellarius, commissarii, nec procuratores universitatis prædictæ, nec eorum successores, nec aliquis alius in universitate prædictâ, aliquod privilegium seu beneficium exemptionis ad excludendum præfatum archiepiscopum seu successores suos de visitatione et jurisdictione prædictis in universitate antedictâ, colore alicujus Bullæ seu alterius tituli cujuscunque erga prædictum archiepiscopum seu successores suos, clàment, habeant, seu vendicent, ullo modo in futurum. Et quòd quotiens cancellarius, commissarii, vel locum-tenens ipsorum, vel alicujus ipsorum, vel procuratores dictæ universitatis qui pro tempore fuerint, vel eorum successores, sive aliquis eorum impedierint vel impedierit præfatum archiepiscopum vel successores suos, aut ecclesiam suam prædictam, aut ipsorum vel alicujus ipsorum commissarium vel commissarios, de hujusmodi visitatione sive jurisdictione dictæ universitatis, vel in aliquo contravenerint, vel aliquis eorum contravenerit, dictis, arbitrio, ordinationi, sive judicio per præfatum Ricardum nuper regem factis, sive arbitrio, judicio, decreto, considerationi vel ordinationi, ipsius domini nostri regis Henrici in hoc casu, vel si aliquis dictæ universitatis in futurum impedierit dictum archiepiscopum, vel successores suos, aut ecclesiam suam prædictam, aut ipsorum, vel alicujus ipsorum commissarium, vel commissarios, de visitatione suâ aut jurisdictione antedictâ, vel in aliquo contravenerit dictis, arbitrio, ordinationi, sive judicio per præfatum Ricardum nuper regem in formâ prædictâ, factis vel arbitrio, judicio, decreto, considerationi vel ordinationi ipsius domini nostri regis Henrici. Et quòd cancellarius, commissarii vel procuratores universitatis prædictæ tunc non fecerint diligentiam et posse eorum ad adjuvandum dictum archiepiscopum vel successores suos, aut ecclesiam suam prædictam, seu commissarium vel commissarios suos in hujusmodi casu, ac etiam ad puniendum hujusmodi impedientes et resistentes: Quòd totiens omnes franchesiæ, libertates, et omnia privilegia ejusdem universitatis in manus domini regis vel hæredum suorum seisiantur, in eisdem manibus ipsorum domini regis vel hæredum suorum remansura, quousque prædictus archiepiscopus

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vel successores sui pacificam visitationem et jurisdictionem in formâ prædictâ, in dictâ universitate habuerit vel habuerint, et etiam totiens cancellarius, commissarii, et procuratores ejusdem universitatis, qui pro tempore fuerint, et eorum successores, ac universitas prædicta solvant, et teneantur solvere ipsi domino nostro regi Henrico et hæredibus suis mille libras legalis monetæ Angliæ.

Concordat cum originali: GULIELMUS RYLEY.

Afterwards the king confirmed the same, with the consent of the lords and commons in parliament, as in the Tower rolls doth plainly appear.

27—29. *The Effect of the Statute of Premunire. Farewell to King Henry IV. Chaumberdakyns banished England* 1 Henry V. *A.D.* 1413.

See we here the grand difference betwixt the pope's power in England, before and after the Statute of Premunire. Before it, his *αὐτὸς ἔφη* was authentical, and his Bulls received next to canonical scripture. Since, that statute hath broken off their best seals, wherein they cross the royal power; and, in all things else, they enter into England mannerly with, "Good king, by your leave, sir," or else they were no better than so much waste parchment.

This doth acquaint us with a perfect character of king Henry IV., who, though courteous, was not servile to the pope. And sir Edward Coke * accounteth this his Oxford action (though unwilling to transcribe the instrument for the tediousness thereof) a noble act of kingly power in that age; and so we take our farewell of king Henry IV., not observed, as all English kings before and after him, to have erected and endowed any one entire house of religion, as first or sole founder thereof, though a great benefactor to the Abbey of Leicester, and College of Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire. His picture is not so well known by his head as his hood, which he weareth upon it in an antic fashion peculiar to himself.

At the commons' petition to the king in parliament, that all Irish begging-priests, called "Chaumberdakyns," [Chamberdekins,] should avoid the realm before Michaelmas next, they were ordered to depart by the time aforesaid, upon pain of loss of goods and imprisonment during the king's pleasure.†

30. *The Death of Thomas Arundel.*

I had almost forgotten, that, just a month before the death of king Henry IV., Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, expired; famished to death, not for want of food, but a throat to

* Fourth book of his Institutes, "Of the Jurisdiction of Courts," p. 228. † *Rot. in Turre in hoc anno.*

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swallow it,—such the swelling therein that he could neither speak nor eat for some days. I may safely report what others observe, how he, who by his cruel canons forbade the food to the soul, and had pronounced sentence of condemnation on so many innocents, was now both starved and stricken dumb together. Henry Chicheley succeeded him in the place, whose mean birth interrupted the chain of noble archbishops, his two predecessors and successors being earls' sons by their extraction.

31, 32. *The Clergy, jealous of King Henry's Activity, divert it on a War in France. A.D.* 1414.

The prelates and abbots, especially, began now to have the active soul of king Henry in suspicion. For, working heads are not so willing to follow old ways, as well pleased to find out new ones. Such a meddling soul must be sent out of harm's-way: if that the clergy found not this king some work abroad, he would make them new work at home. Had his humour happened to side with the Lollards, Henry V. would have saved king Henry VIII. much pains in demolishing of monasteries.

Hereupon the clergy cunningly gave vent to his activity, by diverting it on a long war upon the French; where his victories are loudly sounded forth by our state-historians: a war of more credit than profit to England in this king's reign, draining the men and money thereof. Thus victorious bays bear only barren berries, no whit good for food, and very little for physic; whilst the peaceable olive drops down that precious liquor, "making the face of man to shine" therewith. Besides, what this king Henry gained, his son as quickly lost, in France. Thus, though the Providence of nature hath privileged islanders by their entire position to secure themselves, yet are they unhappy in long keeping their acquisitions on the continent.

33—35. *The sad Story of Sir John Oldcastle. His Belief. He is charged of Treason.*

Now began the tragedy of sir John Oldcastle, so largely handled in Mr. Fox, that his pains hath given posterity a writ of ease herein. He was a vigorous knight, whose martial activity wrought him into the affections of Joane de la Pole, baroness of Cobham; * the lord whereof he became, *(sed quære*, whether an actual baron,) by her marriage.

As for the opinions of this sir John Oldcastle, they plainly appear in his belief, which he drew up with his own hand, and presented it first to the king, then to the archbishop of Canterbury;

* CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Kent.

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wherein some things are rather coarsely than falsely spoken. He knew to speak in the language of "the schools," (so were the meetings of the Wicklivists called,) but not scholastically; and I believe he was the first that coined, and last that used, the distinction of the church militant,—divided into "Priesthood, Knighthood, and Commons," which had no great harm therein, as he explained it. As for Parsons's * charging him with anabaptistical tenets, it is pity that the words of a plain-meaning man should be put on the rack of a Jesuit's malice, to extort by deduction what never was intended therein.

But a worse accusation is charged on his memory,—that he was not only guilty of heresy, but treason. But, by the way, it appeareth that Lollardism, then counted heresy, was made treason by statute, and on that account heresy and treason signify no more than heresy; and then heresy, according to the abusive language of that age, was the best serving of God in those days. But, beside this, a very formal treason is laid to this lord's account in manner following:—"It is laid to his charge, that, though not present in the person with his counsel, he encouraged an army of rebels, no fewer than twenty thousand, who in the dark thickets" (expounded in our age into *plain pasture)* "of St. Giles's fields nigh London, intended to seize on the king's person, and his two brothers, the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester." Of this numerous army, thirty-six are said to be hanged and burned, though the names of three are only known, and sir Roger Acton, knight, the only person of quality named in the design.

36, 37. *The Author, intricated, leaveth all to the last Day.*

For mine own part, I must confess myself so lost in the intricacies of these relations, that I know not what to assent to. On the one side, I am loath to load the lord Cobham's memory with causeless crimes, knowing the perfect hatred the clergy in that age bare unto him, and all that looked towards the Reformation in religion. Besides, that twenty thousand men should be brought into the field, and no place assigned whence they were to be raised, or where mustered, is clogged with much improbability; the rather, because only the three persons, as is aforesaid, are mentioned by name of so vast a number.

On the other side, I am much startled with the evidence that appeareth against him. Indeed, I am little moved with what T. Walsingham writes, (whom all later authors follow, as a flock the bell-wether,) knowing him a Benedictine monk of St. Alban's, bowed by interest to partiality; but the records of the Tower, and Acts

* In his "Three Conversions."

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of Parliament therein, wherein he was solemnly condemned for a traitor as well as heretic, challenge belief. For with what confidence can any private person promise credit from posterity to his own writings, if such public monuments be not by him entertained for authentical? Let Mr. Fox, therefore, be this lord Cobham's compurgator: I dare not. And if my hand were put on the Bible, I should take it back again: yet so that, as I will not acquit, I will not condemn him, but leave all to the last "day of the revelation of the righteous judgment of God," Rom. ii. 5.

38—40. *The Lord Cobham taken in Wales. His double Death. Unjustly made the Buffoon in Plays.*

This is most true, that the lord Cobham made his escape out of the Tower, wherein he was imprisoned; fled into Wales: here he lived four years, being at last discovered and taken by the lord Powis; yet so, that it cost some blows and blood to apprehend him, till a woman at last with a stool broke the lord Cobham's legs, whereby being lame, he was brought up to London in a horse-litter.

At last he was drawn upon a hurdle to the gallows, his death as his crime being double,—hanged and burned for traitor and heretic. Hence some have deduced the etymology of Tyburn, from "Ty" and "burne;"* the necks of offending persons being tied thereunto, whose legs and lower parts were consumed in the flame.

Stage-poets have themselves been very bold with, and others very merry at, the memory of sir John Oldcastle; whom they have fancied a boon companion, a jovial roister, and yet a coward to boot, contrary to the credit of all chronicles, owning him a martial man of merit. The best is, sir John Falstaff hath relieved the memory of sir John Oldcastle, and of late is substituted buffoon in his place; but it matters as little what petulant poets, as what malicious papists, have written against him.

41, 42. *Lincoln-College founded. Nicholas Pont, great Anti-Lincolnian. The Author, some Weeks in, though not of, this House.*

Richard Fleming, doctor of divinity, designed by the pope archbishop of York, but, to please king Henry V., contented with the bishopric of Lincoln, about this time founded a college, named Lincoln-College, in Oxford. It fared the worse because he died before it was fully finished; and the best guardian to an orphan-foundation comes far short of the father thereof. Yet was this House happy in two bountiful benefactors; Thomas Beckington, bishop of Bath and Wells, who, according to the ingenuity of that

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 407.—EDIT.

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age, hath left his memory in a *Beacon* with a *Tun* on the walls; and Thomas Rotherham, archbishop of York, adding five fellowships thereunto.

Here I wonder what made Nicholas Pont,* Fellow of Merton-College, and scholar enough, to be such a back-friend to this college in the infancy thereof, inveighing bitterly against it. This is that Pont whose faith many distrust, for his violent writing against Wickliffe, but whose charity more may dislike for his malice to this innocent college;† except it was, that he foresaw it would produce, in time, worthy champions of the truth, opposers of his erroneous opinions; as indeed it hath, though I be unable to give a particular catalogue of them.

Indeed, I could much desire, were it in my power, to express my service to this foundation, acknowledging myself for a quarter of a year in these troublesome times (though no member of) a dweller in it. I will not complain of the dearness of this university, where seventeen weeks cost me more than seventeen years in Cambridge, even all that I had; but shall pray that the students therein be never hereafter disturbed upon the like occasion.‡

43. *The Arch-casuist of our Church and Age.* *A.D.* 1421.

Amongst the modern worthies of this college still surviving, Dr. Robert Saunderson, late Regius Professor, moveth in the highest sphere; as no less plain and profitable than able and profound casuist,—a learning almost lost among protestants; wrapping up sharp thorns in rosy leaves; I mean, hard matter in sweet Latin and pleasant expressions.

Rectors.—(1.) Mr. Gul. Chamberlen; (2.) Mr. John Beke; (3.) Mr. John Tristrope; (4.) Dr. George Strangwayes; (5.) Mr. Gul. Bethome; (6.) Mr. Thomas Banke; (7.) Mr. Thomas Drax; (8.) Dr. John Cottisford; (9.) Mr. Hugo Weston; (10.) Mr. Christopher Hargrave; (11.) Dr. Francis Babington; (12.) Mr. Henry Henshaw; (13.) Mr. John Bridgter; (14.) Mr. John Tatham; (15.) Dr. John Underhill; (16.) Dr. Richard Kilbie; (17.) Dr. Paul Hudd.

Bishops.—John Underhill, bishop of Oxford.

Benefactors.—(1.) John Forrest, dean of Wells; (2.) John Southam, archdeacon of Oxford; (3.) William Findern, Esquire; (4.) Henry Beaufort, cardinal, bishop of Winchester; (5.) John Bucktot; (6.) John Crosly, treasurer of Lincoln; (7.) William Batz; (8.) Edward Darby; (9.) William Dagril, mayor of Oxford;

* Brian Twyne *in Miscellaniis.* † Pitzæus, *anno* 1410. ‡ He fully explains the meaning of this rather obscure paragraph, in his very interesting "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 443, 444.—Edit.

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(10.) William Bish; (11.) Edmond Audley; (12.) John Traps; (13.) Richard Kilbie, late rector.

LEARNED WRITERS.—William Harris,* whose writings are much esteemed by the papists; Richard Thornton.

So that at the present are maintained, one Rector, fourteen Fellows, two Chaplains, four Scholars, who, with Servants and other Commoners, lately made up seventy-two.

44. *Bishop of Lincoln builds them a new Chapel.*

We must not forget John Williams, bishop of Lincoln, bred in Cambridge, related only to this House as visitor thereof. Here finding the chapel (built by John Forrest, dean of Wells in the reign of king Henry VI.) old, little, and inconvenient, he erected a far fairer fabric in the room thereof. He had a good precedent of a Cambridge-man's bounty to this House; even Thomas Rotherham, Fellow of King's-College, and Master of Pembroke-Hall therein, whom bishop Williams succeeded, as in the bishopric of Lincoln and the archbishopric of York, so in his liberality to this foundation.

45. *The Death and Character of King Henry V. A.D.* 1422.

On the last of August, king Henry V. ended his life in France; one of a strong and active body, neither shrinking in cold, nor slothful in heat, going commonly with his head uncovered: the wearing of armour was no more cumbersome unto him than a cloak. He never shrunk at a wound, nor turned away his nose for ill savour, nor closed his eyes for smoke or dust; in diet, none less dainty or more moderate; his sleep, very short but sound; fortunate in fight, and commendable in all his actions; verifying the proverb, that an ill youth may make a good man. The nunnery of Sion was built and endowed by him; and a college was by him intended in Oxford, had not death prevented him.

46—49. *Queen Catherine married again; but never buried, by her own Desire:* alii aliter. 1 Henry VI.

As for Catherine de Valois, daughter to Charles VI. king of France, widow of king Henry, she was afterward married to, and had issue by, Owen ap Tudor, a noble Welshman; and her body lies at this day unburied, in a loose coffin at Westminster, lately showed to such as desire it; and there dependeth a story thereon:—

There was an old prophecy among the English, (observed by foreigners to be the greatest prophecy-mongers,† and whilst the devil knows their diet, they shall never want a dish to please the palate,) that an English prince, born at Windsor, should be unfortunate in

* PITZÆUS *De Script. Ang.* 6, p. 801. † PHILIP COMINÆUS.

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losing what his father had acquired. Whereupon king Henry forbade queen Catherine (big with child) to be delivered there; who, out of the corrupt principle, *Nitimur in vetitum*, and affecting her father before her husband, was there brought to bed of king Henry VI., in whose reign the fair victories woven by his father's valour, were by cowardice, carelessness, and contentions, unravelled to nothing.

Report, the greatest, though not the truest, author, avoucheth, that, sensible of her fault in disobeying her husband, it was her own desire and pleasure, that her body should never be buried.* If so, it is pity but that a woman, especially a queen, should have her will therein: whose dust doth preach a sermon of duty to feminine, and of mortality to all, beholders.

But this story is told otherwise by other authors; namely, that she was buried near her husband king Henry V. under a fair tomb, where she hath a large epitaph,† and continued in her grave some years, until king Henry VII., laying the foundation of a new chapel, caused her corpse to be taken up. But why the said Henry, being her great-grandchild, did not order it to be re-int-rred, is not recorded; if done by casualty and neglect, very strange; and stranger, if out of design.

50. *The Parliament appoint the King's Counsellors.*

In the minority of king Henry VI., as his uncle John duke of Bedford managed martial matters beyond the seas; so his other uncle, Humphrey duke of Gloucester, was chosen his protector at home, to whom the parliament then sitting appointed a select number of privy counsellors, wherein only such as were spiritual persons fall under our observation. (1.) Henry Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury; (2.) John Kempe, bishop of London; (3.) Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, lately made lord cardinal; (4.) John Wackaring, bishop of Norwich, privy seal; (5.) Philip Morgan, bishop of Worcester; (6.) Nicholas Bubwith, bishop of Bath and Wells, lord treasurer. So strong a party had the clergy in that age, in the Privy Council, that they could carry all matters at their own pleasure.

51. *A strict Law for the Irish Clergy.* *A.D.* 1423.

It was ordered in parliament, that all Irishmen living in either university should procure their testimonials from the Lord Lieutenant or justice of Ireland, as also find sureties for their good behaviour, during their remaining therein. They were also forbidden to take

* SPEED's "Chronicle," p. 661. † STOW's "Survey of London," p. 507.

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upon them the Principality of any Hall or House, in either university, but that they remain under the discipline of others.

52—54. *Wickliffe, quietly buried forty-one Years, ordered to be ungraved for a Heretic. His Ashes burned and drowned. A.D.* 1428.

Hitherto the corpse of John Wickliffe had quietly slept in his grave, about one-and-forty years after his death, till his body was reduced to bones, and his bones almost to dust. For though the earth in the chancel of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, where he was interred, had not so quick a digestion with the earth of Aceldama, to consume flesh in twenty-four hours, yet such the appetite thereof, and all other English graves, to leave small reversions of a body after so many years.

But now, such the spleen of the council of Constance, as they not only cursed his memory, as dying an obstinate heretic, but ordered his bones (with this charitable caution, "if it may be discerned from the bodies of other faithful people") to be taken out of the ground, and thrown far off from any Christian burial.

In obedience hereunto, Richard Fleming, bishop of Lincoln, diocesan of Lutterworth, sent his officers (vultures with a quick sight scent at a dead carcase!) to ungrave him accordingly. To Lutterworth they come,—Sumner, Commissary, Official, Chancellor, Proctors, Doctors, and the servants (so that the remnant of the body would not hold out a bone, amongst so many hands) take what was left out of the grave, and burnt them to ashes, and cast them into Swift, a neighbouring brook running hard by. Thus this brook hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wickliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over.

55, 56. *None can drive a Nail of Wax. Difference betwixt Authors.*

I know not whether the vulgar tradition be worth remembrance, that the brook into which Wickliffe's ashes were poured, never since overflowed the banks. Were this true, (as some deny it,) as silly is the inference of papists attributing this to Divine Providence, expressing itself pleased with such severity on a heretic, as simple the collection of some protestants, making it an effect of Wickliffe's sanctity. Such topical accidents are good for friend and foe, as they may be bowed to both; but in effect good to neither, seeing no solid judgment will build where bare fancy hath laid foundation.

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It is of more consequence to observe the differences betwixt authors, some making the council of Constance to pass this sentence of condemnation, as Master Fox doth, inserting (but by mistake) the history thereof in the reign of king Richard II., which happened many years after. But more truly it is ascribed to the council of Sienna, except, for sureness, both of them joined in the same cruel edict.

57. *Wickliffe traduced.*

Here I cannot omit what I read in a popish manuscript (but very lately printed) about the subject of our present discourse: "The first unclean *beast* that ever passed through *Oxenford** (I mean Wickliffe by name) afterwards chewed the cud, and was sufficiently reconciled to the Roman faith; as appears by his recantation, living and dying conformable to the holy catholic church."†

It is strange that this popish priest alone should light on his recantation, which, I believe, no other eyes, before or since, did behold. Besides, if, as he saith, "Wickliffe was sufficiently reconciled to the Roman faith," why was not Rome sufficiently reconciled to him? using such cruelty unto him so many years after his death!‡ Cold encouragement for any to become Romanists' converts, if, notwithstanding their reconciliation, the bodies must be burned so many years after their death!

58. *A Monk's Charity to Wickliffe.* *A. D.* 1430.

But though Wickliffe had no tomb, he had an epitaph, (such as it was!) which a monk afforded him; and that it was no worse, thank his want, not of malice, but invention, not finding out worse expressions. "The devil's instrument, church's enemy, people's confusion, heretics' idol, hypocrites' mirror, schism's broacher, hatred's sower, lies' forger, flatteries' sink; who at his death despaired like Cain, and, stricken by the horrible judgments of God, breathed forth his wicked soul to the dark mansion of the black devil!"§ Surely, he with whose name this epitaph beginneth and endeth was with the maker clean through the contrivance thereof.

59, 60. *A conditional Privy Counsellor.* *Privilege of Convocation.*

Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, cardinal *Sancti Eusebii*, but commonly called cardinal of England, was by consent of parlia-

* O the wit! † HALL in the "Life of Bishop Fisher," p. 33. ‡ See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 436.—EDIT. § WALSINGHAM, *Ypodig. Neust.* p. 322.

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ment made one of the king's council, with this condition,—that he should make a protestation to absent himself from the council when any matters were to be treated betwixt the king and pope; being jealous, belike, that his papal would prevail over his royal interest.* The cardinal took the protestation, and promised to perform it.

The clergy complained in Parliament to the king, that their servants who came with them to Convocations were often arrested, to their great damage; and they prayed that they might have the same privilege which the Peers and Commons of the kingdom have who are called to Parliament: which was granted accordingly.

61. *Want of Grammar-Schools complained of.*

Great at this time was the want of grammar-schools, and the abuse of them that were even in London itself; for they were no better than monopolies, it being penal for any (to prevent the growth of Wicklivism) to put their children to private teachers. Hence was it that some hundreds were compelled to go to the same school; where, to use the words of the records, "the masters waxen rich in money, and learners poor in cunning."

Whereupon this grievance was complained of in parliament by four eminent ministers in London; namely, Mr. William Lichfield, parson of Allhallow's the More; Mr. Gilbert, parson of St. Andrew's, Holborn; Mr. John Cote, parson of St. Peter's, Cornhill; Mr. John Neele, master of the house of St. Thomas Acre's, and parson of Colchirch. To these it was granted, by the advice of the ordinary, or archbishop of Canterbury, to erect five schools (Neele, the last-named, having a double licence for two places) in their respective parishes, which are fitly called "the five vowels of London," which, mute in a manner before, began now to speak and pronounce the Latin tongue. Know that the house St. Thomas Acre's was where Mercers' Chapel standeth at this day.

62. *Eleanor Duchess of Gloucester commended by Mr. Fox for a Confessor: made Traitor by A. Cope. A.D.* 1433.

About this time the lady Eleanor Cobham, so called from the lord Cobham, her father, (otherwise, Eleanor Plantagenet by her husband,) was married unto Humphrey the king's uncle, duke of Gloucester. She was, it seems, a great savourer and favourer of Wickliffe's opinions; and for such Mr. Fox hath ever a good word in store; insomuch that he maketh this lady a confessor, sir Roger Only, (*aliàs* Bolingbroke,) her chaplain, a martyr; assigning, in his Calendar, the 11th and 12th of February for the days of their commemoration.

* *Ex Archivis Tur. London.*

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But Alanus Copus (namely, Harpsfield, under his name) falls foul on Mr. Fox for making sir Roger a martyr, who was a traitor; and Eleanor this duchess a confessor, who, by the consent of our chroniclers, Robert Fabyan, Edward Hall, &c., was condemned (after solemn penance and carrying a taper barefoot at Paul's Cross) to perpetual banishment, for plotting with Only his chaplain, (an abominable necromancer,) and three others, by witchcraft to destroy the king, so to derive the crown to her husband, as the next heir in the line of Lancaster. But Cope-Harpsfield pincheth the Fox the hardest, for making Margaret Jourdman (the witch of Eye) a martyr, who was justly burnt for her witchcraft. Other small errors we omit, whereof he accuseth him.

63. *Mr. Fox's ingenuous Confession. His flat Denial. His ten Conjectures in behalf of the Duchess.*

In answer hereunto, Mr. Fox makes a threefold return,—ingenuously confessing part of the charge, flatly denying part, and fairly excusing the rest. He confesseth,—and take it in his own words,—that "the former edition of his Acts and Monuments was hastily rashed up at the present in such shortness of time," * (fourteen months, as I remember,—too small a term for so great a task,) that it betrayed him to many mistakes, as when he calleth sir Roger Only a knight, who was a priest by his profession: adding, moreover, that "had he thought no imperfections had passed his former edition, he would not have taken in hand a second recognition thereof." †

He flatly denieth that his martyr-making of Margaret Jourdman, the witch of Eye. "I here," saith he, "profess, confess, and ascertain, both you," (Cope-Harpsfield, he meaneth,) "and all Englishmen both present, and all posterity hereafter to come, that Margaret Jourdman I never spake of, never thought of, never dreamed of, nor did ever hear of, before you named her in your book yourself. So far it is off that I, either with my will, or against my will, made any martyr of her."

He excuseth the aforesaid duchess Eleanor, alleging "ten conjectures," as he calleth them, in her vindication:—

(1.) Sir Roger Only took it upon his death, that he and the lady were innocent of those things for which they were condemned.

(2.) It was usual for the clergy, in that age, to load those who were of Wickliffe's persuasion (such this duchess) with no less false than foul aspersions.

(3.) Sir Roger Only wrote two books, (mentioned by Bale,) ‡ the one of his own innocency, the other *contra vulgi superstitiones.*

* First Volume, p. 920. † P. 921. ‡ As in his eighth cent. cap. 4.

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It is not therefore probable he should be so silly a necromancer, who had professedly confuted popular superstitions.

(4.) The accusation of this duchess began not until after the grudges betwixt the duke her husband, and the cardinal of Winchester,* about the year 1440.

(5.) It is not probable, if the duchess intended such treason against the king's life, (as to consume him by burning a wax candle,) that she would impart a plot of such privacy to four persons; namely, sir Roger, Margaret Jourdman, Mr. Thomas Southwell, and John Hume; seeing "five may keep counsel, if four be away."

(6.) So heinous a treason against the king's person, if plainly proved, would have been more severely punished,—with death, no doubt, of all privy thereunto. Whereas this lady escaped with exile, and John Hume had his life pardoned; which, being so foul a fact, would not have been forgiven, if clearly testified against him.

(7.) She is accused in our Chronicles (Harding, Polychronicon, &c.) for "working sorcery and enchantments against the church and the king." Now, how can enchantments be made against the church, which is a collective body, consisting of a multitude of Christians? And, reader, in my weak opinion, this conjecture carrieth some weight with it. Balaam himself can tell us, "There is no sorcery against Jacob, nor soothsaying against Israel," Num. xxiii. 23. If any interpret "against the church," that is, "the laws and canons of the church," the sense is harsh and unusual. This rendereth it suspicious that her enchantments against the church was only her disliking and distasting the errors and superstitions thereof.

(8.) This witch of Eye, saith Fabyan, lived near Winchester; a presumption, as Mr. Fox conjectureth, that the cardinal of Winchester had a hand in packing this accusation.

(9.) Polydore Virgil maketh no mention thereof, otherwise sufficiently quick-sighted in matters of this nature.

(10.) Why may not this be false, as well as that king Richard III.'s accusing of Jane Shore for bewitching of his withered arm?

These conjectures are not substantial enough severally to subsist of themselves; yet may they be able to stand in complication, (in the whole sheaf, though not as single arrows,) and conduce not a little towards the clearing of her innocence.

64. *A moderate Way.*

For my own part, it is past my skill to scour out stains, inlaid in the memory of one deceased more than two hundred years ago. I see her credit stands condemned by the generality of writers; and

* I see not how this is much material in her defence.

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as it is above the power of the present age to pardon it, so it is against all pity, cruelty, to execute the same, some after-evidences appearing with glimmering light in her vindication. Let her memory therefore be reprieved till the day of judgment, when it is possible, that this lady, "bearing here the indignation of God for her sins," may in due time "have her cause pleaded, and judgment executed for her, and her righteousness be brought into light," Micah vii. 9. Sure I am, she fared no whit the better for her surname of Cobham, odious to the clergy of that age on the account of sir John Oldcastle lord Cobham, though these two were nothing of kin. The best is, she left no issue to be ashamed of her faults, if she were guilty; the best evidences of whose innocence are in the manuscript books of J. Leland, which as yet I have not had the happiness to behold.

65. *The meanest Bishop above the mightiest Abbot.*

At this time William Heiworth sat bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, being translated thither from being abbot of St. Alban's. Wonder not that he should leave the richest abbey of England, (where he took place of all of his Order,) and exchange it for a middle-sized bishopric. For, First, even those who most admire the holiness and perfection of monastical life do grant the episcopal function above it in all spiritual respects. Secondly. In temporal considerations the poorest bishop was better, (and might be more beneficial to his kindred,) than the richest abbot, seeing he by will might bequeath his estate to his heirs, which no abbot (incapable in his own person of any property) could legally do, whose goods belonged to his convent in common.

66. *Lichfield's Cathedral, the neatest Pile in England. A.D.* 1433.

This bishop Heiworth deserved not ill of his cathedral church of Lichfield. Indeed, the body of the church was built by Roger de Clinton, bishop thereof, in the reign of king Henry I.; who increased the number of the prebends, and surrounded Lichfield with a ditch, bestowing much cost on the invisible castle, which now is vanished out of sight. Afterwards Walter de Langton, his successor in the reign of king Edward I., was a most munificent benefactor thereunto, laying the foundation of the chapel of the Virgin Mary, and, though dying before it was finished, bequeathing a sufficient sum of money for the finishing thereof. He also fenced the close of the church about with a high wall and deep ditch, adorning it with two beautiful gates, the fairer on the west, the lesser on the south side thereof. He expended no less than two thousand pounds in beautifying the shrine of St. Chad his predecessor.

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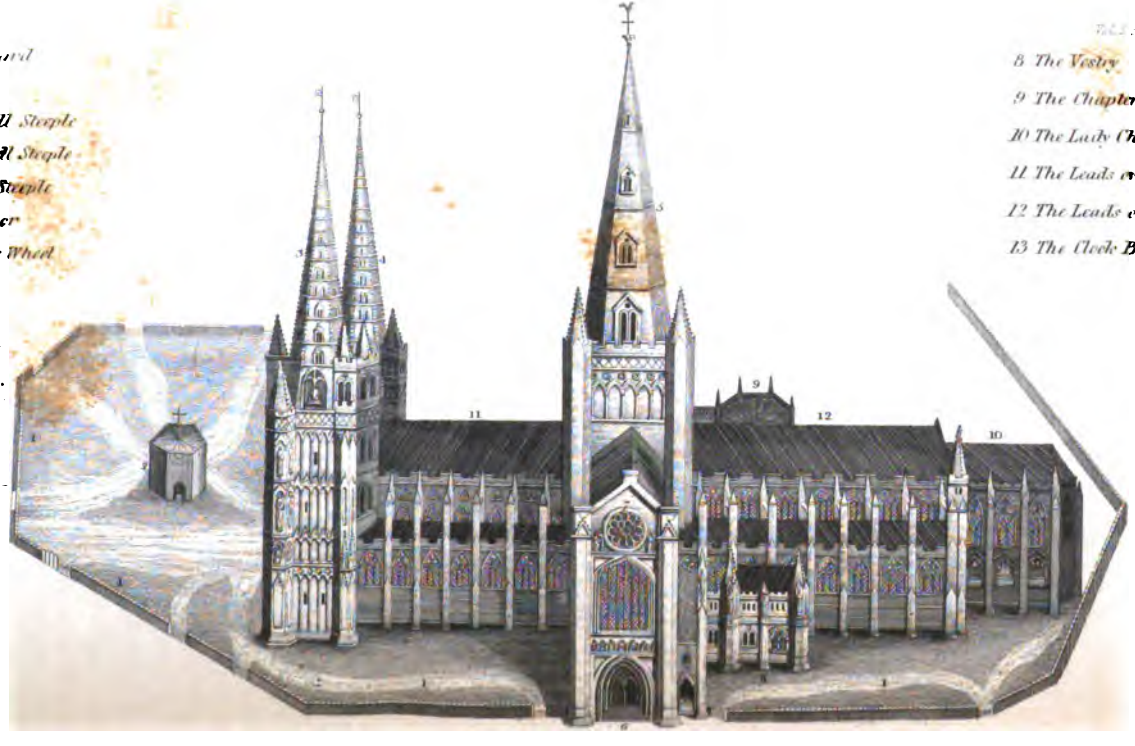
1 The Churchyard
2 The Conduit
3 The Jesus Bell Steeple
4 The Empty Bell Steeple
5 The Ave Bell Steeple
6 The South Door
7 The Catherine Wheel

8 The Vestry
9 The Chapter-House
10 The Lady Choir
11 The Leads over the Body of the Church
12 The Leads over the Choir
13 The Clock Bell



LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL.

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But now, in the time of the aforesaid William Heiworth, the cathedral of Lichfield was in the vertical height thereof, being, though not augmented in the essentials, beautified in the ornamentals thereof. Indeed, the west front thereof is a stately fabric, adorned with exquisite imagery, [of] which I suspect our age is so far from being able to imitate the workmanship, that it understandeth not the history thereof.

67, 68. *Charles V. of Florence. An ingenious Design.*

Surely, what Charles V. is said to have said of the city of Florence, "that it is pity it should be seen save only on holidays;"* as also that "it was fit that so fair a city should have a case and cover for it to keep it from wind and weather;" so, in some sort, this fabric may seem to deserve a shelter to secure it.

But, alas! it is now in a pitiful case indeed,—almost beaten down to the ground in our civil dissensions. Now, lest the church should follow the castle,—I mean, quite vanish out of view,—I have, at the cost of my worthy friend, here exemplified the portraiture thereof; and am glad to hear it to be the design of ingenious persons, to preserve ancient churches in the like nature, whereof many are done in this, and more expected in the next, part of Monasticon; seeing when their substance is gone, their very shadows will be acceptable to posterity.

69—71. *A Grievance complained of, with great Earnestness; yet not fully redressed.*

The Commons in Parliament complained to the king, that whereas they had sold great wood of twenty years' growth and upwards, to their own great profit, and in aid to the king in his wars and shipping, the parsons and vicars impleaded such merchants as bought this timber for the tithes thereof, whereby their estates were much damnified, the king and kingdom dis-served.

They also complained, that when such merchants, troubled in the courts Christian, addressed themselves for remedy to the chancery, and moved therein for a prohibition, which in such cases is to be granted unto them, by virtue of a statute made in the forty-fifth year of king Edward III.; yet such a writ of prohibition and attachment was, against all law and right, denied them. Wherefore they humbly desired the king to ordain, by authority of the present parliament, that such, who shall find themselves grieved, may hereafter have such writs of prohibition, and upon that attachments, as well in the Chancery as in the King's and Common Bench at their

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 444.—EDIT.

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choice; and that the said writs of prohibition and attachment, issuing out of the said Benches, have the same force and effects, as the original writs of prohibition and attachment so issuing out of the chancery of our lord the king.*

To this it was returned, "The king will be advised,"—the civilest expression of a denial. However, we may observe, that, for a full hundred years, (namely, from the middle of king Edward III. to and after this time,) no one parliament passed wherein this grievance was not complained on. So that an acorn might become an oak and good timber in the term wherein this molestation for the tithes of wood, under the pretence of *silva cædua*, did continue. But it seems it was well-ordered at last, finding future parliaments not complaining thereof.

72—74. *William Linwood's Constitutions set forth; first employed Ambassador into Portugal. His Work printed and prized beyond Sea.*

At this time William Linwood finished his industrious and useful work of his "Constitutions." He was bred in Cambridge; first, scholar of Gonvile, then Fellow of Pembroke-Hall. His younger years he spent in the study of the laws, whereby he gained much wealth, and more reputation. Afterwards, quitting his practice, he betook himself to the court, and became keeper of the privy seal unto king Henry V., who employed him on a long and important embassy into Spain and Portugal.

Linwood, being no less skilful in civil- than canon-law, performed the place with such exemplary industry and judgment, that, had not the king's sudden death prevented it, he had been highly advanced in the commonwealth. Afterwards he re-assumed his official's place of Canterbury; and then at spare hours collected and digested the Constitutions of the fourteen latter archbishops of Canterbury, from Stephen Langton to Henry Chicheley, unto whom he dedicated the work, submitting the censure thereof to the church.

A worthy work, highly esteemed by foreign lawyers: not so particularly provincial for England, but that they are useful for other countries, his comment thereon being a magazine of the canon-law. It was printed at Paris, 1505, (but at the cost and charges of William Bretton, an honest merchant of London,) revised by the care of Wolfgangus Hippolius, and prefaced unto by Jodocus Badius. This Linwood was afterward made bishop of St. David's, whose works (though now beheld by some as an almanack out of date) will be valued by the judicious whilst learning and civility have a being.

* *Ex Archivis in Tur. Londin. undecimo Hen. VI.*

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SECTION III.

TO THOMAS RICH, LATE OF LONDON, ESQUIRE.

GREAT is the praise St. Paul gives to Gaius, styling him "HIS host, and of the whole church," Rom. xvi. 23. Surely, the church then was very little, or Gaius's house very large. Now, hosts commonly are corpulent persons; but Gaius not so, it being more than suspicious that he was afflicted with a faint and feeble body, as may be collected from the words of St. John: "I wish that thou mayest prosper and be in health, even as thy soul prospereth," 3 John 2.

You are, sir, the entertainer-general of good men; many a poor minister will never be wholly "sequestered" whilst you are living, whose charity is like to the wind, which cannot be seen, but may be felt. And God hath dealt with you more bountifully than with Gaius, blessing you in all dimensions of soul, body, and estate; and my prayers shall never be wanting for the continuance and increase thereof.

1. *English Ambassadors sent to Basil.* 13 Henry VI. *A.D.* 1434.

THIS year began the smart and active council of Basil, to [at] which our ambassadors were to represent both their sovereign and the English nation; where they were received with honour and respect, the reputation of king Henry's holiness adding much to their credit; foreigners there being very inquisitive of them to be satisfied in the particulars of his devotion, which by them was represented much to their master's advantage. But it is worth our pains to peruse the commission they carried with them.

Rex omnibus quos, etc. salutem.—Sciatis quòd, cum juxta decreta Constantiensis concilii, præsens concilium Basileense actualiter celebretur, sub sanctissimo patre dominò Eugenio papâ quarto; nos eidem concilio, nedum ex parte ejusdem concilii per suos oratores nobis ex hac causâ specialiter destinatos, verùm etiam apostolicis et imperialibus, ac aliorum quamplurimorum sanctæ matris ecclesiæ patrum et principum sæcularium literis creberrimè instigati, ad Dei laudem, sanctæ matris ecclesiæ pros-

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*peritatem optatam et honorem, et præsertim ob fidei catholicæ exaltationem interesse cupientes, variis et diversis causis rationabiliter præpediti, quo minus personaliter eidem interesse poterimus, ut vellemus, venerabiles patres Robertum Londoniensem, Philippum Lexoviensem, Johannem Roffensem, Johannem Bajocensem, et Bernardum Aquensem, episcopos, ac carissimum consanguineum nostrum Edmundum Comitem Moritonii, dilectos nobis Nicholaum Abbatem Glastoniensem, Willielmum Abbatem ecclesiæ beatæ Marie Eborum et Willielmum Priorem Norwicensem, nec non dilectos et fideles nostros Henricum Broumflete militem, magistrum Thomam Broun utriusque juris doctorem, Sarum Decanum, Johannem Colluelle militem, magistrum Petrum Mauricii * doctorem in theologiâ, et magistrum Nicholaum David Archidiaconum Constantiensem et Licentiatum in utroque jure, nostros ambassiatores, oratores, veros et indubitatos procuratores, actores, factores, et nuncios speciales constituimus, facimus, et deputamus per præsentes, dantes et damus eis et ipsorum majori parti potestatem et mandatum tam generale quam speciale nomine nostro et pro nobis in eodem concilio interessendi, tractandi, communicandi et concludendi tam de hiis quæ fidei orthodoxæ fuloimentum, regumque ac principum pacificationem concernere poterunt, necnon de et super pace perpetuâ guerrarumve abstinentiâ inter nos et Carolum adversarium nostrum de Franciâ, ac etiam tractandi, communicandi, et appunctuandi, consentiendi insuper, et si opus fuerit dissentiendi hiis, quæ juxta deliberationem dicti concilii inibi statui ac ordinari contigerit. Promittentes et promittimus bonâ fide nos ratum, gratum, et firmum perpetuò habiturum totum † et quicquid per dictos ambassiatores, oratores, et procuratores nostros, aut majorem partem eorundem, actum, factum, seu gestum fuerit in præmissis, et in singulis præmissorum, et hoc idem cum de et super hiis certiorati fuerimus quantum ad nos et Christianum principem attinet, executioni debitæ curabimus demandare. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes.*

Dat. sub magni sigilli nostri testimonio in palatio nostro West. 10 *die Julii.*

Per Concilium.

"The king to all whom, &c., greeting.—Know that according to the decrees of [the late] council of Constance, the present council of Basil is actually celebrated under the most holy father, lord Eugenius the fourth, pope. We being often instigated to be present at the same council, not only on the behalf of the same council, by their orators, especially dispatched to us for that purpose, but also by the letters apostolical and imperial, and the letters of very

* Or Maurison. † *Habiturum* in MS.

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many other fathers of the holy mother church, and of secular princes. And we, desiring to be present thereat, to the praise of God, prosperity of the holy mother church, and her desired honour, and chiefly for the exaltation of the Catholic faith, being on just reason hindered with many and several occasions, cannot (as we would) be personally present thereat. Wherefore by these presents we constitute, make, and depute, the venerable fathers, Robert bishop of London, Philip bishop of Lisieux,* John bishop of Rochester, John bishop of Baieux, and Bernard bishop of Aix, and our most dear cousin Edmund earl of Morton, our beloved Nicholas abbot of Glasto, William abbot of St. Mary's in York, and William prior of Norwich, and our beloved and trusty Henry Broumflete, knight, Mr. Thomas Broun, doctor of laws, dean of Sarum, John Coleville, knight, Mr. Peter Fitzmaurice, D.D., and Mr. Nicholas David, archdeacon of Constance, and licentiate in both laws, our ambassadors, orators, true and undoubted proctors, actors, factors, and special messengers; giving, and we give to them, and the greater part of them, power and command, as well general as special, in our name, and for us, to be present in the same council, to treat, debate, and conclude as well of these things which may concern the support of the orthodox faith, the pacification of kings and princes, as also upon either a perpetual peace, or else a cessation from war, betwixt us and Charles of France our adversary; empowering them also to treat, commune, and appoint, moreover to consent, and, if need be, dissent, in those things which shall happen there to be established and ordained according to the deliberations of the aforesaid council: promising, and we do promise, on good faith, that whatsoever shall be acted, done, or managed, in the premisses, and every one of them by our aforesaid ambassadors, orators, and proctors, or the greater part of them, we shall have and account for ratified, welcome, and firm for ever. And when we shall be certified of and upon the same, we shall care to command the due execution, so far as appertaineth to us, and a Christian prince. In witness whereof, we have made these our letters patent.

"Given under our great seal, being our witness, in our palace at Westminster, July 10."†

So eminent an instrument of so great importance must not pass without some of our observations thereupon.

2. *Why the Pope declines General Councils in our Age.*

The council of Basil is said to be assembled according to the decrees of the late council of Constance, wherein it was constituted,

* A city in Normandy. † The Latin running-on all in one continued sentence, we are fain to divide it into many, for the more clearness.

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that within so many years a general council should be called. For, seeing the church was subject to contract rust in doctrine and manners, frequency of councils was conceived the best way to scour the same. But the pope lately hath willingly forgotten this canon, no general council being called since that of Trent, wherein all the power and profit of the pope was secured under the notion of "articles of the faith;" since which time his Holiness thought it not safe to tamper with a new council, as which might impair, but could not improve, his condition.

3. *England must send four, might send more, Bishops to a General Council.*

See we here fourteen ambassadors sent to Basil;—five bishops, one earl, (not that he was to vote in the council, but only behold the transactions thereof,) two abbots, one prior, two knights, one doctor in divinity, two doctors of law; all interests being in them represented. When, therefore, we read in Roger Hoveden and others,* *Ad generale concilium Domini papæ, quatuor episcopi de Angliâ tantùm Romam mittendi sunt*, "Only four English bishops are to be sent to Rome to a general council of the pope;" understand it, that such a number is sufficient. England needed to send but so many, though, if pleased, might send more, confined by no other command save the king's free discretion. And seeing Basil was little above the half-way to Rome, the journey being shorter, the more messengers were employed.

4. *English Puissance in France.*

The three French bishops sent by the king speak the great command which king Henry as yet had in France, especially if (as I take it) by Aquensis,† Aix be mentioned, situated in the furthermost parts of Provence, though even now the English power in France was a-waning.

5. *Langdon, the learned Bishop of Rochester.*

John, bishop of Rochester, here mentioned, was John Langdon, intruded by the pope into that bishopric, to the apparent prejudice of the archbishop of Canterbury. For the bishop of Rochester was accounted Canterbury's chaplain, to whom he owed his spirituals

* SIMON DUNELMENSIS. † Heylin observes, in his *Examen*: "Bernard, whom the Latin calls *Episcopus Aquensis*, is very ill taken by our author to be *bishop of Aix*. He was, indeed, bishop of Acqus or Aux in Guienne, called anciently *Aquæ Augustæ*, from whence those parts of France had the name of Aquitaine. Now, Guienne was at that time in the power of the kings of England." See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 445.—EDIT.

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and temporals as his patron and founder; though now the pope, contrary to the archbishop's will and right, forced this Langdon into the place. But, indeed, he was a learned man, dying this year in his embassy at Basil; and deserved far better preferment than the poor bishopric of Rochester. But yet, as some observe of tailors, that they make the largest garments when they have the least cloth allowed them; so the poor bishopric of Rochester hath fared better than many richer sees, seeing sacrilege would never feed on so bad a pasture.

6. *Precedents for Precedency.*

Observe the method in the nomination of these commissioners, wherein no wonder if the bishops precede so great an earl. Was it not fit that "reverend fathers" should be placed before a "dear cousin?" Besides, the employment being of church-concernment, spiritual persons carried it clear in the race of dignity. More strange it is to find herein a knight, Henry Broumflete, put before a doctor of both laws, and yet John Coleville, another knight, placed after the same doctor. I confess the contest very ancient about priority betwixt a knight and a doctor of law,—ever since the comparison which Tully * made betwixt Lucius Murena, a knight of Rome, and Pub. Sulpitius, a lawyer, either of them standing for the consulship; though now in England the precedency of the knight be indubitable, since preferment is taken from civil-law, and the professors thereof shut up, as it were, in a narrow corner of their own faculty. But we leave the critical decision thereof to his pen † who hath written a just tract "of the Glory" (in truth, "of the vanity") "of this World," and exactly stated this particular, with all the circumstances thereof.

7. *A charitable and no impolitic Offer.*

Whereas the king empowereth those his commissioners to meddle in the point of his right of the realm of France with king Charles his competitor, submitting his title to be discussed in the council, it carrieth with it a confidence of his own right, and charitable desire to save the effusion of Christian blood. But this was not council- but camp-work; and we meet not with the mention hereof once touched on in this great assembly. However, so wary was king Henry (or rather his council) as not absolutely to tie up his title to the decision of this council, but to give his commissioners a negative voice, in case they see cause to dissent.

* *In Oratione pro Murend.* † CHASSANEUS *La Gloria Mundi*, lib. ix.

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8. *A Contest betwixt the English and Castilians about Precedency.*

The general history of the church reporteth the acts of this council, how they deposed pope Eugenius, and substituted Felix in his room; for which and other decisions therein, Rome beholds this council but with bad eyes unto this day. We will only meddle with a difference therein, which concerned our own nation. The orators of several kings began to take their places, according to their birthrights; dating their age from their nations' first receiving of Christianity. Here arose the controversy, of course, about precedency betwixt the English and Castile ambassadors; the former alleging Britain's conversion by Joseph of Arimathea; which Alphonsus Garsias de Sancta Maria, dean of Compostella and Segovia, doctor of law, and ambassador for Castile, with a speech more tedious than his name and titles, much endeavoured to disprove;* and his arguments may be reduced to these four heads:—

First. He denied Joseph's arrival in Britain, and imposed the proof thereof on the English who affirmed it, challenging them to produce any authentic record for the same.

Secondly. He urged probability to the contrary, out of the Golden Legend, or *Flores Sanctorum*; where it is reported, how Titus, taking Jerusalem, caused a thick wall to be digged through, and therein found an aged man, who confessed himself to be Joseph of Arimathea, there imprisoned by the Jews for burying of Christ; and that ever since he had been fed with meat from heaven. Hence he inferred, that, if Joseph were in durance all this while in the wall, he could not, as the English pretended, come over into Britain to plant the gospel.

Thirdly. Grant that Joseph, after his enlargement by Titus, preached in Britain, (which must needs be after the year of our Lord, seventy-and-two,) Spain long before had received the gospel by the preaching of James the apostle.

Fourthly. Be it granted, that Joseph did preach in England, it was but in a corner thereof, the grand body of Britain remaining Pagan many hundred years after.

These arguments he uttered with such an affected gravity, as if he could have made the matter the more by pronouncing the words the longer.

9. *The Answer of the English.*

The English easily answered these exceptions, proving James to be slaughtered at Jerusalem by Herod, Acts xii. 2, before his pretended preaching in Spain; seeing their own countryman, and an

* *Ex Schedis Cottonianis.*

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archbishop of Toledo,* confesseth as much. They produced many ancient testimonies for the preaching of Joseph in Britain; the fond fable of his being kept in a wall being beneath confutation, as attested only by a worthless author, Johannes de Voragine.† Their allegation, that Britain was but partially converted by his preaching, was but impertinent to the present purpose; the point controverted not being of the universality, but the antiquity, of first receiving the Christian faith. Besides, neither James, nor any other disciple, ever converted a kingdom totally and entirely to Christianity.‡ However, nothing was concluded in this controversy, always agitated, never decided:—(1.) In the council of Pisa, *anno* 1409. (2.) In the council of Constance, 1417, betwixt the ambassadors of England and France. (3.) In the council of Sienna, before Martin V. pope; wherein Richard Fleming, bishop of Lincoln, encountered France, Spain, and Scotland, about precedency. Lastly. Betwixt England and Spain, in the council of Basil, though therein nothing concluded; those politic prelates accounting it better to keep both princes in hope by discussing, than to put one into anger by deciding, it. Yea, they loved to set up this controversy (as that of the precedence of Cambridge and Oxford in the English parliaments) out of design, sometimes to delay time; sometimes, by starting it, to stop and divert more dangerous disputes.

10. *All-Souls' College in Oxford founded.* *A.D.* 1437.

Henry Chicheley, doctor of law, archbishop of Canterbury, founded a college in Oxford, by the name of All-Souls, for a Warden, and forty Fellows; which number by statute was never to be augmented or impaired; and all void places (by death, or otherwise) once in a year to be supplied.

* RODERICUS XIMENIUS *in Concer. de Primatu cum Præsule Compostel. in Concil. Lateran. anno* 1215. † Concerning this author the remark of Heylin is: "I find mention of one Johannes de Voragine, *a worthless author*; mistook both in the name of the man, and his quality also. For, the author of the book called *Legenda Aurea* was not *Johannes* but *Jacobus* de Voragine: in which book though there are many idle and unwarrantable fictions, yet was the man of more esteem than to pass under the character of *a worthless author*, as being learned for the times in which he lived, archbishop of Genoa, a chief city of Italy, *et moribus et dignitate magno pretio*, as Philippus Bergomensis telleth us of him, *anno* 1250, at what time he lived; most eminent for his translation of the Bible into the Italian tongue, (as we read in Vossius,) a work of great both difficulty and danger, as the times then were; sufficient, were there nothing else, to free him from the ignominious name of *a worthless author*." Fuller, after having, with his usual frankness, "entered his public thanks to the *Animadvertor*," concludes with this sentence: "I confess I have formerly, in the table of my esteem, placed this Voragine in the very lag at the lowest end thereof; but hereafter I shall say to him, *Come up hither*, and provide a higher place for him in my reputation." ("Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 445.)—EDIT. ‡ See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 388.—EDIT.

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WARDENS.—(1.) Mr. Richard Andrews; (2.) Mr. Roger Keys; (3.) Mr. Gulielmus Kele; (4.) Mr. Gulielmus Poteman; (5.) Mr. John Stokie; (6.) Thomas Hobbys; (7.) Mr. Gulielmus Brooke; (8.) Mr. John Coale; (9.) Mr. Robert Woodward; (10.) Mr. Robert Stokelie; (11.) Mr. John Warner; (12.) Mr. Seth Holland; (13.) Mr. John Pope; (14.) Mr. Richard Barber; (15.) Mr. Robert Hovenden; (16.) Mr. Richard Mocket; (17.) Mr. Richard Ashley; Mr. Gilbert Sheldon; Mr. John Palmer.

BISHOPS.—James Gouldwell, bishop of Norwich, 1472; Gilbert Bourn, bishop of Bath and Wells, 1554; Gyles Thompson, bishop of Gloucester, 1611; Brian Duppa, bishop of Sarum, Fellow of this House.

BENEFACTORS.—King Henry VI., at the procurement of the Founder, gave four Priories Aliens; namely, Alberbury, Rumney, Weeden-Pinkeney, and Languenith; queen Elizabeth confirmed the parsonage of Stanton-Harcourt; Reginald Pole, cardinal, archbishop of Canterbury; sir William Petre, Fellow of this college, and secretary to four kings and queens.

LEARNED WRITERS.—Sir Clement Edmonds; Dr. Albericus Gentilis, an excellent civilian; Dr. Steward; Mr. Diggs.

So that at this present this college hath one Warden, forty Fellows, two Chaplains, three Clerks, six Choristers, beside Officers and Servants of the foundation, with other Students, the whole number being seventy. The Fellows of this college are bound by their statutes to be *benè nati, splendidè vestiti, et mediocriter docti in plano cantu.*

Know, reader, I was promised by my respected friend, Dr. Jeremy Taylor, late Fellow of this House, well known to the world by his worth, a catalogue of the eminent scholars thereof; but, it seems, the press (like time and tide) staying for no man, I have not been so happy seasonably to receive it.

11. *A tart Jeer soberly returned.* *A.D.* 1443.

Six years did this archbishop survive the first founding of this college. He was a worthy man in his generation, had not his vassalage to the pope (the epidemical disease of those days) engaged him in cruelty against the poor professors of the truth. Most of the synods called by him, toward the latter end of his life, effected only the advance of money; the clergy being very desirous to buy-off the penalty of a premunire, so pernicious to their proceedings; but could not completely compass the same. I have nothing else to observe of archbishop Chicheley, save the common tradition, how king Henry VI., acted herein by some *misoclere* courtiers, (otherwise in himself friend enough to churchmen,) sent this archbishop,

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for a new-year's gift, a shred-pie indeed, as containing pieces of cloth and stuff, of several sorts and colours, in jeer, because his father was a tailor at Higham-Ferrars in Northamptonshire. The archbishop thankfully received the gift, even after he had seen the entrails thereof, and courteously entertained the messenger, requesting him to return to his Grace: "If my lord the king do but as far exceed Henry V. (whom God assoil) his father, as my meanness hath gone beyond my poor father, he will make the most accomplished monarch that ever was in Christendom." John Stafford, one of noble parentage, succeeded in the place of Chicheley deceased, May 3rd.

12. *The Founding of Eaton-College. A.D.* 1446.

This good precedent of the archbishop's bounty may be presumed a spur to the speed of the king's liberality; who, soon after, founded Eaton-College, incorporate by the name of *Præpositi et Collegii Regalis Collegii Beatæ Mariæ de Eaton juxta Windsor.* It seemeth these words *Beatæ Mariæ* are so necessary, that, being left out in a lease, wherein all the other titles of the foundation were inserted at large, the said lease was adjudged void for that omission.* But know, this verdict passed in queen Mary's days, when *Regina Maria* made the mention of *Beatæ Mariæ* so essential thereunto.

13. *The bad Poetry of that Age.*

Indeed, it was high time some school should be founded, considering how low grammar-learning ran then in the land; as may appear by the following verses made for king Henry, the founder; as good, no doubt, as the generality of that age did afford, though scarce deserving translation; so that the worst scholar in Eaton-College that can make a verse can make a better.

Luce tuâ, qui natus erat, Nicolae, sacer rex
Henricus Sextus hoc stabilivit opus,
Unctum qui lapidem postquam ponebat in Eaton
Hunc fixit clerum commemorandǫ suum.
Astiterant illi tunc pontifices in honorem
Actus solennis regis et ecclesiæ.
Ex Orientali† si bis septem pedetentim
Mensurare velis, invenies lapidem;
In festo sancti Jacobi sanctam stabilivit
Hic unctam petram regia sacra manus.

Annis M.CCCC. sexto quater Xque,
Regis et H. regni quinto jungendo vicena.

* Abridgment of JUDGE DIER'S "Reports," num. 379. *Trin. Term. quarto Mariæ.*
† *Medio.*

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"Devout king Henry, of that name the sixt,
Born (Nic'las) on thy day, this building fixt.
In Eaton having placed a stone anointed,
In sign, it for the clergy was appointed.
His prelates then were present, so the more
To honour the king's acts and holy chore.
From Eastern midst, whereof just fourteen feet
If any measure, they this stone shall meet;
On holy James's day, the sacred hand
Of royal Henry caused this stone to stand:

M. four Cs. forty-six since Christ was born,
When H. the crown twenty-five years had worn."*

14. *A bountiful Foundation: God continue it.*

This college consisteth of one Provost, Fellows, a School-master and Usher, with king's Scholars; beside many oppidans, maintained there at the cost of their friends; so that were Eaton as also Winchester school removed into Germany, they would no longer be accounted *scholæ*, but *gymnasia*, a middle term betwixt a school and an university. The Provostship of Eaton is accounted one of the genteelest and entirest preferments in England, the Provost thereof being provided-for in all particulars, to the very points of his hose, (my desire is, one tag of them may not be diminished,) and, as a pleasant courtier† told king Henry VIII., "an hundred pounds a-year more than enough." How true this is, I know not; this I know, if some courtiers were to stint the ENOUGH of clergymen, even the most industrious of them should (with Solomon's slothful man) have POVERTY ENOUGH, Prov. xxviii. 19. But take here a catalogue of the Provosts of Eaton:—

(1.) Henry Seilver, D.D., almoner to king Henry VI.; (2.) William Wainflete, B.D., afterwards bishop of Winchester; (3.) John Clerk, B.D., died provost, Nov. 7th, 1447; (4.) William Westbury, B.D., chosen provost, *anno* 1448; (5.) Henry Bost, B.D.: he gave an hundred marks, and twenty pounds *per annum* to the college, died Feb. 7th, 1503; (6.) Roger Lupton, B.D.; (7.) Robert Aldridge, [Aldrich,] afterwards bishop of Carlisle; (8.) Sir Thomas Smith, doctor of law, of Queen's-College in Cambridge, chosen *anno* 1554; (9.) Henry Colle, doctor of divinity and of law, chosen in the same year, 1554; (10.) William Bill, D.D., almoner to queen Elizabeth, chosen July 5th, 1559; (11.) William Day, B.D., dean also of Windsor, chosen Jan. 5th, 1561, afterwards bishop of Winchester; (12.) Sir Henry Savile, Warden of Merton-College in Oxford, chosen June 3rd, 1596, eminent to all posterity for his magnificent edition of St. Chrysos-

* That is, current; otherwise, but twenty-four complete. † SIR JOHN HARRINGTON in the "Continuation of Godwin's Bishops," in bishop Day of Winchester.

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tom in Greek; (13.) Thomas Murray, Esq., tutor and secretary to king Charles, whilst prince; (14.) Sir Henry Wotton,* famous for several embassies, chosen 1625; (15.) Richard Steward, doctor of law and dean of St. Paul's; (16.) Francis Rouse, Esq.

This Eaton is a nursery to King's-College in Cambridge. All that I will add is, to wish that the prime scholars in this school may annually be chosen to the university, and, when chosen, their places may fall accordingly, not by the death of those in King's-College, but their advancement to better preferment in the church and commonwealth.

15. *All quickly lost in France. A.D.* 1447.

If we cast our eyes on the civil estate, we shall find our foreign acquisitions in France, which came to us on foot, running from us on horseback; *nulla dies sine civitate*, scarce a day escaping wherein the French regained not some city or place of importance; so that the English, who under king Henry VI. had almost a third of France, beside the city of Paris, (another third in itself for wealth and populousness,) soon lost all on the continent, to the poor pittance of Calais and a little land, or, if you will, some large suburbs round about it.

16. *Occasioned by the English Discords.*

Yet let not the French boast of their valour, but, under God's providence, thank our sins, and particularly our discords, for their so speedy recoveries. There were many clefts and chaps in our council-board; factions betwixt the great lords present thereat; and these differences descended on their attendants and retainers, who, putting on their coats, wore the badges, as well of the enmities as of the arms, of their lords and masters: but behold them how coupled in their antipathies:—

DEADLY FEUD betwixt Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, and Richard Plantagenet, duke of York: Betwixt Humphrey Plantagenet duke of Gloucester, and Henry Beaufort, cardinal, bishop of Winchester: Betwixt William De la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and John Holland, duke of Exeter: Betwixt Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, and Richard Neville, earl of Warwick: Betwixt Humphrey Plantagenet, duke of Gloucester, William De la Pole, duke of Suffolk, Richard Neville, earl of Warwick.

Betwixt the three last there was as it were a battle-royal in this cockpit, each of them hating and opposing another. In all these

* Whose Life is excellently written by my worthy friend, Mr. Isaac Walton.

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contests their ambition was above their covetousness; it being every one's endeavour, not so much to raise and advance himself, as ruin and depress his adversary.

17, 18. *The Death of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. A fit Work for a good Pen.*

Two of the aforesaid principal persons left the world this year, and in the same month. First. Humphrey duke of Gloucester, brother to king Henry V.,* uncle and guardian to king Henry VI., a great housekeeper. Hospitality being so common in that age, none were commended for the keeping, but condemned for the neglecting thereof. He was much opposed by queen Margaret, (who would have none rule the king her husband, save herself,) and accused of a treacherous design; insomuch that, at a packed parliament at Bury, he was condemned of high treason, and found dead in his bed, not without rank suspicion of cruel practices upon his person.

His death is suspended betwixt legal execution and murder, and his memory pendulous betwixt malefactor and martyr. However, the latter hath most prevailed in men's belief, and "the good duke of Gloucester" is commonly his character. But it is proper for some Oxford-man to write his just vindication; a manual in asserting his memory being but proportionable for him who gave to their library so many and precious voluminous manuscripts. As for those who, chewing their meat with their feet, whilst they walk in the body of St. Paul's, are commonly said to "dine with duke Humphrey," the saying is as far from truth as they from dinner,—even twenty miles off; seeing this duke was buried in St. Alban's, to which church he was a great benefactor.

19. *The Death of the rich Cardinal.*

The same month with the duke of Gloucester, died Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and cardinal; one of high descent, high spirit, and high preferments; hardly to be equalled by cardinal Wolsey (otherwise but a pigmy to him in birth) for wealth and magnificence. He lent king Henry V. at once twenty thousand pounds, who pawned his crown unto him. He built the fair hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester;† and, although chancellor of the university of Oxford, was no grand benefactor thereunto in proportion to his own wealth, (commonly called "the rich cardinal,") or the practices of his predecessor, Wickham, or successor, Wainfleet.

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 446.—EDIT. † Heylin informs us, in his *Examen Historicum*, that this hospital was first built by Henry of Blois, brother of king Stephen, and bishop of Winchester, *anno* 1129; augmented only, and perhaps more liberally endowed, by this potent cardinal. See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 448.—EDIT.

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20. *The Clergy move in vain against the Statute of Premunire.*

The bishops assembled in parliament laboured the recalling of the Act of Premunire; and no wonder if galled horses would willingly cast off their saddles; but, belike, they found that statute girt too close unto them, the Lords and Commons stickling stoutly for the continuance thereof. And because this is the last time we shall have occasion to mention this statute, and therefore must take our farewell thereof, it will not be amiss to insert the ensuing passage, as relating to the present subject, though it happened many years after.

21. *An eminent Instance, in Ireland, of a Priest indicted on the Statute of Premunire.*

One Robert Lalor, priest, a native of Ireland, to whom the pope had given the titulary bishopric of Kilmore, and made him vicar-general of the see apostolic within the archbishopric of Dublin, &c., boldly and securely executed his pretended jurisdiction for many years, was indicted at Dublin, in Hilary Term, *quarto Jacobi*, upon this statute of premunire, made two hundred years before, being the sixteenth of Richard II. His Majesty's learned counsel did wisely forbear to proceed against him upon any later law, (whereof plenty in the reign of queen Elizabeth,) because recusants (swarming in that kingdom) might have their judgments convinced,—that, long before king Henry VIII. banished the usurpation of the pope, the king, lords, and commons in England, though for the most part of the Romish religion, made strict laws for the maintenance of the crown against any foreign invasion.* Whereupon, after the party indicted had pleaded at large for himself, the jury departed from the bar, and, returning within half an hour, found the prisoner guilty of the contempts whereof he was indicted; whereupon the solicitor-general moved the court to proceed to judgment, and sir Dominick Sarsfield,† one of the justices of his Majesty's Chief Pleas, gave judgment according to the form of the statute whereupon the indictment was framed. Hence it plainly appears, that such misdemeanours of papists are punishable at this day, by virtue of those ancient statutes, without any relation to such as were enacted since the Reformation.

22. *Cade and Straw, like and unlike.* *A.D.* 1450.

About this time Jack Cade raised his rebellion, like and unlike to the former commotion of Jack Straw.—LIKE. First. Because Jacks both; I mean, insolent, impudent, domineering clowns. Secondly. Both of them were Kentish by their extractions. Thirdly. Both of them pressed upon London, and there principally played their pranks. Fourthly. Both of them, after they had troubled

* SIR JOHN DAVIES in his "Case of Premunire," fol. 83. † *Idem*, fol. 99.

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the land for a short time, were justly slain, and their numerous rabble routed and dispersed.—In other remarkables, Cade DIFFERED FROM Jack Straw. First. Straw defied all nobility and learning, vowing and endeavouring their ruin and extirpation; whilst Cade pretended himself to be the lord Mortimer, and next heir to the crown, and no design against learning is charged on his account. Lastly. Straw's rebellion is (though most falsely) fathered by popish writers on Wickliffe and his adherents, [who are said] to have occasioned, at leastwise connived at, his commotion; but I never met yet with any Romanists accusing the Lollards, as they term them, for having any hand in Cade's rebellion.

23. *The Wars begin betwixt York and Lancaster.* *A.D.* 1455.

Now began the broils to break out betwixt the two Houses of Lancaster and York, so mutually heightened that scarce a county betwixt York (the place whence generally their armies started) and London, (the goal they both aimed to win,) but a set battle hath been fought therein; and if any one shire lieth fallow in this kind, the next afforded a double crop in that nature, (beside other counties in the Marches of Wales,) as by the ensuing catalogue will appear:—

(1.) At St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire; betwixt Richard duke of York, and king Henry VI. for Lancaster, *anno* 1455, and 34th of king Henry VI. in June: slain on the king's side five thousand; on the duke's six hundred: conqueror, York House.

(2.) At Blore-Heath, in Staffordshire; betwixt Richard earl of Salisbury, for York, and James Touchet, lord Audley, for Lancaster. *anno* 1459, the 37th of Henry VI. September 21st: two thousand four hundred, most Cheshiremen, slain on Lancaster's side: conqueror, York House.

(3.) At Northampton; betwixt Richard earl of Warwick, for York, and king Henry VI. for Lancaster, *anno* 1460, 38 Henry VI. July 9th: ten thousand slain and drowned on both sides: conqueror, York House.

(4.) At Wakefield, in Yorkshire; betwixt Richard duke of York, and queen Margaret, for Lancaster, in the same year, December 31st: two thousand two hundred slain on York's side, with their duke: conqueror, Lancaster.

(5.) At Mortimer's-Cross, in Herefordshire; betwixt Edward earl of March, afterwards king, for York, *anno* 1461, 39 Henry VI., February 2nd: three thousand eight hundred slain on Lancaster's side: conqueror, York House.

(6.) At St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire; betwixt Richard earl of Warwick, for York, and king Henry VI. and Margaret his wife, in

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person, for Lancaster, the same year and month, February 17th: about two thousand slain on both sides: conqueror, Lancaster.

(7.) At Towton, in Yorkshire; betwixt Edward earl of March, for York, and king Henry VI. the same year, March 27th, being Palm-Sunday: thirty-five thousand ninety-and-one slain on both sides: conqueror, York House.

(8.) At Hexham, in Northumberland; betwixt John Neville, lord Montague, and king Henry VI. and the queen, *anno* 1464, 4 Edward IV. May 15th: number slain, great but uncertain: conqueror, York House.

(9.) At Banbury, or Edgcot, in the confines of Oxford and Northamptonshire; betwixt William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, for York, and Robin of Ridsdale, *aliàs* Hilliard, for Lancaster, *anno* 1469, 9 Edward IV. July 26th: five thousand slain in the place, most of them Welshmen: conqueror, Lancaster.

(10.) At Barnet, in Middlesex; Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, for Lancaster, and king Edward IV. for York, *anno* 1471, 11 Edward IV. April 14th, being Easter-day: four thousand slain on both sides: conqueror, York House.

(11.) At Tewkesbury, in Gloucestershire; betwixt king Edward IV. for York, and queen Margaret and Edward her son for Lancaster, in the same year, on May 4th: three thousand slain of the House of Lancaster: conqueror, York House.

(12.) At Bosworth, in Leicestershire; betwixt king Richard III. for York, and Henry earl of Richmond for Lancaster, *anno* 1485, 3 Richard III. August 22nd: about four thousand slain in all: conqueror, Lancaster.

(13.) At Stoke, in Nottinghamshire; betwixt John De la Pole, earl of Lincoln, for York, and king Henry VII. for Lancaster, *anno* 1487, 2 king Henry VII. June 16th: about four thousand (whereof many Irish) slain on both sides: conqueror, Lancaster, or rather the two Houses united in king Henry VII.

Beside many other skirmishes, cor-rivals with battles; so that such who consider the blood lost therein, would admire England had any left. And such as observe how much it had left, would wonder it had any lost, such still the populousness thereof.

But these things the reader may best inform himself of out of the state-historians, and particularly out of that noble Italian author, (elegantly and expressively translated by the earl of Monmouth,) who hath written a large volume, to the great credit of our English nation, of the wars betwixt York and Lancaster. So that I could heartily wish that some Englishman, in requital of his courtesy, would write the Italian discords betwixt the Guelphs and Ghibelines.

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24. *Magdalen-College, in Oxford, founded by Bishop Wainfleet. A.D.* 1459.

It was much, that, in the midst of so many miseries of civil wars, William, surnamed Patin, from his parents, but Wainfleet from the place of his nativity, now bishop of Winchester, should found the fair college dedicated to Mary Magdalen, in Oxford, for one President, forty Fellows, thirty Demies, four Chaplains, eight Clerks, and sixteen Choristers; which number can never be increased. But though this foundation cannot be made broader or longer, (admit of more members,) yet may it be made deeper, and is capable of benefactors' charity to augment the maintenance of the aforesaid number. This William Wainfleet first founded Magdalen-Hall hard by, (as scriveners use to try their pens on a small piece of paper, before they begin what they fairly intend to write,) and afterwards undertook and finished this far more stately piece of architecture. For whoso observeth the magnificence of the structure, the numerousness of the corporation, the largeness of their endowments, and the mutual concinnity of all parts amongst themselves therein, may possibly find out a college which may exceed it in some, but hardly any that will equal it in all, accommodations; where nothing is wanting for health and pleasure, except some will say, that "Mary Maudlin weepeth too much," and the walks sometimes too wet and moist from the depressed situation thereof.

25. *The many Worthies bred therein.*

Nor hath this House been less fruitful than any with famous persons; and it is observable that there is scarce a bishopric in England, to which this college hath not afforded one prelate at the least, doubling her files in some places; as by the ensuing catalogue will appear:—

PRESIDENTS.—Mr. William Horneley, Mr. William Tybbard, Mr. Richard Mayewe, Mr. John Clarmund, Mr. Knolles, Mr. Oglethorpe, Mr. Cole, Mr. Coveney, Mr. Laurence Humphrey, Dr. Nicholas Bond, Dr. John Harding, Dr. William Langton, Dr. Accepted Frewen, Dr. John Oliver, Dr. John Wilkinson, Dr. Thomas Godwin.

BENEFACTORS.—King Henry VII.; Thomas Ingledue, chaplain to the founder; William Fitz-Allen, earl of Arundel; John Fornan; Dr. Higden, president; John Claimund, president; Robert Morewent; John Mullins, archdeacon of London; Dr. John Warner, last bishop of Rochester.

BISHOPS.—John Stokesley, bishop of London, 1530; Thomas Cooper, bishop of Winchester, 1584; John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, 1521; Thomas Bentham, bishop of Coventry and Lich-

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field; William Overton, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1609; Accepted Frewen, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1643; Henry Cotton, bishop of Salisbury, 1598; Thomas Godwin, bishop of Bath and Wells, 1584; Thomas Wolsey, archbishop of York, 1515; John Pierce, archbishop of York, 1588; Owen Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, 1556; John Voysey, bishop of Exeter, 1520; William Bradbridge, bishop of Exeter, 1578; Richard Mayo, bishop of Hereford, 1504; John Harley, bishop of Hereford, 1553; Thomas Bickley, bishop of Chichester, 1585; John Warner, bishop of Rochester, 1637; John Bullingham, bishop of Bristol and Gloucester, holding both together, 1581; John Cotes, bishop of Chester, 1556; William Downham, bishop of Chester, 1561.

WRITERS.—John Clarmund, afterwards president of Corpus Christi;* John Hooker;† Mich. Reniger;‡ John Fox, author of "the Book of Martyrs;" Thomas Cooper, who wrote the great Dictionary; Robert Crowley;§ Peter Morving;|| Alan Cope,¶ proctor of the university, 1558; Julius Palmer, martyr; Dr. Laurence Humphrey; John Budden, doctor of law, who wrote many men's lives in elegant Latin; Dr. Henry Hammond; Dr. Peter Heylin.

Give me leave to suspect this catalogue of Presidents not complete, (though set forth by their great antiquary,**) both because Dr. Higden (avowed president in the list of benefactors††) is therein omitted, as also Dr. Walter Haddon,‡‡ whom we find president hereof in the beginning of queen Mary. At this day there are therein a President, forty Fellows, thirty Demies or Scholars, four Chaplains, eight Clerks, sixteen Choristers, one Schoolmaster, and an Usher, three Readers—of Divinity, Natural, and Moral Philosophy, beside divers Officers and Servants of the foundation, with other Students; being in all two hundred and twenty.

26, 27. *Edward IV. gaineth the Crown by Conquest. Why little Church-History in this King's Reign.* 1 Edward IV. *A.D.* 1461.

King Henry being conquered in a fatal battle at Towton in Yorkshire, fled with his queen into Scotland; and, to make himself the more welcome, resigned Berwick to the king thereof. Edward, duke of York, his adversary, reigned in his stead by the name of Edward IV., who, next to God and his own right, had just

* PITZÆUS *De Brit. Script.* p. 688. † *Idem*, p. 730. ‡ BALE, p. 755.
§ *Idem*, p. 728. || PITZÆUS, p. 755. ¶ BRIAN TWYNE, *Ant. Ac. Ox. in Catal. Procuratorum.* ** *Vide in calce libri.* †† *Vide* SCOT'S Tables.
‡‡ L. HUMPHREY in "the Life of Bishop Jewel," p. 71.

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cause to thank Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, for his crown. This was that Neville who, for extraction, estate, alliance, dependents, wisdom, valour, success, and popularity, was superior to any English subject since the Conquest.* People's love he chiefly purchased by his hospitality, keeping so open an house that *he* was most welcome *who* brought the best stomach with him; the earl charitably believing, that all who were men of teeth were men of arms. Any that looked like a man might have in his house a full half-yard of roast meat; namely, so much as he could strike through and carry away with his dagger.† The bear was his crest; and it may be truly said, that when the bear roared, the lions of the forest trembled, the kings of England themselves being at his disposal.

This king's reign affordeth very little church-story, and therefore Mr. Fox (whose industry would have found out church-matter, if above ground) is fain to fill it up with foreign passages, or domestic relations of our civil differences. Indeed, now the sound of all bells in the steeples was drowned with the noise of drums and trumpets; and yet this good was done by the civil wars,—it diverted the prelates from troubling the Lollards; so that this very storm was a shelter to those poor souls, and the heat of these intestine enmities cooled the persecution against them.

28. *Synod Privileges broken and repaired.* *A.D.* 1462.

Thomas Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, kept a synod of his clergy at London, when Geoffry Longbrooke, a member thereof, (as proctor for Peter Courtney, archdeacon of Exeter,) was, at the suit of Simon Nottingham, arrested by the bailiffs of the lord mayor. Complaint being made hereof to the Convocation, they sent the prior of Canterbury to the mayor and sheriffs, to restore the aforesaid Geoffry to his liberty, threatening them else with excommunication; ‡ to prevent which, the party was released. The parliament, sitting at the same time, bestowed many privileges on the clergy. As for the other synods in this king's reign, being six, as I account them, little more than granting of subsidies was propounded and concluded therein.

29. *King Henry returned, routed, and imprisoned.* *A.D.* 1463.

King Henry returned out of Scotland, furnished with sufficient forces from James III. to recover his crown, had success befriended him. But king Edward marched against him in person, (one means of his being so fortunate in his fights, seeing in peace the

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 450.—EDIT. † STOW's "Annals," p. 421. ‡ *Antiq. Brit.* p. 293.

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master's eye maketh the fat horse, as the prince's in war the valiant horse-rider,) totally defeated, took, and imprisoned him in the Tower. Here, whilst churchmen observe how tender-eyed the charity, statesmen admire how blind the policy, of that age in keeping king Henry alive. No such sure prison for a captive king as a grave, whose life, though in restraint, is a fair mark for the full aim of malcontents to practise his enlargement; as here it fell out in king Henry, who, either slighted for his simplicity, that he could do no mischief, or reverenced for his sanctity, that he should suffer no ill, was preserved alive, and reserved thereby to be a future trouble to king Edward,* who, though valiant to repel, was not wise to foresee dangers; and now, conceiving himself secure, was viciously disposed, and given over to too much licentiousness.

30. *The Earl of Warwick takes just Distaste at King Edward.* *A.D.* 1465.

Richard Nevill, earl of Warwick, is sent over into France to obtain the lady Bona, (daughter to the duke of Savoy,) wife to king Edward. So powerful a spokesman could not but speed; and all things are concluded, save the meeting of the parties and a priest to marry them. Mean time king Edward marrieth the lady Elizabeth Grey, the first English king who since the Conquest wedded his subject; I might also add, and the first that matched with a widow,—seeing Eleanor, wife to king Henry II., divorced from Lewis the younger, king of France, was properly neither maid nor widow. Warwick stormeth hereat, that he had taken so much pains about nothing, highly sensible of the affront, seeing a potent arm is not to be employed about a sleeveless errand. He resolves revenge; and, because he could not make her queen whom he desired, he would make him king whom he pleased.

31. *King Edward taken Prisoner, and King Henry enlarged.* *A.D.* 1468.

Take hereof this cursory account: After many bloody battles, king Edward was taken prisoner at Wolney in Warwickshire, and

* On this passage Heylin makes the following just remarks, among others: "Our author might have spared this doctrine so frequently in practice amongst the worldly politicians of all times and ages, that there is more need of a bridle to hold them in, than a spur to quicken them. The murdering of deposed and captive princes, though too often practised, never found advocates to plead for it, and much less preachers to preach for it, until these latter times. No such divinity preached in the schools of Ignatius, though fitter for the pen of a Mariana, than of a divine or minister of the Church of England." Part of Fuller's reply, in his "Appeal," (p. 453,) is: "I say, STATESMEN did admire at the preserving king Henry alive, and render their reason. If the *Animadvertor* takes me for a statesman, whose general judgment in this point I did barely relate, he is much mistaken in me."—EDIT.

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committed by the earl of Warwick to the custody of his brother George Nevill, archbishop of York. Henry is brought out of the Tower—shall I call him the sixth or the seventh, because dead (though not in law) in dignity, and once deposed? He is now restored again to wear the royal robes,—not so much as his own garments, but as the livery of the earl of Warwick's liberality. However, he acted a very short part of sovereignty, wherein he revenged not any personal wrongs offered unto him in his restraint. For, one who thrust him into the side with a sword when he was prisoner in the Tower, was afterwards pardoned by him when restored to his former dignity.

32, 33. *Edward escaped, flieth beyond Sea, and returneth; recovereth the Crown by Conquest.* A.D. 1470.

Meantime the archbishop allowed king Edward liberty to ride abroad and follow his pleasure. Now, a careless keeper giveth his prisoner a warning, and showeth him a way to make his escape. King Edward followeth his hawking so long, that he taketh his own flight at last. Over he gets beyond the seas to his brother-in-law Charles duke of Burgundy, by whom he was supplied, to the proportion of a competent subsistence; but not enabled for the recovering of a crown. However, he returned into England, landed in the north, marched to York, desired to be received therein, as into the place whence he received his title, but in no other notion than a subject to king Henry, taking the sacrament on the truth thereof; but having gotten the city as duke, he kept it as king, contrary to his oath, for which his children are conceived to fare no whit the better.

Let the state-historians inform you with what various changes king Edward made hence into the south, and at last, near Barnet, bid battle to and defeated the earl of Warwick, slain with his brother the marquess Montague on the place. Learn also from them how king Henry was cruelly put to death, and his son and queen Margaret soon after overthrown at Tewkesbury. For when a royal family is once falling, all things conduce to expedite their destruction. Henceforward king Edward (saving the differences of his own with his wife's kindred) passed the remnant of his days in much peace, plenty, and pleasure.

34. *Why most Armies make for London.*

In most of the battles we may observe, it was the word-general of the weaker side, "For London! for London!" as the most martial thrift to conquer a kingdom in a city. For, such whose necessities can allow their armies but little time to stay do burn day-light in pelting against petty towns in the out-skirts of a land, especially if

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all other human hopes be in one desperate push. Hence was it that so many battles were fought about Barnet and St. Alban's, (the cock-pit of war,) the lines of all armies drawn from the circumference of the land being the closer together, the nearer they approached London, the centre in trade and wealth, though not in exact position thereof.

35. *Brawls betwixt Mendicants and Secular Priests.*

Come we now to a tamer contest, and more proper for our pen, continuing all this king's time, betwixt the Begging Friars and Secular Priests; the former not content to cry up the dignity of their own Order, but cast contempt on the rest of the clergy. But these bold beggars met with as bold sayers "Nay." I mean, these Mendicants found their matches in the Secular Priests, effectually humbling their pride herein. For it was beheld as a most pestiferous doctrine, the friars' so heightening the perfection of begging, that, according to their principles, all the priesthood and prelacy in the land, yea, by consequence, the pope himself, did fall short of the sanctity of their Order. Yet hard was it for them to persuade his Holiness to quit Peter's patrimony, and betake himself to poverty, although a friar (Thomas Holden by name) did not blush to preach at Paul's Cross, that Christ himself,* as first founder of their Society, was a beggar,—a manifest untruth, and easily confuted out of scripture.

36, 37. *Christ falsely traduced to be a Beggar. Writers pro and con in the Cause.*

For, vast the difference betwixt begging, and taking what the bounty of others doth freely confer,—as our Saviour did from such who "ministered unto him of their substance," Luke viii. 3. We never read him begging any thing, save when from the woman of Samaria he asked water, John iv. 7;—a creature so common and needful, that it was against the law of nature to deny it him. Nor is it probable he was a Mendicant, who was rated in the publican's toll-book, and paid tribute unto Cæsar, Matt. xvii. 24; not to say that he was so far from begging, that it was his custom, especially about the time of the passover, to relieve others; and Judas his purse-bearer was his almoner to distribute to the poor, John xiii. 29.

Here it will not be amiss to reckon up the principal champions on both sides, whose pens publicly appeared.

FOR MENDICANTS.

(1.) Henry Parker,† a Carmelite, bred in Cambridge, living afterwards in Doncaster convent, imprisoned for preaching.

* Fox's "Acts and Monuments," p. 717. † Pitzæus, p. 660.

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(2.) Jo. Milverton,* bred in Oxford, Carmelite, of Bristol; being excommunicated by the bishop of London, and appealing to the pope, found no favour, but was kept three years captive in St. Angelo.

AGAINST MENDICANTS.

(1.) Thomas Wilton,† doctor of both laws, and, say some, dean of St. Paul's, most zealous in his preachings and disputings.

(2.) William Ivie, canon of St. Paul's in London,‡ who wrote very learnedly in the defence of Richard Hill, bishop of London, who imprisoned two Mendicants for their proud preaching.

But after pope Paul II. had interposed herein, concluding, *quod Christus publicè mendicavit, pro damnatâ hæresi undique declarandam et conculcandam esse*, the Mendicants let fall their bucklers, and the controversy (sunk in silence) never more revived.

38. *A prodigious Feast at an Archbishop's Installation. A.D.* 1465.

Never had England at once two archbishops of so high extraction as at this time, namely, Thomas Bourchier, son of Henry earl of Essex; and George Neville, brother to the great earl of Warwick. The latter is famous for a prodigious feast, wherein, whoso noteth the number and quality of the guests, (all the nobility, most of the prime clergy, many of the great gentry,) will wonder where he got meat for so many mouths, whilst such who number the dishes thereof will more admire where he got mouths for so much meat. But see the bill of fare:—

Three hundred quarters of wheat,§ three hundred and thirty tuns of ale, one hundred and four tuns of wine, one pipe of spiced wine, eighty fat oxen, six wild bulls, one thousand and four wethers, three hundred hogs, three hundred calves, three thousand geese, three thousand capons, three hundred pigs, one hundred peacocks, two hundred cranes, two hundred kids, two thousand chickens, four thousand pigeons, four thousand rabbits, two hundred and four bittours, [bitterns,] four thousand ducks, four hundred hernsews, [herons,] two hundred pheasants, five hundred partridges, four thousand woodcocks, four hundred plovers, one hundred curlews, one hundred quails, one thousand egrets, two hundred rees, more than four hundred bucks, does, and roes, fifteen hundred and six hot venison pasties, four thousand cold venison pasties, one thousand dishes of jelly parted, four thousand dishes of jelly plain, four thousand cold custards, two thousand hot custards, three hundred pikes, three hundred breams, eight seals, four porpoises, four hundred

* Pitzæus, p. 673. † *Idem*, p. 659. ‡ *Idem*, p. 654. § Godwin in his "Catalogue of the Bishops of York," p. 65.

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tarts. Earl of Warwick, steward; earl of Bedford, treasurer; lord Hastings, comptroller; with many more noble officers; one thousand servitors, sixty-two cooks, five hundred and fifteen kitcheners.

People present at this feast needed strong stomachs to devour, and others, absent, stronger faith to believe, so much meat at one time. Take the proportion by sheep, whereof magnificent Solomon spent but "a hundred a day," 1 Kings iv. 23, in his sumptuous court; and here was ten times as many expended at this feast as he in a day's provision for all his numerous retinue. How long this entertainment lasted, is uncertain; but by the pork, doves, and woodcocks eaten therein, it plainly appears kept in winter, when such are in season; and how the same can be reconciled with so much summer-fowl as was here used, I little know, and less care to resolve.

39. *A second [Feast] sadder in the Conclusion.* *A.D.* 1472.

But, seven years after, this archbishop, to entertain king Edward, made another feast at More-Park in Hertfordshire, inferior to the former for plenty, yet, perchance, equalling it in price. For the king seized on all his estate, to the value of twenty thousand pounds, amongst which he found so rich a mitre, that he made himself a crown thereof. The archbishop he sent over prisoner to Calais in France, where *vinctus jacuit in summâ inopiâ*, "he was kept bound in extreme poverty;" justice punishing his former prodigality,* his hungry stomach being glad of such reversions (could he get them) which formerly the voider had taken away at his riotous installation.

40. *Scotland freed from the See of York.* *A.D.* 1474.

He was afterwards restored to his liberty and archbishopric, but never to the cheerfulness of his spirit, drooping till the day of his death. It added to his sorrow, that the kingdom of Scotland, with twelve suffragan bishops therein, formerly subjected to his see, was now by pope Sixtus V. freed from any further dependence thereon; St. Andrew's being advanced to an archbishopric, and that kingdom in ecclesiastical matters made entire within itself; whose bishops formerly repaired to York for their consecration, not without their great danger, especially in times of hostility between the two kingdoms. In vain did this Nevill plead for some compensation to be given his see in lieu of so great a loss, or at leastwise that some acknowledgment should be made of his former jurisdiction; the

* GODWIN, *ibid.*

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pope powerfully ordering against it. Henceforward no archbishop of York meddled more with church-matters in Scotland; and happy had it been if no archbishop of Canterbury had since interested himself therein.*

41. *John Goose, Martyr.*

About this time John Goose, sole martyr in this king's reign, suffered at Tower-Hill. Let papists, who make themselves sport at the simplicity of his name, remember how their pope *Os porci* or "Swine's-Face," could change his name into *Sergius;* which liberty, if allowed here, would quickly mar their mirth. This Goose, when ready to suffer, desired meat from the sheriff who ordered his execution, and had it granted unto him. "I will eat," saith he, "a good competent dinner, for I shall pass a sharp shower ere I come to supper."†

42. *King Edward preacheth his own funeral Sermon.* *A. D.* 1482.

King Edward, foreseeing his approaching death, (who by intemperance in his diet, in some sort, digged his grave with his own teeth,) caused his own and wife's kindred (sadly privy to the grudges betwixt them) to wait on him when he lay very sick on his bed. To these he made a passionate speech, to exhort them to unite, from the profit of peace and danger of discord; and very emphatically urged it, insomuch that, seemingly, they were his converts, and in token thereof shook hands together, whilst their hearts, God knows, were far asunder. This speech I may call "king Edward's own funeral sermon, preached by himself," (and it may pass also for the funeral sermon of his two sons, finding no other obsequies at their burial,) though very little was really thereby effected. Thus died king Edward, who, contrary to the ordinary observation, that "men the older the more covetous," (as indeed dying men's hands grasp what is next, and hold it hard,) was gripple in the beginning of his reign, and more bountiful towards the end thereof.

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 562, 590.—EDIT. † Fox's "Acts and Monuments," *De Polychron.*

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SECTION IV.

TO JOHN FERRARS, OF TAMWORTH CASTLE, ESQUIRE.

SIR,

MODEST beggars, in London streets, commonly choose twilight to prefer their petitions; that so they may have light enough to discover him to whom they sue, and darkness enough to cover and conceal themselves.

This may make you the more to admire my boldness, who, in a mere midnight, (utterly unknowing you, and unknown to you,) request you to accept this dedication. But know, sir, though I know not your face, I know you are a FERRARS, inclined by your extraction to a generous disposition, as I have found by one of your nearest relations.

1. *After* MORE, *no more.* 1 Richard III. *A.D.* 1483.

MISERABLE king Edward V. ought to have succeeded his father; but alas! he is ever pictured with a *chasma*, or "distance," betwixt his head and the crown; and, by the practice of his uncle, the duke of Gloucester, chosen Protector, (to protect him from any of his friends to come near him!) was quickly made away, being a king in right, though not in possession; as his uncle Richard was in possession, though not in right. All the passages whereof are so elegantly related by sir Thomas More, that a man shall get little who comes with a fork, where sir Thomas hath gone with a rake before him, and by his judicious industry collected all remarkables. Only, as proper to our employment, let us take notice of the carriage of the clergy in these distractions.

2, 3. *Clergy complying, not active. Shaw's shameless Sermon.*

Although most of the prelates were guilty of cowardly compliance with king Richard, yet we find none eminently active on his side. Indeed, the archbishop of Canterbury was employed to get Richard duke of York from his queen-mother in the sanctuary in Westminster, and very pathetical he was in the persuading her to part with him; haply on a point of conscience, as fearing, if denied, some injury would be offered to the prejudice of the church, and

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therefore more willing himself to woo him from her with eloquence, than that others should wrest him thence with violence. Yet he is generally conceived innocent herein, as not as yet suspecting any fraud in the duke of Gloucester; except any will say, that "it was a fault in him, that so great a statesman was no wiser than to have been deceived by his dissimulation."

But of the inferior clergy, Dr. Shaw, a popular preacher, made himself infamous to all posterity. His sermon at St. Paul's Cross had nothing but the text (and that in the Apocrypha)* good therein; as consisting of two parts, defaming of the dead, and flattering of the living; making king Edward far worse than he was, and duke Richard far better than ever he would be. He made king Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence both to be bastards, and duke Richard only right begotten; so proclaiming Cicely his mother (still surviving) for a whore; all being done by secret instructions from duke Richard himself, who hereby gave a worse wound to his mother's credit, than that which at his birth he caused to her body, being (as it is commonly reported) cut out from her. With Shaw we may couple another brawling cur of the same litter, Pynkney, the Provincial of the Augustinian Friars, who in the same place used so loud adulation, he lost his credit, conscience, and voice, all together. These two were all (and they too many) of the clergy whom I find actively engaging on his party, whilst multitudes of the laity sided with him. So that, through the popularity of the duke of Buckingham, the law-learning of Catesby, the city-interest of Shaw, (then Lord Mayor of London, and brother to the preacher,) the rugged rigour of Ratcliffe, and the assistance of other instruments in their several spheres, the queen's kindred were killed, the lord Hastings murdered, king Edward and his brother imprisoned, and at last Richard duke of Gloucester elected king of England.

4. *The sumptuous Coronation of King Richard.*

His coronation was performed with more pomp than any of his predecessors; as if he intended with the glory thereof so to dazzle vulgar eyes, that they should not be able to see the shame of his usurpation. Indeed, some of our English kings, who by undoubted right succeeded to the crown, accounted their coronation but a matter of course, (which did not *make* but *manifest* them to be kings,) and so less curious in the pompous celebration thereof. But this usurper apprehended this ceremony more substantial, and therefore was most punctual in the observation of it, causing all the

* Ecclesiasticus xxiii. 25. *Spuria vitulamina non agent radices altas.*

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nobility, who held lands in grand sovereignty, to do their service in state; amongst whom Richard Dimock, Esq., hereditary Champion by tenure, with a safe piece of valour, (having so many to back him,) cast down his gauntlet, challenging any that durst oppose the title of king Richard; and, for aught I do know to the contrary, he afterwards made his challenge good in Bosworth-field. And, because "sure bind, sure find," he is said, and his queen, to be crowned again in York with great solemnity.

5. *King Edward and his Brother stifled.*

Soon after followed the murder of king Edward and his brother Richard duke of York. It was high time they should set, when another already was risen in the throne. By a bloody-bloodless death they were stifled with pillows, and then obscurely buried. The uncertainty of their interment gave the advantage to Perkin Warbeck afterwards to counterfeit Richard duke of York; so like unto him in age, carriage, stature, feature, favour, that he wanted nothing but success to make him, who did but personate duke Richard, to pass current for the person of duke Richard.

6, 7. *King Richard vainly endeavoureth to ingratiate himself by making good Laws; as also by building of Monasteries. A.D.* 1484.

After this bloody act, king Richard endeavoured to render himself popular: First, by making good laws in that sole parliament kept in his reign. Benevolence, (malevolence,) which formerly the subjects unwillingly-willing had paid to their sovereign,—(power, where it requests, commands; it not being so much thankworthy to grant, as dangerous to deny it,)—he retrenched, and reduced to be granted only in parliament. He regulated trading, which the Lombards and other foreigners had much engrossed, to the detriment of the English nation. Now, although the people carry much of their love and loyalty in their purses, yet all this would not ingratiate this usurper with them, the dullest nostrils resenting it done, not for love of virtue, but his own security. And that affects none which all palpably discover to be affected.

Next he endeavoured to work himself into their good-will, by erecting and endowing of religious houses; so to plausiblelize himself, especially among the clergy. Thus he built one far north, at Middleham, and a college in the parish of Allhallows-Barking,* hard by the Tower, as if he intended, by the vicinity thereof, to expiate those many murders which he therein had committed.

* Stow's "Survey of London," in Tower-street Ward.

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Besides, he for his time dis-forested Whichwood in Oxfordshire,* (then far more extended than in our age,) which his brother Edward had made forest, to the great grievance of the country thereabouts. Yet all would not do; the people being more patient for an injury done by king Edward, than thankful for the favour this Richard bestowed upon them. He is said also to have given to Queen's-College in Cambridge five hundred marks of yearly rent;† though at this time, I believe, the college receives as little benefit by the grant, as Richard had right to grant it. For, it was not issued out of his own purse, but given out of the lands of his enemy,—the unjustly-proscribed earl of Oxford; who, being restored by Henry VII., made a resumption thereof.

8. *Art hath done more for King Richard, than ever Nature did.*

Duke Richard was low in stature, crook-backed, with one shoulder higher than the other, having a prominent gobber-tooth, a warlike countenance which well enough became a soldier. Yet a modern author,‡ in a book by him lately set forth, eveneth his shoulders, smootheth his back, planeth his teeth, maketh him in all points a comely and beautiful person. Nor stoppeth he here; but, proceeding from his naturals to his morals, maketh him as virtuous as handsome, which in some sense may be allowed to be true; concealing most, denying some, defending others, of his foulest facts, wherewith in all ages since he standeth charged on record. For mine own part, I confess it no heresy to maintain a paradox in history, nor am I such an enemy to wit as not to allow it leave harmlessly to disport itself, for its own content, and the delight of others. Thus, Cardan hath written his *Encomium Neronis;* and others (best husbandmen who can improve the barrenest ground!) have by art endeavoured to praise as improbable subjects. But when men shall do it cordially, in sober sadness, to pervert people's judgments, and therein go against all received records, I say, singularity is the least fault can be laid to such men's charge. Besides, there are some birds, "sea-pies" by name, who cannot rise except it be by flying against the wind, as some hope to achieve their advancement by being contrary and paradoxical in judgment to all before them.

9, 10. *The Request of the Duke of Buckingham denied. Buckingham surprised and beheaded.*

Soon after followed the execution of the duke of Buckingham, king Richard's grand engineer, or master of the fabric of his pre-

* CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Oxfordshire, p. 374, out of John Rouse. † STOW in his "Annals," p. 470. ‡ GEORGE BUCK, Esq., a claw-back to Crook-back.

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ferment. The occasion thus: The duke requested-required of king Richard (as confident that his merits were incapable of a denial) the earldom of Hereford, and the hereditary constableship of England,* laying title to them by descent. Well did he ask both together, which would be granted both together. For the earldom of Hereford was an Abishag, concubine to the former kings of England, which had long lien in the crown, (whilst in the Lancastrian line,) so embraced and interlaced therewith that it was difficult to dissever them. And the affecting thereof proved as fatal to Buckingham, as the desiring of the other was to Adonijah, being interpreted in both an ambition of the kingdom. The hereditary constableship was conceived too unlimited a power to be trusted to a subject, lest he should make more disorder than he should mend therewith; so that, in fine, both in effect were denied unto him.

Buckingham storms thereat: Shall *a coronet* be denied him, by him on whom he had conferred *a crown?* Yet, what anger soever boiled in his heart, none ran over in his mouth, pretending very fair in his behaviour. But, hard it is to halt before a cripple, and dissemble before king Richard. The duke withdraws to Brecknock in Wales, with his prisoner, bishop Morton of Ely, (committed unto him by the king on some distaste,) who tampered with him about the marriage of Henry earl of Richmond, with the eldest daughter of king Edward IV. The duke carried himself so open therein, that, surprised by king Richard, his head was divorced from his body before this marriage was completed.

11, 12. *Morton Make-Peace. Mr. Prynne charged for charging Bishop Morton with Treason.*

More cunning was bishop Morton to get himself over into France, there to contrive the union of the two Houses of York and Lancaster. If "Blessed be the peace-makers," be pronounced of such as reconcile party and party; how much more must it be true of his memory,—the happy instrument to unite those Houses, to the saving of the effusion of so much blood! Some will say, "It was a design obvious to every capacity, to make such an union." But, we all know, when a thing is done, then it is easy for any to do it. Besides, it is one thing for men in their brains barely and notionally to apprehend a project; and another, as our Morton did, to elect proportionable means, and, by the vigorous prosecution thereof, really to effect it.

A modern writer, in his voluminous book, which he hath entitled,

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 452.—EDIT.

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"The Rebellions, Treasons, Conspiracies, antimonarchical Practices, &c., of the English Prelates," to swell his number, chargeth this bishop Morton with treason against king Richard III. But, is it treason for one, in favour of the true heir, to oppose an usurper in title, and tyrant in practice? Surely, unbiassed judgments behold Morton herein under a better notion. Had this bishop been active on king Richard's side, how would the same author have proclaimed him for a traitor against king Henry VII.! Thus I see an inevitable necessity, that Morton must be a traitor, whatsoever he did; and can observe, that no practice will please which cometh from one whose person or profession is distasted.

13. *Earl Henry landeth at Milford-Haven.* A.D. 1485.

But king Richard's cruelties had so tired out Divine patience, that his punishment could be no longer deferred. Henry earl of Richmond lands with a handful of men at Milford-Haven; a landing-place politicly chosen, near Pembroke, the place of his nativity, in the heart of his countrymen and kinsmen the Welsh, (his grandfather, Owen-ap-Theodore, *aliàs* Tuthar, having thence his extraction,) and far from London, the magazine of king Richard's might. From Milford the earl marched north-east, through the bowels of Wales; and both his army, and the fame thereof, *crevit eundo*, "grew by going." Many old prophecies (the people about Leicester will load a stranger with them) were fulfilled in him, and this amongst the rest may be remembered:—It was foretold, that, in a great battle, which was to be fought near Leicester, whosoever should shoot the arrow first, should have the victory. This most understood, that the archer in the fight who should first let loose should gain the day to his side. When, behold, the earl of Richmond, bending his march out of Wales, to the middle of England, first passed Arrow, a rivulet in the confines of Worcester and Warwickshire, and accordingly proved victorious. For into Leicestershire he came, and in the navel thereof is met by king Richard, and next morning both sides determine to try their fortunes in fight. This night the earl had sweet and quiet rest, whilst king Richard's guilty conscience was frighted with hideous dreams and fanciful apparitions; as no wonder if no pillow could give *him* quiet sleep *who* with a pillow had so lately smothered his lord and master.

14. *The Battle of Bosworth.*

The battle is called "the battle of Bosworth," (though fought full three miles from the town,* and nearer other country villages,)

* Burton in his "Description of Leicestershire."

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because Bosworth is the next town of note thereunto. The earl's army fell far short of the king's in number and arms; equalled it in courage, exceeded it in cause and success. Indeed, the king's army was hollow at the heart, many marching in his main battle who were much suspected, (and therefore purposely placed there to secure them from flying out,) and fought as unwilling to overcome. Yet the scales of victory seemed for a long time so equal, that an exact eye could not discern on which side the beam did break. At last the coming-in of sir William Stanley, with three thousand fresh men, decided the controversy on the earl's side.* King Richard fighting *valiantly*, (so his friends; *desperately*, say his foes,) fell in the midst of his enemies, and his corpse was disgracefully carried to Leicester, without a rag to cover his nakedness: as if no modest usage was due to him when dead who had been so shameless in his cruelty when alive. The crown ornamental, being found on his head, was removed to the earl's, and he crowned in the field, and *Te Deum* was solemnly sung by the whole army.

15. *Henry the Seventh's six-fold Title to the Crown.* 1 Henry VII.

Soon after, king Henry married the lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter unto king Edward IV., whereby those roses, which formerly with their prickles had rent each other, were united together. Yea, six-fold was king Henry's title to the crown. First. Conquest. Secondly. Military election; the soldiers crying out in the field, "King Henry! king Henry!" Thirdly. Parliamentary authority, which settled the crown on him and his heirs. Fourthly. Papal confirmation; his Holiness, forsooth, concurring with his religious compliment. Fifthly. Descent from the House of Lancaster. But that, all know, was but the back-door to the crown, and this Henry came in but by a window to that back-door, (there being some bastardy in his pedigree,) but that was salved by post-legitimation. Sixthly. Marriage of king Edward's daughter: the first and last being worth all the rest. Thus had he six strings to his bow, but commonly he let five hang by, and only made use of that one, which, for the present, he perceived was most for his own advantage. Yet, for all these his titles, this politic prince thought fit to have his person well secured, and was the first king of England who had a standing guard to attend him.

16, 17. *The Death of Archbishop Bourchier. John Morton succeeded him.* *A.D.* 1486.

Thomas Bourchier cardinal, and archbishop of Canterbury, had the honour first to marry, then to crown, king Henry and the lady

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 453.—EDIT.

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Elizabeth. And then, having sat in a short synod at London, (wherein the clergy presented their new king with a tenth,) quietly ended his life, having sat in his see two-and-thirty years. He gave a hundred and twenty pounds to the university of Cambridge, which was joined with another hundred pounds which Mr. Billingforth, master of Bene't-College, had some years before given to the said university; and this joint stock was put into a chest, called at this day, "the chest of Billingforth and Bourchier;" and treasurers are every year chosen for the safe keeping thereof.

John Morton, born, say some, at Bear, but more truly at St. Andrew's-Milbourne, in Dorsetshire, (where a worshipful family of his name and lineage remain at this day,) succeeded him in the see at Canterbury. He was formerly bishop of Ely, and appointed by Edward IV. one of the executors of his will, and on that account hated of king Richard III. the executioner thereof. He was, as aforesaid, imprisoned, because he would not betray his trust, fled into France, returned, and justly advanced by king Henry, first to be chancellor of England, and then to be archbishop of Canterbury.

18. *A Gift not worth the taking.*

Now began the pope to be very busy, by his officers, to collect vast sums of money in England; presuming at the king's connivance thereat, whom he had lately gratified with a needless dispensation to legitimate his marriage with the lady Elizabeth, his cousin so far off it would half pose a herald to recover their kindred. For,

EDWARD III., ON PHILIPPA HIS QUEEN, BEGAT

(1.) Lionel duke of Clarence; who, on Elizabeth his lady, begat (2.) Philippa; on whom Edward Mortimer, earl of March, begat (3.) Roger earl of March; who, on ———, begat (4.) Anne, on whom Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, begat (5.) Edward IV. king of England; who, on Elizabeth Woodvile, begat (6.) Elizabeth his eldest daughter; who was married unto Henry VII.

EDWARD III., ON PHILIPPA HIS QUEEN, BEGAT

(1.) John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; who, on Catherine Swinford, begat (2.) John de Beaufort, duke of Somerset; who, on ———, begat (3.) John Beaufort, duke of Somerset; who, on Margaret Beauchamp, begat (4.) Margaret; on whom Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond, begat (5.) Henry earl of Richmond, afterwards (seventh of that name) king of England, who married Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV.

Neither law, divine or civil, forbade marriage at this distance; but the pope would be over-officious, both to oblige the king, and

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interest himself; as if no princes could well be married except the pope had a finger in joining their hands together!

19. *Exorbitancies of Sanctuaries retrenched.* *A.D.* 1487.

More material to the king was the help of his Holiness to regulate the exorbitancies of abused sanctuaries. In this age, could an offender get such a house over his head, he accounted himself instantly innocent, though not in conscience, yet as to outward punishment; the king's enemies, once sanctuaried, daring him no less than the Jebusites in their strong fort of Sion defied David: "Thou shalt not come in hither," 2 Sam. v. 6. The pope, therefore, in favour of the king, and, indeed, of equity itself, ordered: (1.) That if any sanctuary-man did, by might or otherwise, get out of sanctuary privily, and commit mischief and trespass, and then come in again, he should lose the benefit of sanctuary for ever after. (2.) That, howsoever the person of the sanctuary-man was protected from his creditors, yet his goods out of sanctuary should not. (3.) That if any took sanctuary for cause of treason, the king might appoint him keepers to look to him in sanctuary.* Surely, had the king been pleased to interpose his own power, he might have reformed these abuses; but he thought fitter to make use of the pope's spiritual artillery against these spiritual castles of rebellion, that he might not seem to intrench on their lawful privileges; having formerly, at least in pretence, appeared a great patron of sanctuaries, and a severe punisher of the unjust infringers thereof. On which account this king (who was never uxorious husband, nor over-dutiful son-in-law) confined the queen-dowager, his wife's mother, to a religious house in Bermondsey, because three years since she had surrendered her two daughters out of the sanctuary at Westminster, to Richard duke of York.

20. *Two Synods at London.* *A.D.* 1488.

A synod was holden by archbishop Morton at London; wherein the luxury of the London clergy† in clothes, (that city always the staple of bravery,) with their frequenting of taverns, was forbidden; such preachers also were punished, who with popular applause inveighed against bishops in their absence. The next year also a synod was called; but little therein effected, but vast sums of money granted by the clergy to the king.

21. *Italians good at getting and holding.* *A.D.* 1489.

John Gigles an Italian, about this time employed by the pope, got an infinite mass of money, having power from the pope to

* Lord Verulam in Henry VII. p. 39. † *Antiq. Brit.* p. 298.

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absolve people from usury, simony, theft, manslaughter, fornication, adultery, and all crimes whatsoever, saving smiting of the clergy, and conspiring against the pope; and some few cases reserved alone to his Holiness. This Gigles gat for himself the rich bishopric of Worcester; yea, we observe, that in that see a team of four Italians followed each other: (1.) John Gigles; (2.) Silvester Gigles; (3.) Julius de Medicis, afterwards Clement VII.; (4.) Hieronymus de Negutiis* [Ghinucei]. Thus as weeds in a garden, once got in, hardly got out, as sowing themselves; so these Italians, having planted themselves in that rich place, were never gotten out, (pleading, as it were, prescription of almost forty years' possession,) till the power of the pope was partly banished England, and then Hugh Latimer was placed in the bishopric.

22. *Rochester Bridge repaired by Pardons. A.D.* 1494.

Archbishop Morton, as one much meriting from the pope, was not only honoured with a cardinal's hat, of the title of St. Anastatius, but also privileged from his Holiness to visit all places formerly exempt from archi-episcopal jurisdiction; empowering him also to dispense his pardons where he saw just cause. Hereupon, Rochester Bridge being broken down, Morton, to appear a *pontifex* indeed, bestowed remission from purgatory for all sins whatsoever committed within the compass of forty days, to such as should bountifully contribute to the building thereof.†

23. *The King desired King Henry, then the sixth, to be sainted.*

The king had more than a month's mind (keeping seven years in that humour) to procure the pope to canonize king Henry VI. for a saint. For, English saint-kings, so frequent before the Conquest, were grown great dainties since that time. France lately had her king Saint Lewis; and why should not England receive the like favour, being no less beneficial to the church of Rome? Nor could the unhappiness of our king Henry (because deposed from his throne) be any just bar to his saintship, seeing generally God's best servants are most subject to the sharpest afflictions. His canonizing would add much lustre to the line of Lancaster, which made his kinsman and mediate successor king Henry VII. so desirous thereof. Besides, well might he be made a saint who had been a prophet. For when the wars between Lancaster and York first began, Henry VI., beholding this Henry VII., then but a boy, playing in the court, said to the standers-by, "See, this youth one day will quietly enjoy what we at this time so much fight about." This made the

* GODWIN in his Catalogue of the Bishops of Norwich, p. 520. † *Antiq. Brit.* p. 298.

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king with much importunity to tender this his request unto the pope; a request the more reasonable, because it was well nigh forty years since the death of that Henry; so that only the skeletons of his virtues remained in men's memories, the flesh and corruption (as one may say) of his faults being quite consumed and forgotten.

24, 25. *The Requisites to a Canonization. These applied to King Henry VI.*

Pope Alexander VI., instead of granting his request, acquainted him with the requisites belonging to the making of a saint. First. That to confer that honour, (the greatest on earth,) was only in the power of the pope, the proper judge of men's merits therein. Secondly. That saints were not to be multiplied but on just motions, lest commonness should cause their contempt. Thirdly. That his life must be exemplarily holy, by the testimony of credible witnesses. Fourthly. That such must attest the truth of real miracles, wrought by him after death. Fifthly. That very great was the cost thereof, because all chanters, choristers, *parafrenarii*,* bell-ringers, (not the least clapper in the steeple wagging, except money was tied to the end of the rope,) with all the officers of the church of St. Peter, together with the commissaries and notaries of the court, with all the officers of the pope's bed-chamber, to the very locksmiths, ought to have their several fees of such canonization: adding, that the total sum would amount to fifteen hundred ducats of gold.† *Tantæ molis erat Romanum condere sanctum!* concluding with that which made the charges (though not infinite) indefinite,—that the costs were to be multiplied *secundum canonizati potentiam*, "according to the power or dignity of the person to be canonized." And certain it was, the court of Rome would not behold this Henry VI. in the notion he died in as a poor prisoner, but as he lived a king, so long as he had this Henry his kinsman to pay for the same.

Most of these requisites met in king Henry VI. in a competent measure. First. The holiness of his life was confessed by all; save that some sullen persons suggested that his simplicity was above his sanctity, and his life pious not so much out of hatred as ignorance of badness. As for miracles, there was no want of them, if credible persons might be believed, two of whose miracles it will not be amiss to recite.

* Fuller left a chasm in the text, and placed this word in a note, thus: "The Latin is *parafrenarii*," a minor species of ecclesiastical officers with whose duties he was evidently unacquainted. The error seems to me to lie in the transcriber of the Latin original, who mistook this word for *ceroferarii*, "torch-bearers," who are generally conjoined with the chanting-men, bell-ringers, &c.—EDIT.

† *Antiq. Brit.* p. 299.

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26. *A Brace of Miracles wrought by King Henry VI.*

Thomas Fuller, a very honest man,* living at Hammersmith, near London, had a hard hap accidentally to light into the company of one who had stolen and driven away cattle, with whom, though wholly innocent, he was taken, arraigned, condemned, and executed. When on the gallows, blessed king Henry (loving justice when alive, and willing to preserve innocence after death) appeared unto him, so ordering the matter that the halter did not strangle him. For having hung a whole hour, and [been] taken down to be buried, he was found alive; for which favour he repaired to the tomb of king Henry at Chertsey, (as he was bound to do no less,) and there presented his humble and hearty thanks unto him for his deliverance.† The very same accident, *mutatis mutandis*, of place and persons, with some addition about the apparition of the Virgin Mary, happened to Richard Boyes, dwelling within a mile of Bath, the story so like, all may believe them equally true.

All the premisses required to a saint appearing in some moderate proportion in Henry VI., especially if charitably interpreted, (saints themselves need some favour to be afforded them,) it was the general expectation that he should be suddenly canonized. But pope Alexander VI. delayed, and in effect denied king Henry's desire herein; yea, Julius his next successor of continuance (not to mention the short-lived Pius III.) continued as sturdy in his denial.

27. *Reasons why King Henry VI. was not sainted.*

Men variously conjecture why the pope in effect should deny to canonize king Henry VI. A witty but tart reason is rendered by a noble pen,‡ "because the pope would put a difference betwixt a Saint and an Innocent." But others conceive king Henry not so simple himself, his parts only seeming the lower, being overtopped with a high-spirited queen. More probable it is what another saith,§ that seeing king Henry held the crown by a false title from the true heir thereof, the pope could not with so good credit fasten a saintship on his memory. But our great antiquary|| resolveth all in the pope's covetousness, *In causâ fuit Pontificis avaritia*, demanding more than thrifty king Henry VII. would allow; who at last contented himself, by the pope's leave hardly obtained, to remove his corpse from Chertsey in Surrey, where it was obscurely interred, to Windsor-Chapel, a place of greater reputation. Thus he, whom authors have observed twice crowned, twice deposed, twice buried; the best was, though he was not canonized, yet there was plenty of

* HARPSFIELD *Hist. Ecclesiastica sæculo decimo quinto*, p. 646. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 532.—EDIT. ‡ The LORD BACON. § See MR. HABINGTON in the Life of Edward IV. || CAMDEN'S "Britannia," in Surrey.

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popish saints beside him, wherewith the Calendar is so overstocked that, for want of room, they justle one another.

28. *Archbishop Morton procureth the Sainting of Anselm. A.D.* 1497.

But the saintship of Anselm archbishop of Canterbury was procured on cheaper terms; though it cost archbishop Morton much money, who procured the same. Indeed, Anselm being *alterius orbis papa*, "the pope of the English world," (as the archbishop of Canterbury was termed,) no wonder if one pope, upon reasonable terms, did this courtesy for another. Besides, great was the merit of Anselm to the church of Rome, (little whereof goes far to obtain a canonization,) seeing he was the champion and confessor of the pope's cause about investing of bishops, against two kings successively,—William Rufus and king Henry I.

29—31. *The King's Carriage to the Pope: severe to the vicious Clergy. Sad to be the King's Convert. A.D.* 1498.

Observable was the carriage of king Henry towards the pope, the clergy, and the poor Lollards. To the pope he was submissive, not servile; his devotion being seldom without design, so using his Holiness that he seldom stooped down to him in any low reverence, but with the same gesture he took up something in order to his own ends.

To the clergy of desert he was very respectful, trusting and employing them in state-affairs, more than his nobility. To the dissolute and vicious clergy he was justly severe, and pared their privileges, ordaining that "clerks convict should be burned in the hand;" * both that they might taste a corporal punishment, and carry a brand of infamy. But for this good act the king himself was afterwards branded, by mock-king Perkin's proclamation, for an execrable breaker of the rights of holy church. He also made a law,† that begging scholars, though clerks, should be reputed vagabonds, without they show the letters of the chancellor of the university from whence he saith he cometh.

To the Lollards (so were God's people nicknamed) he was more cruel than his predecessors; for he not only, in the beginning of his reign, connived at the cruel persecutions which John Halse, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, raised against them, but, towards the end of his reign, appeared in his person very bloody unto them, if the story be true which is very lamely delivered unto us:—There was in Canterbury an old priest so resolute in Wickliffe's opinions,

* LORD VERULAM in Henry VII., p. 66. † "Statutes" *undecimo* Henry VII., cap. 2.

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that none of the clergy there could convince him of the contrary. The king, casually coming thither in the month of May, undertook the priest himself, though we never read before of his Majesty's disputing, save when he disputed Bosworth-field with king Richard III. The king, by what arguments we know not, converted this priest, and then presently gave order he should be burned; which was done accordingly.* Surely, there was more in the matter than what appeared in the record, or else one may boldly say, that if the king's converts had no better encouragement, this was the first he made, and the last he was ever likely to make.

32. *Needless Cruelty.*

Two most needless pieces of cruelty were committed at this time: The one, an aged old man burnt in Smithfield: The other, one Joan Baughton, widow; who seemeth a woman of some quality, as mother to the lady Young, who was afterwards martyred; she, being fourscore years of age,† was burned for an heretic, posting her to the stake which was going to the grave.

33. *The Founding of Brasen-nose College.*

William Smith, some time Fellow of Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge, and bishop of Lincoln, this year began the foundation of Brasen-nose College in Oxford: I meet not with any satisfactory reasons why so called, save the fancy of the founder. Except any will say, "It was so named, because built where anciently Brasen-nose Hall stood;" though this does not so much resolve the question as put it a degree further off. But when such who cavil at the name build a college, it shall be left at their free liberty to call it according to their own pleasure. This bishop lived not to finish his intentions; and therefore after his death Richard Sutton, Esq., took upon him to perfect the same, and accomplished it accordingly.

Principals.—Matthew Smith, John Hawarden, Thomas Blanchard, Richard Harris, Alexander Noel, Thomas Singleton, Samuel Ratcliffe, Thomas Yate, Daniel Greenwood.

Bishops.—Richard Barnes, bishop of Durham.

Benefactors.—William Clifton, William Porter, John Elton, *aliàs* Baker; Humphrey Ogle, Edward Darby, John Claymond, John Williamson, Brian Higden, Alexander Noel, Joyce Frankland, Richard Harper, sir John Port, John lord Mordant, John Barneston, George Palin.

Learned Men.—Richard Caldwell, doctor of physic and

* Fox's "Acts and Monuments," p. 556. † *Idem, ibidem.*

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founder of a surgery-lecture in London ;* Robert Bolton, a famous preacher.

So that at this present the college is much beautified with buildings and ornaments ; for the perfecting whereof, great sums have been expended within these few last years ; maintaining a Principal, twenty Fellows, beside Scholars, Officers, and Servants of the foundation, in all amounting, *anno* 1634, to one hundred eighty-six.

Cheshire-men, whose county is called *nobilitatis altrix*, and those of Lancashire, (most commendable *ob bonitatem habitudinis et decorem aspectûs,)* are in this college most proper for preferment.

34. *The Death of Archbishop Morton.* *A.D.* 1500.

John Morton cardinal, and archbishop of Canterbury, deceased. Many condemned him in his life for acting and putting the king forward to be burdensome to his subjects with his taxes ; but his innocence appeared after his death,—that he rather tempered the king's covetousness than otherwise. He was a learned man, and had a fair library, (rebussed with MORE in text and TUN under it,) partly remaining in the possession of the late earl of Arundel. I find him in the catalogue of the benefactors of St. John's College in Cambridge ; understand it, by his executors, otherwise the first brick of that house was laid nine years after the archbishop's death. Now, as this was a sad year to Canterbury, wherein their good archbishop departed, so was it a joyful year at Rome for the coming-in of that jubilee which brought men and money there. Yet many went to Rome in effect, who stayed in England, by commuting their journey into money, which was equally meritorious, the pope's officers being come over to receive the same.

* CAMDEN'S "Elizabeth" in *anno* 1585.

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